MATHURĀ

The Cultural Heritage

General Editor
Doris Meth Srinivasan

Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage is a collection of papers focussing on the major facets of life within the town of ancient Mathurā from earliest times up to and including the third century A.D., the formative period of Indian culture and urban growth. During this period, and especially during the Kusāna age (c. 1st through 3rd century A.D.), Mathurā was not only a major urban settlement, but it was also an epicenter of culture and trade in the Gangetic region. Here normative societal values were maintained, while innovations in artistic style and iconography, in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religious thought, in language and script, in theater, were patronized. In this way, Mathurā laid the foundation for numerous cultural achievements which peaked in the subsequent Gupta age. As the first interdisciplinary attempt to focus exclusively on ancient Mathurā, this volume represents a means towards better understanding of urban processes and cultural developments in North India during the formative phase.

Thirty-six papers pertain to the following eight disciplines: Historical Background, Society and Economy, Religious Sects, Numismatics, Archaeology, Language and Literature, Epigraphy, and Art and Iconography. The contributors from India, Europe and North America, use a variety of approaches. Some present broad state-of-the-knowledge discussions; others consider specific issues or problems. In all, however, Mathurā is the star. Seldom does the tempo slacken in tracking down some aspect of existence in ancient Mathurā and coaxing it to come alive. As a result, the theme that emerges is one of brahmanical Mathurā becoming cosmopolitan Mathurā under waves of influence originating outside of Mathurā.

This volume is based on the proceedings of an eight day seminar on the cultural history of ancient Mathura held in New Delhi in 1980 and sponsored by the American Institute of Indian Studies.

manohar Rs.

MATHURĀ: The Cultural Heritage

Editorial Board

Norvin Hein
N. P. Joshi
B. N. Mukherjee

A. K. Narain
D. C. Sircar
Romila Thapar

MATHURĀ

The Cultural Heritage

General Editor
DORIS METH SRINIVASAN

MANOHAR
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES
NEW DELHI
1989

306.60954
SRI

306.60954
Sr 34 m

ISBN 81–85054–37–1

© American Institute of Indian Studies 1989
First published 1989

Published by Ramesh Jain, Manohar Publications,
1 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002 for
American Institute of Indian Studies,
D-31, Defence Colony, New Delhi 110024.
Photoset by South End Typographics, 37 Anna Nagar, Pondicherry 605005,
and printed at P.L. Printers, C3/19 Rana Partap Bagh, Delhi 110007

Contents

List of Abbreviations vii
Chief Participants in the Seminar viii
List of Stylistic Conventions ix
DORIS METH SRINIVASAN: Introduction xi

PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. ROSHAN DALAL: The Historical Geography of the Mathurā Region 3
2. ROMILA THAPAR: The Early History of Mathurā: Up to and Including the Mauryan Period 12
3. B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Mathurā from Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa Period: An Historical Outline 19

PART II: SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

4. R. S. SHARMA: Trends in the Economic History of Mathurā (*c.* 300 B.C.–A.D. 300) 31
5. RICHARD SALOMON: Daily Life in Ancient Mathurā 39
6. SHIVA G. BAJPAI: Mathurā: Trade Routes, Commerce, and Communication Patterns, Post-Mauryan Period to End of the Kuṣāṇa Period 46
7. B. N. MUKHERJEE: Growth of Mathurā and Its Society (Up to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Age) 59
8. J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW: Foreign Elements in Indian Culture Introduced during the Scythian Period with Special Reference to Mathurā 72

PART III: RELIGIOUS SECTS

9. JOHN C. HUNTINGTON: Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna 85
10. ALF HILTEBEITEL: Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā 93
11. KENDALL W. FOLKERT: Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation 103

PART IV: NUMISMATICS

12. A. K. NARAIN: Ancient Mathurā and the Numismatic Material 115
13. A. K. SRIVASTAVA: Treasure Trove Finds from Mathurā 119
14. PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA: Early Coins of Mathurā Region 124
15. SUNIL C. RAY: Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins from Excavations at Mathurā 140
16. JAI PRAKASH SINGH: Study of Local Coin Types of Mathurā with Particular Reference to Religious Motifs 146

17. D. W. MacDowall: The Pattern of the Kuṣāṇa Copper Coinage and the Role of Mathurā 153

PART V: ARCHAEOLOGY

18. M. C. Joshi: Mathurā as an Ancient Settlement 165
19. Jim G. Shaffer: Mathurā: A Protohistoric Perspective 171
20. Herbert Härtel: Pottery of Mathurā 181
21. Gérard Fussman: The Māṭ *devakula*: A New Approach to Its Understanding 193
22. C. Margabandhu: Etched Beads from Mathurā Excavations—A Note 200

PART VI: LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

23. Umakant P. Shah and Ernest Bender: Mathurā and Jainism 209
24. Padmanabh S. Jaini: Political and Cultural Data in References to Mathurā in the Buddhist Literature 214
25. Norvin Hein: Kālayavana, A Key to Mathurā's Cultural Self-Perception 223
26. Alex Wayman: The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times 236
27. M. A. Mehendale: Language of Mathurā Inscriptions 247

PART VII: EPIGRAPHY

28. D. C. Sircar: Observations on the Study of Some Epigraphic Records from Mathurā 257
29. T. P. Verma: Progress of Modification of the Alphabet as Revealed by Coins, Seals and Inscriptions from Mathurā 261
30. Th. Damsteegt: The Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions and the Supercession of Prākrit by Sanskrit in North India in General and at Mathurā in Particular 298
31. R. C. Sharma: New Inscriptions from Mathurā 308
32. Ajay Mitra Shastri: Modification of Early Brāmī into Middle Brāmī and Late Brāmī Stages at Mathurā 316

PART VIII: ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

33. Joanna G. Williams: The Case of the Omitted Hundreds: Stylistic Development in Mathurā Sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa Period 325
34. N. P. Joshi: Early Jaina Icons from Mathurā 332
35. Gritli v. Mitterwallner: Yakṣas of Ancient Mathurā 368
36. Doris Meth Srinivasan: Vaiṣṇava Art and Iconography at Mathurā 383
Index 393

List of Abbreviations

ABORI or BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Annals
AI	Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India
ASI	Archaelogical Survey of India
ASIAR or ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report
A.S.W.I.	Archaeological Survey of Western India
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
CHI	Cambridge Historv of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
EI	Epigraphia Indica
G.E. or G	Gupta era
GMM or MM	Government Museum, Mathurā
GST	Guhyasamāja-tantra
IAR	Indian Archaeology—A Review
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society
K.E.	Kaniṣka era
Mbh	Mahābhārata
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
NBPW orNBP	Northern Black Polished Ware
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
P.T.S.	Pali Text Society
PGW	Painted Grey Ware
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SML	State Museum, Lucknow
STTG	Sarvatathāgata-tattvasamgraha

Note: This list does not include the abbreviations adopted by some individual authors in their papers.

Chief Participants in the Seminar

1. K. D. Bajpai
2. Shiva G. Bajpai
3. Ernest Bender
4. B. D. Chattopadhyaya
5. Roshan Dalal
6. Th. Damsteegt
7. S. B. Deo
8. M. K. Dhavalikar
9. Hal W. French
10. Richard N. Frye
11. Gérard Fussman
12. Robert P. Goldman
13. P. L. Gupta
14. Herbert Härtel
15. Norvin Hein
16. Alf Hiltebeitel
17. John C. Huntington
18. Padmanabh S. Jaini
19. K. L. Janert
20. A. P. Jamkhedkar
21. M. C. Joshi
22. N. P. Joshi
23. S.C. Kala
24. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw
25. D. W. MacDowall*
26. C. Margabandhu
27. M. A. Mehendale*
28. Gritli v. Mitterwallner
29. B. N. Mukherjee
30. A. K. Narain
31. Usha Nilsson
32. Sunil C. Ray
33. Richard Salomon*
34. Umakant P. Shah
35. R. C. Sharma
36. R. S. Sharma
37. Jai Prakash Singh
38. D. C. Sircar
39. Doris Meth Srinivasan
40. A. K. Srivastava
41. Ludwig Sternbach
42. Romila Thapar
43. T. P. Verma
44. Alex Wayman
45. Joanna G. Williams

* paper only

List of Stylistic Conventions

SVARA

आ	Ā	ā	
ई	Ī	ī	
ऊ	Ū	ū	
ऋ	Ṛ	ṛ	and not Ri, ri
ॡ	Ḹ	ḹ	
ए	*Ē	ē	and not e *(For 'long' Sanskrit and for quotations in Dravidian languages where Sanskrit words figure in.)
ओ	*Ō	ō	and not o
अं	Ṁ	ṁ	
अः	Ḥ	ḥ	
(ं) ANUSVARA	Ṁ	ṁ	and not Ṃ, ṃ
(ः) VISARGA	Ḥ	ḥ	

VYAÑJANA

ङ	Ṅ	ṅ	
च्	C	c	and not Ch, ch
छ्	Ch	ch	and not Chh, chh
ञ्	Ñ	ñ	
ट्	Ṭ	ṭ	
ठ्	Ṭh	ṭh	
ड	Ḍ	ḍ	
ढ्	Ḍh	ḍh	
ण्	Ṇ	ṇ	
श्	Ś	ś	
ष्	Ṣ	ṣ	and not Sh, sh
क्ष्	Kṣ	kṣ	
त्र्	Tr	tr	
ज्ञ	Jña	jña	
ळ्	Ḷ	ḷ	

TAMIL DIACRITICALS

ழ	Ḻ	ḻ
ன	Ṉ	ṉ
ற	Ṟ	ṟ

Introduction

DORIS METH SRINIVASAN

This volume is the result of an eight day seminar entitled 'The Cultural History of Ancient Mathurā,' sponsored by the American Institute of Indian Studies. The seminar, held in Delhi, January 7–15, 1980, focused on major facets of life within the town from earliest time up to and including the third century, A.D. These are the formative centuries of Indian civilization and broad-based knowledge of one epicenter of culture, such as Mathurā, is a means towards better understanding the evolution of North Indian urban life at this critical time. The seminar papers are a dialogue in this direction; gaps, some of which are pointed out in the papers, must, however, be filled before a fairly complete picture of ancient Mathurā's cultural history emerges.

The papers in this volume follow the seminar's format and sequence: each day was devoted to papers of one discipline, beginning with the panel on Historical Background, and ending with the panel on Art and Iconography. The thirty-six papers in eight different disciplines, represent a variety of approaches. Some papers represent broad state-of-the-knowledge discussions while others focus on specific issues or problems. In all, however, Mathurā is the star. Seldom does the tempo slacken in tracking down some aspect of existence in ancient Mathurā and coaxing it to come alive.

The papers on *Historical Background* establish the basic parameters. The important role of the river in the settlement pattern of the town and Mathurā's nodal position in a communication network, a dominant theme throughout, are first introduced here (Dalal). The town's history, taking a long view of the seminar's time-frame, is one of oscillation between assertions of local rulership and incorporations under outside imperial dominion (Thapar and Chattopadhyaya). These fluctuations may not always submerge the local identities which persisted during the Mauryan age (Thapar), during the nebulous Śuṅga presence and during the time when a Yavana base overlapped with the reemergence of local rule (Chattopadhyaya).

Papers on *Society and Economy* chart the dynamics. Whereas Mathurā shares in the high urban and technological advances of northern and western India, what accounts for the city's commercial prominence during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa phase was its compensation for lack of natural resources and agrarian abundance by producing luxury and essential goods and by exploiting its special transit position in trade (R. S. Sharma). As the Kuṣāṇa empire exploited Mathurā's nodal position on trans-regional and trans-continental trade routes, a noteworthy transformation occurred: the town changed from a recipient to a dispenser of technologies, crafts, merchandise, art and ideologies (Bajpai). During Mathurā's growth as a major trade center, heterogenous groups from the outside became established as the ruling class; though they contributed to the language, religion and art, they did not apparently violate the local cultural norms but rather extended them (Mukherjee). The Scythians are a case in point; far more than middle men in the transmission of culture, they introduced elements reflecting their tastes, ideologies, language, coinage, administration and calenderical systemizations. Yet in Mathurā, as elsewhere in

India, they made lasting impact where a context already existed and did not turn older conventions upside down even during their phase of domination (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw). The daily life of Mathurā witnessed a blend of pursuits towards worldly pleasure, material gain and spirituality which may have been typical for the region but gave Mathurā an air of worldliness (Salomon).

The papers on *Religious Sects and Cults* play with paradoxes. The absence of epic Kṛṣṇa from Mathurā tells a tale: the absence symbolizes the erosion of *dharma* in Madhyadeśa, at the heart of which is Mathurā (Hiltebeitel). Several 2nd century A.D. icons and epigraphs from Mathurā attest to key concepts in Sukhāvatī, esoteric Buddhism and core ideas in Mahāyāna whose early textual stages are lacking (Huntington). The nature of the Jain presence at Mathurā is still an open question, as assessments that remain prevalent reveal more about 19th-century Jain studies than about Jainism at Mathurā (Folkert).

A reminder of the necessarily provisional nature of conclusions on Mathurā's *Numismatics*, pending large scale horizontal digs and a corpus of Mathurā coinage, is stated at the outset (Narain). Analyses of coins found in the stratified contexts of the Sonkh excavation and the Archaeological Survey of India's Mathurā excavations of 1954–5 and 1973–6 show the potentially critical role that coins will play in establishing chronological sequences, cultural innovations and interrelations when the complete excavation reports are published (Ray). The first survey of Mathurā coins opens a debate on whether or not there was a 'Mathurā symbol,' or coinage specifically associated with the city (Gupta). Regarding religious typologies on coins, it can be shown that local rulers adopted this idea from the Indo-Greeks but did not adopt Indo-Greek divinities on their coinage. Indeed the very limited range of religious typologies shows a general lack of involvement in experimentation in this area (Singh). On the basis of weight and distribution patterns of Kuṣāṇa coppers, the view that the Kuṣāṇas held on to Mathurā far longer than the rest of their Gangetic and Eastern territories gains support, as does advocacy for a second Kuṣāṇa era in Mathurā (MacDowall). Treasure trove finds corroborate the wealth of Mathurā's inhabitants during the time of the Kuṣāṇas, and hint that the latter gradually lost political control there to the Sasanians (Srivastava).

Archaeology papers provide control data. Archaeological evidence in the northwestern Gaṅgā River Valley shows no gap between Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods and not much urgency for postulating an Indo-Aryan invasion. Thus the initial occupation at a site such as Mathurā seems to represent an indigenous cultural development and its subsequent cultural developments may be a restructuring of indigenous traits (Shaffer). The latest excavations at Mathurā itself reveal a pattern of continuous growth which culminates in complexity and prosperity between c. 2nd century B.C. to c. 3rd century A.D. (M. C. Joshi). At Sonkh, a continuous sequence of pottery in stratified contexts develops according to political phases in all cases except the 'Śuṅga' which is termed a cultural phase in the Mathurā area (Härtel). Indications of Mathurā's participation in trade, population shifts and general exchanges come from an analysis of the patterns and distribution of etched beads from Mathurā; these link Mathurā to specific sites in North, Central and East India as well as to land south of the Narmada (Margabandhu). The site of Surkh Kotal in the North (i.e., Afghanistan) has permitted a revealing comparison between its temple excavations and the Māṭ *devakula* (outside Mathurā). Comparison establishes that the Māṭ *devakula* is a shrine housing the deities to which Kuṣāṇa royalty paid reverence (Fussman).

Refractions of Mathurā's personality are disclosed in the *Language and Literature* papers. A tale in the Harivaṁśa preserves memories of a pressure upon Mathurā from the west, of enemies of her reviving Brahmanical order. The author of the story of Kālayavana saw Mathurā as a beleaguered bastion of Brahmanism in war, in ritual and in social practice (Hein). The Jain tradition, including medieval literature, knows Mathurā as a pilgrimage center dotted with Jain monuments supported by a prosperous Jain merchant community (Shah and Bender). Buddhist literature intimates the strains involved in accommodating a thriving unorthodox community within a conservative city (Jaini). A description of Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit used in Mathurā inscriptions clarifies the nature of the language's mixture. It is mixed because the phonology tends to be Sanskritic and the morphology tends to be Prakritic; plus there are some additional 'mixed' linguistic peculiarities (Mehendale). Literature of the Buddhists, Jains and Hindus suggest that the symbolism of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, appearing earliest at Mathurā, is a confluence of numerical symbolism of eight and different sets of auspicious symbols of various numbers (Wayman).

Epigraphy papers open with a state-of-the-art demonstration (Sircar) before exploring details on the script and languages used in Mathurā's inscriptions. Writing activities started comparatively late at Mathurā with stone inscriptions commencing under the local

kings; however, during the Śaka-Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, writing activities became much more intensified (Verma). All stages in the development of the Brāhmī script are evidenced on the Mathurā inscriptions; these indicate that the significant modifications came either during or because of foreign influences (A. M. Shastri). New elements are in circulation during the Kṣatrapa age: Sanskritization begins, and the vocabulary shows links to dialects of the Northwest, whereas no links with the language of any other regions are noticeable prior to that time (Damsteegt). Newly-found inscriptions from Mathurā record terms of paleographic significance: *gāṁjavara*—a foreign loan word; terms of artistic and religious significance: *devakula . . . maheśvaram*; *stambho śiriyé pratimā*; *amitābhasya pratimā*, and a name of social significance, *kāyastha* (R. C. Sharma).

Tabulation of output in the papers on *Art and Iconography* places innovations of the Mathurā school into significant historical contexts. Two main positions on the chronology of Mathurā inscribed imagery—that of the proponents of the omitted hundreds theory and that of the opponents of this theory—are reviewed as the debate bears critically on the sequence of stylistic developments. It is found that further tabulations of stylistic motifs and paleographic forms are needed before one position can dominate (Williams). Collating data not only from the obverse but also the reverse of early Jain Mathurā icons, the first complete survey on this subject uncovers evidence of religious, artistic and possibly sociological significance (N. P. Joshi). An analysis of Mathurā yakṣa types selected on the basis of detached, nonattending large images versus undetached, attending, smaller ones concludes that the former occur to a great extent in pre-Kṣatrapa art and to a much lesser extent in post-Kuṣāṇa art, but are noticeably absent in the intervening periods; this distribution should be tied to the popularity of the Yakṣa cult in Mathurā (v. Mitterwallner). Regarding the productivity and inventiveness in Vaiṣṇava art, prior to the Kuṣāṇa period Mathurā was neither a center nor an innovator. Then a dramatic reversal occurs with three-quarters of Vaiṣṇava art depicting four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (Srinivasan).

Within this *embarras de richesse* does a theme emerge? I think it does even though lacunae remain that discourage any impulse to be prematurely definitive. In-depth studies are lacking for example, on several major religious and artistic phenomena, as are collations of cultural data gleaned from numismatics and epigraphy; and a large scale horizontal excavation within Mathurā is a wish suspended from many a *kalpavṛkṣa*, to say nothing of the longing for an absolute date for the beginning of the Kaniṣka era. With this in mind, the theme I see emerging is one of brahmanical Mathurā becoming cosmopolitan Mathurā under waves of influence originating outside of Mathurā. By brahmanical, I mean that the following traits are prominent: a Sanskritic language preference, a *varṇa*-based society, and prestige elements related more closely to Vedic values than to any other values.

The idea that Brahmanism is the increasingly dominant cultural force in ancient Mathurā is a working hypothesis in the papers of Hein and Hiltebeitel; these two discussions consider the city as a symbolic bastion of mores congruent with brahmanical *dharma*. The idea of a predominant brahmanical substratum at Mathurā may jar those equating the personality of Mathurā with the 'Jain stupa' at Mathurā and with the pacing of Buddha images and Buddhist imagery at Mathurā. Those conceptions receive poor support from the multidisciplinary studies which the seminar produced. A number of the papers and discussions allow another view to surface. Mathurā's initial lineage-based society, becoming the more developed clan-based *janapada* included in Manu's *Brahmarṣideśa* appears to have been rooted in the traditional *varṇa* structure (see Thapar; cf. Mukherjee). To weigh the information concerning the daily life at Mathurā (Salomon), is an inherently difficult task, as Wayman noted at the seminar, but the picture provided is no more than an illustration of the four pursuits of man sanctioned by Brahmanism, namely *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma* and *mokṣa*. The prestige of the Sanskrit language in an urban settlement not only in Āryāvarta but also in Brahmarṣideśa needs little elaboration here. But the process of Sanskritization begun under the Kṣatrapas is another matter; it supports the dominant position of Sanskrit and the Sanskritic cultural milieu in Mathurā (cf. Damsteegt and Fussman's seminar observations); this dominance can explain the adoption of hybrid Sanskrit on inscriptions predominantly Buddhist and Jain during a period of foreign rule at Mathurā. The fact that inscriptions begin late and obtain momentum only under Kṣatrapa rule, may well speak of the abiding esteem for oral transmission in the Vedic tradition. The long shadow cast by the esteemed, sacred, Vedic oral tradition probably accounts for the greater number of Buddhist and Jain inscriptions in Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit than either Hindu or Brahmanic inscriptions. So too, stress on oral preservation of texts perpetuated by the Vedic tradition may be why greater scriptural advances were made under foreign rule (Damsteegt). This may even explain why Mathurā provided the

right climate wherein theatre and actors could flourish. Aniconic thinking fostered by Vedism also cast a long shadow. Witness how Mathurā's local indigenous rulers adopt from the Indo-Greeks the idea of placing religious typologies on coins without adopting the represention of foreign gods (Singh) or of the emerging *bhakti* gods; these last may at best be restricted to one representation of Saṁkarṣaṇa on a Mathurā punch-marked coin (Gupta). The frequent appearance of Śrī Lakṣmī on the coins of local rulers (Singh) adds weight to the argument that she is less the goddess of a particular *bhakti* cult and more a pan-Indic sign or mark for beauty, prosperity, auspiciousness (cf. Wayman) and royal glory (cf. Narain). The inhibiting factor of Vedic aniconic thinking may have contributed also to Mathurā's failure to begin earnest production and experimentation on icons of the local deity, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, until the foreign Kuṣāṇas held sway there (Srinivasan). The direction of accommodating gestures, towards the Brahmanical substratum, should also be noted. For example, both the Kṣatrapa court and the Kuṣāṇas made overtures to accommodate the Brahmans of Mathurā. However, being a stronghold of Brahmanic culture did not contribute to Mathurā's early distinctiveness. As an exchange between Mukherjee and Fussman at the seminar pointed out, apart from art and religion there is nothing exceptional about Mathurā as a town in the Doab until the coming of the Scythians. Distinctiveness belongs to cosmopolitan Mathurā (dating from the beginning of the first century A.D. to about the third century A.D.; cf. M. C. Joshi). Local innovations, fanned by outside events, gradually resulted in a Kuṣāṇa city having: a multiracial population wealthy enough to afford finery in dress, ornamentation, housing, as well as variety in entertainment and other luxury goods (see R. S. Sharma, Mukherjee, Salomon, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw); trade and communication within a very wide internal and international network (Bajpai); a vigorous patronage of art which fostered a Mathurā school; a climate of tolerance sustaining a broad spectrum of religious beliefs and institutions. Just why this happened at Mathurā cannot yet be fully answered, but perhaps a scenario may be ventured which in the sun-bathed January tea-break discussion with P. Jaini seemed natural: possibly the seeds for cosmopolitanism were planted during the elusive Śuṅga phase at Mathurā. The Śuṅgas, reputedly determined to give resurgence to Brahmanism, did so particularly to the east of Mathurā, in regions known as the heartland of Buddhism and Jainism. Under the hostile rule, is it not possible that Buddhists and Jains would have fled (with their money) and resettled at Mathurā, a nodal trading center which by all current indications, did not experience direct Śuṅga rule? With this shift of peoples, Mathurā quite possibly was given the impetus towards an expanding economy, an ideological openness and a heterogenous population which sufficiently attracted the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas to work changes whereby Mathurā became a dynamic city of art and culture. It is for future collaborations to place Mathurā, and the ideas presented in this volume, within a definitive schema marking the second urbanization of Northern India.

This volume is the result of the sustained interest and support of the American Institute of Indian Studies which permitted the realization of the seminar, the pre-seminar planning session in 1979, and the publication of this book. In the course of a lengthy project such as this, going through numerous different stages involving at all points the efforts and assistance of Institute officials and colleagues in India, Europe and the United States, the debt of gratitude is large, but the pleasure of thanking is even larger.

I would like, first, to express my thanks to Edward C. Dimock and Frederick M. Asher who endorsed the idea of the seminar from the outset and encouraged the project throughout with particular enthusiasm. I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Rick for his personal involvement in so many aspects of the project, and for his help and advice, so generously given on all occasions. Each stage of the project came to fruition in India and depended upon the assistance of Pradeep Mehendiratta, to whom I am grateful. I should also like to acknowledge the support the project received from the Smithsonian Institution Office of Fellowships and Grants and to thank especially Francine Berkowitz for considerable effort devoted to making this seminar possible.

The Planning Session, held at the AIIS Center for Art and Archaeology at Varanasi, received the help of Shri V. R. Nambiar, Shri M. A. Dhaky and Shri Krishna Deva. Shri Dhaky also drafted the system of transliteration and stylistic conventions used in this volume. To them and the chairpersons who worked to structure the seminar, go my sincere appreciation.

The actual seminar, of which N. P. Joshi was the co-organizer, was launched with the blessings of C. Sivaramamurti and introduced by Edward C. Dimock. Seminar sessions were convened for six days at the New Delhi India International Center and for two days in Mathurā. I am grateful to the AIIS New Delhi staff for their assistance in arrangements, typing, recording and transcribing the proceedings. I acknowledge with thanks the welcome which the Director of

the Mathura Museum, Shri R .C. Sharma and his staff extended during the sessions there. A trip to the site at Sonkh was made possible by Herbert Härtel.

The completion of this volume is a concerted effort. I am indebted to the editorial board for their generous and indefatigable attention to the many editorial matters. I wish to thank all my Mathurā-minded colleagues whose interest in the subject resulted in contributions to the seminar, to the volume or to both. Some papers delivered at the seminar cast a net wider than the seminar's theme and some could not comply with the set deadline; these papers could not be included in the volume. Some papers were solicited after the seminar in order to fill certain gaps. It remains for me to express acknowledgement for the helpful editorial advice received from Ernest Bender, Norvin Hein, Gregory Possehl, Frances P. Smyth and B. K. Thapar. Norvin and Barbara Miller Lane also read the last-but-final draft of this Introduction. I am appreciative to Betty Jinks and Samantha Johnston for their typing assistance in the preparation of the manuscript, partially funded by the AIIS Publication Committee.

Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
National Gallery of Art
May 2, 1983.

PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. The Historical Geography of the Mathurā Region

ROSHAN DALAL

An attempt will be made here to examine the role of the topography and environment of the Mathurā region, in the location and growth of settlements in relation to other factors. There are several factors which make Mathurā topographically unique but these may not have been operative in the expansion of settlement in this area. Other necessary factors are the historical background to, and the relationship between, and interaction with, sites both within and outside the region of Mathurā.

THE TOPOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT

Mathurā district is located between Lat. 27° 14′ and 27° 58′N and Long. 77° 17′ and 78° 12′E and covers an area of approximately 3,800 square kilometres.[1] The Yamunā flows through the centre of the district. To the north, its banks are sandy and low with large areas subject to fluvial action. South of Mahaban the river is more closely confined within its bluffs.[2] The Yamunā has frequently changed course in this region and old courses can be traced both to the east and to the west of the river.[3] The location and identification of sites therefore, are dependent on a study of the change of course at a particular period. East of the Yamunā, the Trans-Yamunā tract comprising the Tahsils of Māṭ and Sadabad, is a part of the Gaṅgā–Yamunā Doab, and in conformity with the Doab slope, the land drops gently from the north to the south and south-east. Two intermittent streams, the Pathwara and the Jhirna, flow through this area.[4] West of the Yamunā, the Cis-Yamunā tract includes the Tahsils of Chhata and Mathurā and lies at a higher level than the eastern tract. The line of highest elevation is parallel to the Yamunā, at some distance from the Yamunā and the Bharatpur border. To the west of this tract are outlying ranges and detached hills of the Aravalli system.[5] The Yamunā is at present the only river in this tract, but two old lines of drainage can be traced to the west of the district.[6]

Climate. The rainfall increases from the south-west to the north-east and ranges from 544.3 mm. at Mathurā to 672.3 mm. at Chhota-Kosi though it varies considerably from year to year. Temperatures are similar to those of neighbouring districts.[7]

Soil. Piliya, a light yellow loam, is the prevailing soil of the district. This is generally fertile but in inferior varieties differs little from *bhur* or sand. In certain parts of Māṭ, Sadabad and North Chhata Tahsils, *dumat* or rich loam occurs. In the proximity of the hills there is a tract of lighter soil and to the east of the Yamunā sands stretch far inland. Clay is found only in the terai and lowlands.[8] Between the Yàmunā and its banks a strip of alluvial land changes annually in shape and character.[9]

Water. The old Gazetteer states that the chief natural peculiarity of the district was its want of rivers. Because of this, arable land was classified first according to opportunities for irrigation and second according to accessibility.[10] Lines of drainage pass through the centre of the eastern tract, while the higher water level[11] provides for a greater number of wells than in the west. The slightly richer soil and greater irrigation facilites, partly account for the relative agricultural richness of this tract today[12] in comparison with that of the west.

Vegetation in the district is of a dry deciduous type and the original scanty tree species include *Faras, Pilu, Cheonkar, Reonj, Babul, Kharjal, Kadam, Karil, Hins* and *Bansi*. Other trees and shrubs do not differ from those in the Gangetic Doab, though hilly outcrops at Barsana and elsewhere produce some *Dhau, Kadam, Pasendu* and *Pilukhan*.[13] Most of the trees form good natural pastures, and pastoralism would therefore be expected. Pasture lands are more common in the western tahsils.[14] Many of the trees found to the right bank of the Yamunā evidently did not grow to the left,[15] and the eastern tract probably had thicker vegetation.[16] The western or Cis-Yamunā tract would also therefore be easier to clear in the initial period of settlement.

Though there is little mineral wealth in this district, sandstone is procurable from the hills in the Cis-Yamunā tract.[17]

The major point that emerges from this brief review of the physiography and environment of Mathurā district is that the Yamunā divides it into two sections with dissimilar characteristics. The Trans-Yamunā tract has a greater potential for agriculture and is more fertile. The Cis-Yamunā tract would be easier to clear for initial settlement, with a greater potential for pastoralism. Agriculture and pastoralism could however exist in both tracts. Stone resources exist in the Cis-Yamunā tract and in the adjoining districts of Bharatpur and Agra,[18] where iron ore of an inferior grade is also found.[19]

Historically, sites are commonly located at the junction of different habitats, the integration of whose resources results in a viable economy.[20] Successful sites should be able to exploit a number of resources so that if one enterprise failed, the other would compensate.[21] Sites along the river Yamunā in District Mathurā would be located at such a junction, the navigability of the river increasing their importance.

There are additional reasons for the prominence of the region as a whole. Geologically Mathurā is a part of the Indo-Gangetic alluvium and is a perennial nuclear region of settlement.[22] The Cis-Yamunā tract of the Mathurā region has easy access to what has been called the Gateway to the Doab, formed by the Himalayan ranges to the north-west and the Thar desert and outliers of the Aravalli system to the south-west. South-east of Mathurā are approaches to the great Malwa passageway.[23] It is also located on a curve of the river Yamunā and is a central point of entry into the Doab. Because of its position numerous routes are liable to pass through the Mathurā region. Routes from the north-west often cross Mathurā in order to proceed both eastwards and southwards; others from the Doab to the north-west and south-west, and with the Doab and districts further east. Mathurā was thus ideally located to be a nodal point of communication. These factors influenced settlement in this area and provided Mathurā with a position of control both economically and politically.

THE SETTLEMENTS

PGW (Painted Grey Ware) is found at the sites of Ambarikha,[24] Sanketban,[25] Sakhitara,[26] Sonkh,[27] Aring,[28] Chhata,[29] Ambarish Ṭīlā, Kaṭrā, Bhūteswar, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and some other sites in the present Mathurā city.[30] All these are located in the Cis-Yamunā tract. Migration to this area was probably from the north-west or west. Finding a tract that was easy to clear with good pasture grounds, the PGW people need not have found it necessary to cross the river Yamunā. Within this area most PGW sites were located adjacent to river courses.[31] In addition Sanketban, Sakhitara and Aring were located near hilly areas in proximity to some of the best pasture grounds.[32] Though the climate must have been wetter than it is today, it was probably even then relatively drier than the eastern tract, and the generalizations made on the basis of present (or more recent) topography and environment would still be valid.

Copper celts and harpoons of copper hoard type were found at the mound of Caubārā and other sites in Mathurā, not far from the river Yamunā.[33] This location of copper hoard sites along major rivers is common in the Doab.

More evidence for the exploitation of the environment comes from the excavated site of Sonkh.[34] Evidence of post holes and reed impressions in mud plaster suggest the use of local wood and grasses. The wood used may have been *Nim*,[35] *Dhak* or *Babul*.[36] Reed impressions were possibly of Munj grasses which grow well on alluvial banks of streams.[37] Stone[38] was probably from neighbouring sites in Mathurā district or from Agra or Bharatpur. Terracottas[39] could be made from local clay found in *khadar* or lowlying areas. Iron slag was also found at Sonkh,[40] and probably local ores available in Bharatpur and Agra were used,[41] as trade was not a major factor in the economy of this period. A glass disc found at Mathurā,[42] could have been made from glass sands available in Rajasthan or may have been a stray find.

The position of the Cis-Yamunā tract, regarding routes from the north-west and west, and its relatively drier climate with sparser vegetation, were among factors responsible for its occupation. The actual choice of site location was based mainly on proximity to

water resources and grazing grounds, which accords with the pastoral-agrarian economy of the PGW period. Resources utilised were those which were available within the district or not very far from it.

The NBPW (Northern Black Polished Ware) and Mauryan Period

The sites of Kaṭrā, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,[43] Aring, Sanketban,[44] Sonkh[45] and some sites within the present city,[46] continue from the preceding period, while those of Chhata and Sakhitara were abandoned possibly because of settlement in new areas or a qualitative increase in the size of settlements. There are indications that both these changes took place. An increase in size can be seen at the site of Kaṭrā.[47] North of the site of Kaṭrā, the Chamunda mound was occupied.[48] Literary sources mention some additional sites. The towns of Methora and Carisobora between which flowed the river Jomanes, are referred to by Megasthenes.[49] The town of Mathurā, also referred to in other literary sources, can probably be identified with the site Kaṭrā. That of Carisobora has been variously identified,[50] but the most likely identification is with the site of Mahaban to the east of the river Yamunā.[51] If the identifications are correct and if these were towns on both sides of the river Yamunā, they probably controlled trade along the river and also perhaps marked a crossing point on a route. In spite of changes in the economy, several sites continued from the preceding period.

Remains at excavated sites and references in literary sources indicate an increased exploitation of the environment as well as trade with other areas. Locally available mud and clay were used for the construction of houses with mud walls, mud plaster, baked bricks and ring wells, at the sites of Kaṭrā[52] and Sonkh,[53] and for terracotta objects and pottery. At the site of Kaṭrā, bamboo and reed were also used for construction,[54] while at Sonkh, a wooden roof covered with reed was excavated.[55] Some bamboo is grown in the Mathurā district today,[56] and certain inferior varieties probably existed earlier. Wood and reed used were possibly the same as in the preceding period. Bone for implements[57] and ivory for various objects,[58] were either obtained from domestic animals, or from animals in the still existing forests between sites.

Chaff found mixed in mud plaster[59] could be of a grain such as wheat, but this is not definite. Mathurā is famous for the production of cotton cloth.[60] Cotton today is the most important cash crop in the Mathurā region, grown in the kharif season in the tahsils of Mathurā and Chhata.[61] As NBPW sites are mostly in the Cis-Yamunā tract, it was probably grown in this region. These references to agriculture indicate the clearing of larger tracts of land. Old grazing grounds must also have been utilised.

Finds of silver,[62] copper,[63] iron, topaz, amethyst,[64] crystal,[65] carnelian,[66] glass[67] and shell[68] objects, indicate trade with other areas. The *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to silver mines in Agra,[69] but there is no evidence of their existence in this period. Silver may have been extracted from silver bearing lead ores such as argentiferous galena,[70] which are available in Bihar and Orissa, and at the mines of Zewar, fifteen miles south of Udaipur in the Aravalli ranges of Rajasthan. The latter shows evidence of ancient workings[71] and are the most likely sources of silver for the Mathurā region. There are several copper mines with evidence of old workings in Rajasthan. These occur in Districts Bharatpur, Alwar, Jaipur, Jhunjhunu, Sikar and Udaipur. Important among these is the Khetri copper belt twenty kilometres long located in Jhunjhunu district, and the Dariba copper mines of Udaipur at which a C-14 date of organic samples places the mining activity at *c.* 360 B.C.[72] The closest to the Mathurā region would be however, sources in the Districts of Alwar and Bharatpur. Iron was perhaps obtained from the same sources as discussed earlier. The nearest sources of carnelian are those available in the beds of the Banas and other rivers in Rajasthan.[73] Rock crystal is found in most parts of India. Clear crystal of various types can be found at Daosa in Jaipur and at Nawai and Hathona in District Tonk.[74] Deposits of white friable quartzite for glass manufacture occur in Allahabad, Banda and Varanasi districts.[75] Good glass sand is also found in Rajasthan, in Sawai Madhopur, Bindi, Jatwara and where the Agra–Ajmer road crosses the Aravallis.[76] An analysis of the objects found would be necessary to prove their area of origin, but from the nearest sources available it would seem that the Cis-Yamunā tract of the Mathurā region was supplied with mineral resources from the neighbouring districts in Rajasthan, and this was one of the reasons for its importance as the economy developed.

Shell seems to have been one item obtained from a greater distance. Molluscs whose shells are used for jewellery and other objects, are generally found on sea coasts or in estuaries.[77] Shell may have been obtained from the Gaṅgā delta or from ports of Sindh. It is impossible to say anything definite unless the type of shell used is determined.

Evidence from the Mathurā region indicates that there was not only trade but also production for trade, at least in the items of cotton[78] and copper.[79] The

position of Mathurā, with its access to the mineral wealth of Rajasthan and its route potential, as well as the political and economic changes in the Pre-Mauryan periods were responsible for this. At the same time local resources available within the district were increasingly utilised.

The Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods

To determine the location of settlements in this period, archaeology, literary sources and findspots of inscriptions, sculptures and coins have been used. Finds of inscriptions themselves, or of sculptures etc., cannot prove occupation, but a combination of factors such as the presence of mounds in association with numerous stone sculptures and architectural pieces, or other extant remains, and the location of sites in a broader settlement pattern,[80] suggest that many of the findspots referred to above, were sites of this period.[81]

Excavations show that the Dhulkot fortifications within which were located the Kaṭrā and other mounds, enclosed an area of three square kilometres adjacent to the river Yamunā.[82] This was the main city of Mathurā. Within and in close proximity to this area, are more than ninety sites where sculptures and inscriptions have been found. Some of these are from mounds just outside the old fortifications; others are from localities within the old and new city areas. Evidently these were extensions of the city of Mathurā beyond its walls.[83] Both the city and its extensions are located on sloping land, between the 175m. contour and the present right bank of the river. Several important mounds follow the line of this contour. The river could have been used for navigation and irrigation.[84] Agriculture was probably productive in the narrow *khadar* adjacent to the Yamunā and in irrigated areas. The location of the city and of sites across the river on the east bank[85] suggest that the Yamunā flowed in approximately the same course as it does today.[86]

West of the city, sites are most numerous in Mathurā Tahsil, extending into the south of Tahsil Chhata. Śuṅga period sites are located mainly within five kilometres of the city of Mathurā. Others are randomly placed, possibly on routes.[87] Kuṣāṇa sites (at least forty) are all over Mathurā Tahsil and the south of Tahsil Chhata. Sites in other areas are comparatively few. Several of these are located on the river Yamunā or within a few kilometres of it.[88] It is difficult to explain the location of sites in this period on the basis of topography. The concentration around Mathurā was clearly because of the importance of the city. Some of the sites in this area are adjacent to meandering canal distributaries, such as are often the deepened old water courses. But, almost every modern village in this region is also touched by these meandering distributaries, and as this area was said to be devoid of rivers, only a hydrological survey would be able to tell if any of these were in fact old courses. The advanced technology of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods probably permitted several sites to be located away from natural water sources, though some were near the Yamunā and the two western depressions. Two essential factors for location in this period were the importance of Mathurā city and of trade and trade routes radiating towards the city.

Local resources in this period continued to be utilised. As in the preceding period, mud and clay were used in the construction of houses and for pottery and terracotta objects.[89] It is probable that wheat[90] and cotton[91] were grown, and mangoes were cultivated.[92] Wheat in the Indo-Gangetic plains is usually irrigated on alluvial loams.[93] Today it is one of the rabi crops of Mathurā, grown in all parts of the district, but before canal irrigation it was concentrated in the eastern tract.[94] Mangoes were probably grown in the Trans-Yamunā region.[95] With the extension of settlement to the Trans-Yamunā tract, both sections of the Mathurā district were now being exploited. Inscriptions found at the sites of Ral,[96] Chargāon,[97] Mahōlī[98] and the Jamālpur or Jail mound, refer to the excavation of tanks.[99] At Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā the remains of a tank have been found.[100] Though these were connected with religious edifices, they may also have been used for irrigation. It is significant that all these occur in the drier western tract. Grazing grounds continued to be used as indicated by finds of sheep and bull terracottas at Sonkh,[101] and sculptures associated with sheep and goats. These include a Yakṣa,[102] and male images with rams' horns in the headdress.[103] Bone implements[104] as in the preceding periods, must have been made from domestic or other animals in the immediate environment.

Finds of, or references to, gold,[105] silver,[106] iron,[107] copper,[108] bronze,[109] carnelian,[110] agate,[111] jasper,[112] crystal,[113] lapis lazuli,[114] stone,[115] and shell,[116] indicate increased trade in this period. The resources for most of these have been discussed earlier. Gold was probably brought from Afghanistan or Chinese Turkistan via the north-west land route.[117] Relatively close sources of agate are near Bayana and Buneerah (24° 26′N; 73° 44′E) in Rajasthan and in the Robertsgunj Tahsil of Mirzapur;[118] of jasper in Mirzapur between Agori and Titihidar (24° 33′N; 82° 58′E) in the Banas region of Rajasthan and in Madhya Pradesh.[119] Lapis lazuli is available only from Badakshan (Afghanistan).[120] Though some stone objects were found in preceding

periods, stone sculptures involving large blocks of stone were prolific only in this period. The majority of sculptures were of red sandstone, though buff, yellow and white sandstone were also used. Sandstone not only from the Mathurā district but also from the neighbouring districts of Agra and Bharatpur, must have been used. The rocks in District Agra vary from red to greyish white, and the Fatehpur Sikri range is well known for its quarries of red sandstone.[121] In the nineteenth century, sandstone from the Rupbas and other quarries in Bharatpur were utilised in Mathurā district, and included red and white stone.[122]

While most of these objects involve middle distance trade, gold, lapis lazuli and shell involve long distance trade. The silk transit trade also passed through Mathurā. In connection with this a route is mentioned in the Periplus, from Thinae (China) through Bactria to Barygaza.[123] This route passed through Kabul, Taxila, Sakala, Mathurā and Ozona. The same route was probably followed for the import of gold and lapis lazuli. The position of Mathurā was of essential importance in such a route. As in the preceding period, middle distance trade was mainly with Rajasthan.

There is evidence in this period for the production of items made of raw cotton,[124] gold,[125] iron[126] and stone.[127] Since production in copper was known in the preceding period, it probably continued. Of these at least cotton and stone objects were exported to other areas. While local resources continued to be utilised, trade and production expanded. Though the position of Mathurā was important for its expansion, also important was its prominence as an administrative and religious centre.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SETTLEMENTS

Linear distances between PGW sites in the Mathurā region suggest that both the spacing of, and relationship between settlements were random. This is confirmed by the spacing of sites in surrounding districts and conforms to the simple PGW economy.

In the NBPW period distances between sites in the Mathurā region suggest a relatively uniform spacing. In the region between Mathurā and Noh the average distance spacing between one site and its nearest neighbour is between ten to fifteen kilometres.[128] This suggests the natural emergence of sites on a relatively isotropic surface. Not much is known about these sites to determine their relationship, but the fortified city of Mathurā, located on the bank of the Yamunā was clearly the most important. Of the sites between which distances have been measured, only Noh and Sonkh have been excavated and on the basis of the excavations both seem to have been relatively important. It is also significant that Sonkh is equidistant between Mathurā and Noh, and the nearest neighbour of these three sites are also at equal distances from them. However, more excavations are necessary before any conclusion can be reached about these distances. It is interesting that similar distance patterns have been noticed in other NBPW areas, particularly in the Allahabad and Varanasi regions.[129]

In the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period the settlement pattern is more complex and is important not only regarding the relationships between settlements, but also to suggest the existence of certain sites in this period. Three aspects will be discussed here: (a) the relationship of the city with some important sites in its immediate neighbourhood; (b) the city in connection with sites in Mathurā and South Chhata Tahsils; (c) the city in connection with routes radiating from or towards it.

(a) From a number of sculptures found, the site of the city waterworks, and the mounds of Bhūteswar, Caubārā, Chaurasi, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and Jamālpur were probably religious settlements. The site of the waterworks and of Caubārā and Jamālpur, were primarily Buddhist; that of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was predominantly Jain.[130] From the sites of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and Mathurā Junction there are references to traders and artisans.[131] This information suggests that at least some of these settlements around the periphery of the city were monastic, and that they were either visited by traders and artisans from the city area, or were themselves connected with trade and production. In the latter case production may have been diffused at sites around the city.

(b) In the Tahsils of Mathurā and South Chhata, sites are located mainly in a series of three concentric semi-circles radiating from the city of Mathurā.[132] The first circle includes the sites of Koṭā, Bajna, Gaṇeśrā, Giridharpur, Pālīkherā, Mahōlī, Narahōlī and the Jail mound. All these places are four to five kilometres distant from each other. They form, in fact, an almost perfect semi-circle with sites regularly placed along its circumference. The second circle consists of the sites of Vrindavan, Chhatikra, Saknā, Mōrā, Naya Nagla, Jansuti, Usphar, Tarsi and possibly Azampur. This semi-circle is less perfect and distances between these and the site of Kaṭrā vary between seven and a half to ten and a half kilometres. Distances between the sites of the circle are unequal. The third semi-circle consists of the sites of Chaumuhan, Ral, Jakhangaon, Aring, Bhadar, Jhinga Nagla and Chargāon. Distances between Kaṭrā and these sites vary from thirteen to seventeen kilometers, and the distance spacing between sites of the circle is uneven.

In addition to the circular pattern, several of the above sites were located along radial routes converging towards the city of Mathurā. These routes cut across the three circles in straight lines. The routes that can be traced are:

(1) Chaumuhan (third circle)—Chhatikra (second circle)—Koṭā (first circle)—Kaṭrā.
(2) Aring (third circle)—Ashgarpur (between second and first circle)—Kaṭrā.
(3) Bhadar (third circle)—Unchagāon and Usphar (second circle)—Pālīkherā (first circle)—Kaṭrā.
(4) Jhinga Nagla (third circle)—Tarsi (second circle)—Naraholi (first circle)—Mathurā Junction (periphery of city)—Kaṭrā.

Radial routes sometimes affected the symmetry of the circles, as in the location of Ashgarpur and Unchagāon. The symmetry was also affected by intermediate sites connecting those forming part of a circle. The geometric pattern formed by circles and radial routes suggests that even those sites where there are few known remains, belong to this period.

While it is easy to explain the location of sites along radial routes, it is difficult to explain the semi-circles. The first circle is so geometric and the spacing of sites so even, that it suggests a planned location, i.e. that these sites were chosen and developed for a specific purpose at optimum distances from the city of Mathurā. The other alternative is that these and sites in the other circles, emerged naturally to support Mathurā, in order to minimise movement as far as possible from each site to the city. Mathurā was such a complex religious centre that as sects multiplied they may have been initially settled at sites around the city. There is evidence that most of the sites in the first circle were religious settlements originating in the Śuṅga period,[133] but further excavations at all sites in the circles, and a detailed analysis of sects at all sites, would be necessary to test this hypothesis. As Mathurā was an important centre of trade and production it is possible that these were dispersed centres of production for trade.

(c) In other areas of the district, routes also influenced the location of sites.

(1) The route from Chaumuhan extends north west through the site of Tumaula (Tahsil Chhata) into District Gurgaon.
(2) The route from Aring extends westwards via Govardhan[134] to District Bharatpur.
(3) From Bhadar a route extends southwest through Sonkh to District Bharatpur.
(4) From Jhinga Nagla a route extends southwest to the site of Noh.

To the east of the Yamunā a route proceeds from Mathurā to District Aligarh, and sites are located along this.[135] Sites adjacent to the river Yamunā were points on a navigable route. These routes linked Mathurā with the northwest, western India, the Deccan, the Doab and areas further east. The position of the Cis-Yamunā tract of the Mathurā region was thus fully exploited.

Trade and the city of Mathurā were the most important factors in the location of settlements in this period rather than the topography and environment of the region. This study of the settlement pattern would need to be verified by further excavation to prove the existence of sites of this period at which known remains are minimal.

Thus, local resources were utilised in all three periods; but in the PGW period the exploitation of the environment was limited to that in the immediate vicinity of the Mathurā region. In the NBPW period middle distance trade and some production occurred, while in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period, there was greater production and some long distance trade. Settlements were usually adjacent to river courses in the PGW and NBPW periods, but in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period several sites were not near any natural water source, indicating that with the development of technology, site location may be based on factors other than topography and environment. In both the NBPW and the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa periods the relationship between sites was as, or more, important than the topography in influencing the settlement pattern. However, the topographical and environmental base cannot be ignored at any level of development.

NOTES

1. E. B. Joshi, *U.P. District Gazetteers, Mathurā*, Vol. 12, Lucknow, 1968, p. 1.
2. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 6.
3. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 8. This will be discussed with reference to the locations of sites.
4. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 4.
5. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 5.
6. H. C. Conybeare, et al., *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N.W. Province of India*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, Allahabad, 1884, p. 10.
7. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, pp. 9–10.
8. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 113.
9. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 6.
10. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 14.

11. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 108.
12. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 14 gives as an additional reason, the industriousness of Jat settlers in this area. But natural facilities for irrigation also seem to be greater.
13. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 14. F. S. Growse, *Mathurā, A District Memoir*, (3rd edition, Govt. Press 1883). App. C., pp. 421 ff., has a more complete list of trees in this district but these include planted species.
14. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 38 and F. S. Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 72.
15. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 38. It is not clear which these were, but they were evidently the trees that require a wetter climate. F. S. Growse (*Mathurā*, p. 4) for instance states that 'Mango flourishes luxuriantly in East Mathurā but in the West will not grow except under the most careful treatment.'
16. This would certainly be true today as rainfall increases towards the east.
17. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 9.
18. K. K. Sehegal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteers*, Bharatpur, Jaipur, 1971, p. 3, and E. B. Joshi, *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Agra*, Lucknow, 1965, p. 8.
19. Sehegal, *Rajasthan*, pp. 13–14.
20. E. S. Higgs and C. Vita Finzi, 'Prehistoric Economies, A Territorial approach,' in E. S. Higgs (ed.) *Papers in Economic Prehistory*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 28.
21. D. Webley, 'Soils and Site Location in Prehistoric Palestine,' in E. S. Higgs (ed.), *Economic Prehistory*, p. 170. Though these refer to the economics of Prehistory, similar generalizations can be made on the Proto-Historic and Historic periods.
22. See B. Subba Rao, *Personality of India*, Baroda, 1958, for concepts of perennial nuclear regions or areas of attraction, and areas of relative isolation.
23. O. H. D. Spate, et al., *India and Pakistan*, 3rd ed., New Delhi, 1972.
24. Personal communication from M. C. Joshi.
25. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, (referred to below as *IAR*), 1955–56, p. 71.
26. *IAR* 1955–56, p. 71.
27. *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42; 1968–69, p. 40; 1969–70, p. 42 and H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' in *German Scholars in India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1976, pp. 69 ff.
28. *IAR*, 1955–56, p. 71.
29. *IAR*, 1955–56, p. 71. There is some confusion regarding the site of Kaṭrā (see *IAR* 1954–55, p. 15), but later reports indicate that there was PGW at this site. The information is from *IAR* reports up to 1977–78.
30. *IAR*, 1975–76, pp. 53–55; *IAR*, 1976–77, pp. 54–55.
31. Ambarikha is near the river Yamunā. Sanketban, located midway between the hills of Nandgāon and Barsana was probably adjacent to one of the old courses known as the western depressions. Rounding the Barsana hills, this drains the western edge of Tahsil Chhata and the north-west corner of Tahsil Mathurā (Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 10). The sites of Sakhitara and Sonkh are located on the second of the western depressions, which starting from Govardhan passed through Sonkh and Bharatpur into Agra (Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 10). The meandering course of the Kunderban drain, near Aring, 4 miles east of Govardhan, suggests that this was once an old stream, (see May 1:50,000 sheet 54 E/11 First edition), but this needs confirmation. The position of PGW sites in other areas suggests that proximity to a natural water course was one of the important factors in the choice of a site.
32. See Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 72.
33. B. B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem,' *Ancient India*, 7 (1971), p. 37. See also *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (referred to below as *ASIR*) for 1873, X, p. 16.
34. H. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' pp. 69 ff.
35. Though not mentioned specifically earlier, it grew in this district. See Growse, *Mathurā*, pp. 72, 358.
36. For the uses of these woods, see *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. I, (Delhi, 1948), pp. 8, 144, 252.
37. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. IX. (Delhi, 1972), p. 98.
38. Stone balls were found at Sonkh. *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 41.
39. See *IAR*, 1966–67, pp. 41–42.
40. *IAR*, 1966–67, pp. 41–42.
41. Referred to earlier.
42. *IAR*, 1975–76, pp. 53–55.
43. *IAR*, 1976–77, pp. 54–55.
44. *IAR*, 1955–56, p. 71.
45. *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42.
46. *IAR*, 1975–76, pp. 53–55.
47. *IAR*, 1973–74, p. 32.
48. *IAR*, 1973–74, p. 32.
49. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877, p. 139.
50. Some of the identifications are with Vrindavana (A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, enlarged edition, Varanasi, 1975, p. 316); with Kesopura Mohalla of Mathurā city (A. Cunningham in *ASIR*, 1882–83, Vol. XX, (reprint 1969) p. 45 and with Batesar and Agra (see J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 139).
51. See Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 279 and A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, 1882–83, Vol. XX, p. 45.
52. For excavations at the site of Kaṭrā, see *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15; 1973–74, p. 32; 1975–76, pp. 53–55; 1976–77, pp. 54–55.
53. For excavations at Sonkh, see Härtel, 'Sonkh,' pp. 69 ff. and *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42; 1968–69, p. 40; 1969–70, p. 42.
54. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
55. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 72.
56. See topographical maps of Mathurā.
57. *IAR*, 1954, p. 15.
58. *IAR*, 1975–76, p. 55.
59. At Sonkh, Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 72.
60. *Arthaśāstra* II.II.105.
61. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 115.
62. Used for punched marked coins.

63. Used for copper coins and copper objects. The latter were found at Kaṭrā, *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
64. *IAR*, 1975–76, p. 15.
65. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
66. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
67. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
68. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15.
69. L. Gopal, 'Sources of silver for the punch marked coins,' in A. K. Narain and L. Gopal (ed.) *The chronology of Punch Marked Coins*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 74 ff.
70. H. C. Bharadwaj, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Technology*, Delhi, 1979, p. 113.
71. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. V, Delhi, 1960.
72. For a list of copper mines with ancient workings, see Bharadwaj, *Technology*, pp. 193–97.
73. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VIII, Delhi, 1956, p. 132.
74. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VIII, p. 336.
75. A. R. Tiwari, *Geography of Uttar Pradesh*, Delhi, 1971, p. 61.
76. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1956, p. 132
77. For a discussion on molluscs, shells, their varieties and findspots, see *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1962, pp. 397 ff.
78. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to cotton cloth, II.1.105.
79. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 15, there is evidence of three phases of a coppersmith's workshop and a furnace with several moulds.
80. This will be discussed later in the paper.
81. The number of sites makes it impossible to discuss every site separately, along with reasons for assigning it to this period.
82. *IAR*, 1973–74, p. 32.
83. Some of these will be discussed later.
84. As the right bank of the river is only thirty feet high (Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 9) it would be possible to use the water for irrigation.
85. *E.g.*, the sites of Hansganj, Isapur.
86. A. Cunningham (*ASIR*, 1882–83, Vol. XX, p. 31) refers to a deep channel of the Yamunā flowing past Kaṭrā, which may have been an old channel of the Yamunā, or a major tributary. It is not clear to which period this belonged.
87. See 1:50,000 maps of the 54/E series published by the Survey of India.
88. *E.g.*, the sites of Jaitpur, Māṭ, Vrindavana, Mahaban, Baladeva, Gookhrauli and Mindhauli. (The last four are in Tahsil Sadabad.)
89. See excavation reports for the sites of Kaṭrā and Sonkh, referred to earlier.
90. *Epigraphia Indica* (referred to below as *EI*), Vol. XXI, 1931–32, p. 61. An inscription refers to a flour makers guild (*samitakara śreni*). Wheat is the most likely food crop to be ground into flour, but other possibilities are barley and millet.
91. *Mahābhāsya* on *Pāṇini*, V.3.55, states that cloth was made at Mathurā. A sherd with cloth impressions has been found at Kaṭrā (see *IAR*, 1973–74, p. 32). Cotton cloth was referred to in the preceding period.
92. An inscription refers to a *cūtaka vihāra*, see D. R. Sahni Rai Bahadur, 'Seven Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, XIX (1927–28), p. 68, No. 7.
93. Spate, et al., *India and Pakistan*, p. 237.
94. Joshi, *Gazetteers*, p. 115.
95. See Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 4.
96. Y. R. Gupte, 'A Naga Figure in the Mathurā Museum,' *EI*, Vol. XVII (1923–24), p. 10, No. 3.
97. *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* (referred to below as *JUPHS*) XXII (1949), p. 199, Mathurā Museum (referred to below as MM) sculpture, No. C-13.
98. *JUPHS*, XXIII (1950), MM. No. Q-2.
99. H. Lüders, 'Three Early Brāhmī Inscriptions,' *EI*, IX (1907–08), p. 246, No. III.
100. *IAR*, 1976–77, p. 55.
101. *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42.
102. *JUPHS*, XXII (1949), p. 185, MM. no. 1581.
103. *E.g.*, *JUPHS*, XXIII (1950), p. 115, MM. no. 2576; p. 113, MM., no. 1599.
104. Found at Kaṭrā, *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
105. A gold leaf ornament was found at Sonkh (*IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42). Inscriptions refer to *Sauvarnikas* or workers in gold. See *Lüders' List*, No. 95, 150, 168. Cf. *hauraṇyaka-*, G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā', *EI* II (1892), p. 205, no. 23; *suvanakara-* Sahni, 'Seven', *EI* XIX (1927–28), p. 67, No. 6.
106. Some silver coins continue to be found.
107. Inscriptions from the Mathurā region refer to a *lohavāniya* and to *lohikakārakas*, *EI*, I (1890), p. 371, no. 4; *EI*, p. 391, no. 21; Bühler, 'Further,' *EI*, II, p. 203, No. 18.
108. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16; 1969–70, p. 42.
109. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 90; *IAR*, 1966–67, p. 42; 1969–70, p. 42; 1970–71, p. 40.
110. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16; 1969–70, p. 42.
111. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
112. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
113. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
114. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
115. Stone sculptures are found all over the district.
116. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
117. See G. L. Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, Bombay, 1966, p. 62.
118. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VII, Delhi, 1969, p. 238.
119. *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VII.
120. Adhya, *Economics*.
121. E. B. Joshi, *U.P. District Gazetteers, Agra*, Vol. 6, Lucknow, 1965, p. 8.
122. Conybeare, *Statistical*, p. 36.
123. 1.64.
124. Apart from the *Mahābhāṣya* reference to cloth, an

inscription refers to a *prāvārika vihāra*, which has been translated as a *vihāra* of cloakmakers. See, Sahni, 'Seven,' *EI*, XIX (1927–28), p. 66. Other inscriptions also mention *prāvārikas*.

125. On the basis of references to artisans working in gold (given above).
126. On the basis of references to workers in iron (given above).
127. Stone workers are referred to in inscriptions. In addition, stone objects are numerous enough to permit this condition.
128. Approximate distances are:
Mathurā–Aring 12 kilometres.
Mathurā–Mahaban 10 kilometres.
Aring–Bhej 15 kilometres.
Aring–Sonkh 10 kilometres.
Sonkh–Bhej 14 kilometres.
Sonkh–Dehra 12 kilometres.
Dehra–Noh 12 kilometres.
129. If more is known about these sites through further excavation, it may be possible to apply some variation of Christaller's lattice model for settlement location to this area and period. For a brief description of this model and its developments and variations, see B. J. Garner, 'Models of Urban Geography and Settlement Location,' in R. J. Chorley and P. Hagget (ed.) *Socio-Economic Models in Geography*, reprint, London, 1976, pp. 307 ff.
130. See MM. Catalogues in *JUPHS* XXI, 1948, pp. 43 ff; XXII (1949), pp. 102 ff; XXIII (1950), pp. 36 ff; XXIV–XXV, (1951–52), pp. 1 ff; *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 11 and 12, June–December, 1973, pp. 45 ff.
131. Traders and artisans are mentioned in several inscriptions from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (see *EI*, I, pp. 371 ff; pp. 393 ff and Bühler, 'Further,' *EI*, II, pp. 195 ff.
132. See maps of the Mathurā region.
133. The number and dating of sculptures found at these sites is indicative of this. See MM. Catalogues referred to above.
134. The *Paumacariyaṁ* mentions a *grāma* named Govardhan (20.115).
135. These include the sites of Isapur, Tayabpur and Ghoshna Khera.

2. The Early History of Mathurā: up to and Including the Mauryan Period

ROMILA THAPAR

The history of Mathurā covered in this paper relates to the earliest period and concerns the region, the people and the city. The evidence for the earlier part of the paper comes in the main from traditional accounts as given in Vedic literature, the Epics, the *Purāṇas* and the Buddhist and Jaina sources. These sources are often of controversial date and the discussion in this paper therefore inevitably relates more to the traditional accounts of Mathurā and events associated with it rather than to the hard facts of ascertained, dateable, historical evidence. This raises the general question of the reliability of tradition for historically authenticated evidence and the use of sources which although compiled as late as the first millennium A.D. purport to describe events which occurred earlier. Traditional history of this kind has to be used cautiously and, where possible, with recourse to cross-evidence from other sources; furthermore the analysis of such traditions demands its own contextual framework. The latter part of the paper dealing with the Mauryan period moves to firmer ground with evidence from a variety of contemporary sources.

Vedic literature makes no mention of Mathurā nor of its variants such as Madhurā. The Yādava are not associated with this region as they are in other sources, but the Yadu as a clan are mentioned frequently.[1] If Yakṣu is read as Yadu (as some scholars do) then they participated in 'the battle of the ten kings'.[2] They are also said to be involved in raids across the Sarayu[3] which would place them to the north of Mathurā. The Yadu had considerable wealth in livestock and were generous donors.[4] The Śūrasena, also associated with Mathurā elsewhere, are not mentioned in Vedic literature. The word *Śūra* has in some instances been interpreted in the sense of a warrior or hero.[5] The name Kṛṣṇa occurs for various teachers but none have pastoral associations.[6]

Other literary sources link the region of Mathurā with the Yādavas and the Śūrasena. The Yādava association is stressed in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Purāṇas*, more especially the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. These are all texts composed much later than the events which they claim to describe. An indirect Yādava connection can be suggested on the basis of the account of the expulsion of Yadu the eldest son of Yayāti from the *madhya-deśa* owing to his inability to comply with his father's wishes.[7] The Yādavas are said to have been banished to the southern direction. *Madhya-deśa* was then bequeathed by Yayāti to his youngest son Puru. But the association of the Yādava lineage with Mathurā does not appear to have been terminated, assuming that Mathurā was included within the *madhya-deśa*.

The association of the Yādavas with Mathurā is based on the account related in many of the *Purāṇas* regarding the founding of the city. This is ascribed to Śatrughna, the younger brother of Rāma, who attacked and killed the asura/rakṣasa Lavana, the son of Madhu, who had held sway over the area.[8] Śatrughna cleared the forest of Madhu-vana and celebrated his victory by founding the city of Mathurā.[9] This name is a variant of Madhurā from Madhu. The building of a city by Śatrughna would suggest that Mathurā began as a royal capital and later developed into a commercial centre. It is curious though that Śatrughna should have named his city after his defeated enemy. We are further told

that Śatrughna had two sons, one of whom was Śūrasena and his descendants ruled at Mathurā, thus making the Śūrasenas members of the Sūryavaṁśa or Ikṣvāku lineage and therefore quite distinct from the Yādavas who belonged to the Candravaṁśa or Aila lineage.

This version is contradicted in other sources where the Śūrasenas as descendants of Śūra of the Vṛṣṇi clan are part of the Yādava lineage. The Yādavas are also called Mādhavas[10] which would link them with Madhu and thus make them the original settlers of the region. They incorporated the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi segment and evidently regained the territory because the struggle between Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa was an internal struggle between members of the same lineage segment, as well as kin group, since Kaṁsa was the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* narrates the story of Kṛṣṇa in detail starting from the episode of his birth to the eventual migration away from Mathurā.[11] Here the portrayal is that of a pastoral hero and the incarnation of divinity. The episodes thread together the topography of the region. The story does not end with the defeat of Kaṁsa but continues to the animosity of Jarāsandha who seeks revenge. There is considerable elaboration on Jarāsandha's attacks on Mathurā, the city being subjected to eighteen campaigns before it is conquered. Ultimately the Yādavas led by Kṛṣṇa flee to the south-west, to Dvārakā in Saurashtra. A variant of the Kṛṣṇa–Kaṁsa episode also occurs in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[12] suggesting that it was a well-known theme among the traditional narratives on the past of Mathurā.

It would seem that we have here a condensation of various traditions which do not provide an authentic history but which do suggest some assumptions to which attention may be directed. It is significant that both the major lineages of ancient India, the Sūryavaṁśa and the Candravaṁśa, are sought to be associated with the rise of the city of Mathurā, even though this results in a contradiction in explaining the origins of the Śūrasena. This points to the importance of the city from various perspectives. Would it then be legitimate to argue that the association of these traditions with the city of Mathurā also date to the period when it became an important urban centre around which traditions would tend to accrete, that is, in the post-Mauryan period?

Whether or not the original settlers were of the Yādava lineage, there is a pattern of the original settlers being ousted by a power based in the middle Ganges valley to the east, be it Kośala or Magadha, which results in the original inhabitants of Mathurā migrating to Saurashtra. Irrespective of whether the lineage was ousted or not, a migration is implied. There could of course be an ambiguity with regard to the identity of Mathurā for there is always the possibility that the original Yādava settlement of Madhu-vana may have been located elsewhere, but there is no evidence for this. Some sources, admittedly of a later period, distinguish between the northern and the southern cities of the same name, which might indicate a different location for yet an earlier city. (Considering the large number of places with the name Dvārakā/Dvāravatī, such a possibility cannot be ruled out for other cities associated with the Yādavas, given their links with a major part of western and southern India.)[13]

The geographical link between Saurashtra and Mathurā is certainly feasible, even though there is little historical or archaeological evidence to support such a movement at this time. The major structure line in the area runs from Mathurā along the Aravallis to Cambay dividing the arid area to the north from the more hospitable and forested area to the south of this line.[14] The line of migration probably skirted south of the Aravallis and was possibly linked across the river valleys of the Sabarmati and the Banas. If the area was sparsely forested as it is thought to have been, then it would have provided good pasture land for cattle. The Mathurā–Saurashtra connection may have originated as a route of transhumance which later became incorporated into the tradition. The movement of the Ābhīra tribes tended to follow this direction and it has been argued that the Ābhīra pastoralists contributed towards the creation of the pastoral aspects of the Kṛṣṇa cult.[15]

Information on the Yādavas as a political force tends to be vague. They were evidently a pastoral-cum-agricultural society observing what appears to be a segmentary lineage system.[16] An attempt has been made to try and identify them with the Black-and-red ware culture from the archaeology of the second and first millennia B.C. but the identification remains extremely tentative.[17] Archaeological co-relations with migrations raise the problem that the white-painted Black-and-red ware moved from Gujarat towards Rajasthan and to the west of the Yamunā, and not in the other direction.[18] The Yādava lineage is projected as one of wide ramifications, both of segmenting and assimilating. Its prestige whether real or imagined, is clear from the number of dynasties of the sub-continent who in later periods claimed descent from the Yādavas. Some of the major segments of the Yādavas, such as the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi followed the *gaṇa-saṅgha* system which is attested to by both Pāṇini and Kauṭilya.[19]

A major problem in the search for historicity in the traditional accounts lies in the biography of Kṛṣṇa which appears to indicate both a contextual and

2. The Early History of Mathurā: up to and Including the Mauryan Period

ROMILA THAPAR

The history of Mathurā covered in this paper relates to the earliest period and concerns the region, the people and the city. The evidence for the earlier part of the paper comes in the main from traditional accounts as given in Vedic literature, the Epics, the *Purāṇas* and the Buddhist and Jaina sources. These sources are often of controversial date and the discussion in this paper therefore inevitably relates more to the traditional accounts of Mathurā and events associated with it rather than to the hard facts of ascertained, dateable, historical evidence. This raises the general question of the reliability of tradition for historically authenticated evidence and the use of sources which although compiled as late as the first millennium A.D. purport to describe events which occurred earlier. Traditional history of this kind has to be used cautiously and, where possible, with recourse to cross-evidence from other sources; furthermore the analysis of such traditions demands its own contextual framework. The latter part of the paper dealing with the Mauryan period moves to firmer ground with evidence from a variety of contemporary sources.

Vedic literature makes no mention of Mathurā nor of its variants such as Madhurā. The Yādava are not associated with this region as they are in other sources, but the Yadu as a clan are mentioned frequently.[1] If Yakṣu is read as Yadu (as some scholars do) then they participated in 'the battle of the ten kings'.[2] They are also said to be involved in raids across the Sarayu[3] which would place them to the north of Mathurā. The Yadu had considerable wealth in livestock and were generous donors.[4] The Śūrasena, also associated with Mathurā elsewhere, are not mentioned in Vedic literature. The word *Śūra* has in some instances been interpreted in the sense of a warrior or hero.[5] The name Kṛṣṇa occurs for various teachers but none have pastoral associations.[6]

Other literary sources link the region of Mathurā with the Yādavas and the Śūrasena. The Yādava association is stressed in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Purāṇas*, more especially the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. These are all texts composed much later than the events which they claim to describe. An indirect Yādava connection can be suggested on the basis of the account of the expulsion of Yadu the eldest son of Yayāti from the *madhya-deśa* owing to his inability to comply with his father's wishes.[7] The Yādavas are said to have been banished to the southern direction. *Madhya-deśa* was then bequeathed by Yayāti to his youngest son Puru. But the association of the Yādava lineage with Mathurā does not appear to have been terminated, assuming that Mathurā was included within the *madhya-deśa*.

The association of the Yādavas with Mathurā is based on the account related in many of the *Purāṇas* regarding the founding of the city. This is ascribed to Śatrughna, the younger brother of Rāma, who attacked and killed the asura/rakṣasa Lavana, the son of Madhu, who had held sway over the area.[8] Śatrughna cleared the forest of Madhu-vana and celebrated his victory by founding the city of Mathurā.[9] This name is a variant of Madhurā from Madhu. The building of a city by Śatrughna would suggest that Mathurā began as a royal capital and later developed into a commercial centre. It is curious though that Śatrughna should have named his city after his defeated enemy. We are further told

that Śatrughna had two sons, one of whom was Śūrasena and his descendants ruled at Mathurā, thus making the Śūrasenas members of the Sūryavaṁśa or Ikṣvāku lineage and therefore quite distinct from the Yādavas who belonged to the Candravaṁśa or Aila lineage.

This version is contradicted in other sources where the Śūrasenas as descendants of Śūra of the Vṛṣṇi clan are part of the Yādava lineage. The Yādavas are also called Mādhavas[10] which would link them with Madhu and thus make them the original settlers of the region. They incorporated the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi segment and evidently regained the territory because the struggle between Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa was an internal struggle between members of the same lineage segment, as well as kin group, since Kaṁsa was the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* narrates the story of Kṛṣṇa in detail starting from the episode of his birth to the eventual migration away from Mathurā.[11] Here the portrayal is that of a pastoral hero and the incarnation of divinity. The episodes thread together the topography of the region. The story does not end with the defeat of Kaṁsa but continues to the animosity of Jarāsandha who seeks revenge. There is considerable elaboration on Jarāsandha's attacks on Mathurā, the city being subjected to eighteen campaigns before it is conquered. Ultimately the Yādavas led by Kṛṣṇa flee to the south-west, to Dvārakā in Saurashtra. A variant of the Kṛṣṇa–Kaṁsa episode also occurs in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[12] suggesting that it was a well-known theme among the traditional narratives on the past of Mathurā.

It would seem that we have here a condensation of various traditions which do not provide an authentic history but which do suggest some assumptions to which attention may be directed. It is significant that both the major lineages of ancient India, the Sūryavaṁśa and the Candravaṁśa, are sought to be associated with the rise of the city of Mathurā, even though this results in a contradiction in explaining the origins of the Śūrasena. This points to the importance of the city from various perspectives. Would it then be legitimate to argue that the association of these traditions with the city of Mathurā also date to the period when it became an important urban centre around which traditions would tend to accrete, that is, in the post-Mauryan period?

Whether or not the original settlers were of the Yādava lineage, there is a pattern of the original settlers being ousted by a power based in the middle Ganges valley to the east, be it Kośala or Magadha, which results in the original inhabitants of Mathurā migrating to Saurashtra. Irrespective of whether the lineage was ousted or not, a migration is implied. There could of course be an ambiguity with regard to the identity of Mathurā for there is always the possibility that the original Yādava settlement of Madhu-vana may have been located elsewhere, but there is no evidence for this. Some sources, admittedly of a later period, distinguish between the northern and the southern cities of the same name, which might indicate a different location for yet an earlier city. (Considering the large number of places with the name Dvārakā/Dvāravatī, such a possibility cannot be ruled out for other cities associated with the Yādavas, given their links with a major part of western and southern India.)[13]

The geographical link between Saurashtra and Mathurā is certainly feasible, even though there is little historical or archaeological evidence to support such a movement at this time. The major structure line in the area runs from Mathurā along the Aravallis to Cambay dividing the arid area to the north from the more hospitable and forested area to the south of this line.[14] The line of migration probably skirted south of the Aravallis and was possibly linked across the river valleys of the Sabarmati and the Banas. If the area was sparsely forested as it is thought to have been, then it would have provided good pasture land for cattle. The Mathurā–Saurashtra connection may have originated as a route of transhumance which later became incorporated into the tradition. The movement of the Ābhīra tribes tended to follow this direction and it has been argued that the Ābhīra pastoralists contributed towards the creation of the pastoral aspects of the Kṛṣṇa cult.[15]

Information on the Yādavas as a political force tends to be vague. They were evidently a pastoral-cum-agricultural society observing what appears to be a segmentary lineage system.[16] An attempt has been made to try and identify them with the Black-and-red ware culture from the archaeology of the second and first millennia B.C. but the identification remains extremely tentative.[17] Archaeological co-relations with migrations raise the problem that the white-painted Black-and-red ware moved from Gujarat towards Rajasthan and to the west of the Yamunā, and not in the other direction.[18] The Yādava lineage is projected as one of wide ramifications, both of segmenting and assimilating. Its prestige whether real or imagined, is clear from the number of dynasties of the sub-continent who in later periods claimed descent from the Yādavas. Some of the major segments of the Yādavas, such as the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi followed the *gaṇa-saṅgha* system which is attested to by both Pāṇini and Kauṭilya.[19]

A major problem in the search for historicity in the traditional accounts lies in the biography of Kṛṣṇa which appears to indicate both a contextual and

chronological collation. It is plausible that there were perhaps two or more Kṛṣṇas who were knit together in the texts of later periods. The Vṛṣṇi chief who expounds the Gītā appears to belong to the Vedic tradition of teachers who sometimes carry the epithet Kṛṣṇa.[20] As Vāsudeva, he is included in the *pañca-vīra* group of the Vṛṣṇis who were known to have been worshipped in the Mathurā region in the post-Mauryan period.[21] There is also the more centrally pastoral deity in an area with distinct pastoral associations. The miracles, the battles, the dalliances all relate to groves, forests, hills and pastures located in an area known as Vraja (on the western bank of the Yamunā) the cycle of pilgrimage involving *vanas* and *upavanas* each with its tutelary deity and place names frequently carrying cattle connotations, such as Gokula and Govardhana. Possibly there was the emergence of a hero cult focusing on the figure of a pastoral hero who was ultimately merged into a Vaiṣṇava incarnation, a procedure not unknown in other areas such as the Viṭhoba cult in Paṇḍharpur.[22] A further dimension was added to this with the arrival of Rādhā at a later stage. With such an involved series of linkages the Purāṇic tradition would have had no choice but to collate them into a single biography. The determining of the historical stratification of this collation would cover a span extending from the first millennium B.C. into early medieval times. For the Yādava connections with Mathurā it is perhaps best to leave the discussion in the realm of speculation until such time as there is further historical evidence to substantiate historical reconstruction.

The history of Mathurā as the focus of Śūrasena activity moves from the realm of speculation to a little more certainty, since it is referred to in a wide variety of sources. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the Śūrasenas as among those who fled from Jarāsanda, Śūra being the father of Vāsudeva[23] and Kunti and therefore an elder kinsman of Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa. Sahadeva is said to have conquered the Śūrasena in his *digvijaya* to the southern regions.[24] A statement in Manu implies that the Śūrasena were good warriors and the same text includes the Śūrasenaka with the Matsya, Pañcāla and Kurukṣetra as constituting the contiguous territories of the Brahmarṣi-deśa.[25]

Jaina and Buddhist texts also refer to Mathurā and although these references are not contemporary, nevertheless what is said about the city has some significance. Jaina sources describe Śūrasena as one of the *ārya-janapadas* lying to the south of the Kuru and to the east of the Matsya.[26] Its capital was at Mathurā which was listed among the ten most important capitals of *janapadas*. The statement that Mahāvīra visited Mathurā may be an attempt to give added prestige to the city once it had achieved a status in its own right.

Buddhist texts list the Śūrasena as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* and state that it had close links with Maccha/Matsya.[27] The capital of the Śūrasena was the city of Madhurā and was situated on the Yamunā. It was visited by Mahākaccāna who stayed at the Gundāvana. It is sometimes referred to as Uttara-Madhurā to distinguish it from Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā.[28] Mahāsāgara was the king of Uttara-Madhurā. Kaṁsa is described as ruling in the city of Asitāñjana and the story of his enmity with his sister's son Kṛṣṇa is repeated but with certain differences of detail. Devagabbha (Devakī) is said to have had ten sons brought up by the lowly servant Andhakavenhu and therefore called the *Andhakavenhudāsaputtas*. The link with the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi is thus established. The sons take to plundering and ultimately succeed in defeating Kaṁsa. They conquer many cities and eventually settle at Dvāravatī. The hostility between Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa is referred to in many sources of a diverse kind,[29] and may to that extent have had some basis in actuality. The two names are invoked together in the *Arthaśāstra*,[30] in the curious context of a *mantra* relating to the preparation of a medicine.

In another Buddhist text the king of the Śūrasena *janapada* is called Avantiputta and is described as sympathetic to Buddhist teaching.[31] Mathurā is said to have been visited by the Buddha even though it suffered from five major disadvantages—uneven ground, dust, fierce dogs, *yakkhas* and difficulties in obtaining alms—all of which would have discouraged *bhikkhus* from going there. A post-Mauryan Buddhist text referring back to an earlier period describes Mathurā as the place of residence of a famous courtesan, and a city of rich merchants.[32]

In some Purāṇic sources we are told that twenty-three Śūrasenas will rule as contemporaries among a large number of other ruling families including the Śiśunāgas and their successors until the period of the Nandas.[33] Pargiter has taken an average length of reign of eighteen years and has attempted to reconstruct the chronology with the Śūrasenas ruling from the ninth century B.C. until they were conquered by the Nandas in the fourth century. But such a calculation seems arbitrary given the variability of lengths of reign. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* links Śūrasena with the Yādava lineage as one among the hundred sons of Kārtavīrya.[34] The Śūrasena may well have been a segment of the Yādava lineage who came to power and established a state in the Mathurā region.

The historicity of the Śūrasena is further attested by

Greek and Latin writers quoting Megasthenes. Arrian writes that the god Herakles was held in special honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe who possess two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares.[35] He adds that Herakles had a single daughter called Pandaia and he bestowed the land by the same name on her and adorned her with pearls from the sea. Pliny writes that the river Jomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns of Methora and Carisobora.[36] Ptolemy refers to a Modoura,[37] the city of the gods, which sounds closer to the southern Madurai, but the context suggests that it might be the northern Mathurā.

The identifications of Sourasenoi, Methora and Iobares/Jomanes do not present any problem. But the identification of Cleisobora or Carisobora or the other variants suggested such as Cyrisobores remains uncertain. An attempt has been made to identify it with Vrindavana, the forest of Vrinda/tulsi or basil whose earlier name is believed to have been Kalikavartta, the pool of Kalika.[38] Other suggestions include reading the name as Kṛṣṇapura and Kalisapura.[39] Pliny's statement is ambiguous as it is not clear whether the two towns are on either side of the river or whether they are on the same side but at some distance from each other. A town on each side of the river would suggest a crossing point, ford or ferry point, possibly linking Mathurā to towns in the *doāb* such as Hastinapura and Kampilya with routes going further afield from there.[40]

The reading of Cleisobora as Kṛṣṇapura has not yielded any firm identification. A possible indirect connection could be suggested with Keśavadeva on the basis of this being an alternative name for Kṛṣṇa and there being archaeological evidence of a settlement at the site of Keśavadeva during the Mauryan period.[41] If the original Mathurā is to be identified with Madhuvana, which more recent local tradition identifies with Mahōlī,[42] then both cities would have been on the same bank of the Yamunā and in any case there would have to be some explanation for the shifting of the site to the location of present-day Mathurā and the engulfing of the one city by the other. The identification of Madhuvana with Mahōlī is not only very late but also carries no archaeological support since the only excavation conducted at the site so far has produced sculpture not earlier than the Kuṣāṇa period.[43] A major hurdle in identifying the location of such sites is ascribed to the shifting of the river course and its giving rise to river channels. The tradition of the two cities associated with the Śūrasena is perhaps also reflected in the reference in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* to the two cities of Uttara-Madhurā and *Asitāñjana*.

The link with Pandaia has led to the idea that perhaps the northern Mathurā had been confused with the southern Madurai ruled by the Pāṇḍyas, and which would have been familiar to Classical writers because of the Roman trade with south India. It was the Pāṇḍyan state in the south which was known to trade in pearls and was famous for its pearl banks. However there is also a tantalizingly vague connection between the Śūrasena and the Pāṇḍavas. The *janapada* of Śūrasena was visited by the five brothers and it lay in the proximity of the Kuru-Pañcāla and Matsya region.[44] The Pāṇḍavas had very close connections with Virāṭa, and passed through Śūrasena on their way from Pañcāla to Virāṭa suggesting that the crossing over the Yamunā was somewhere in Śūrasena territory.

The connection of the Śūrasena with Herakles has also been the source of some discussion. Herakles is generally identified with Kṛṣṇa. An identification with Indra has also been suggested,[45] but (apart from other objections to this identification) the fact that Herakles is described as being held in honour by the Sourasenoi, would make the identification with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seem more appropriate. If Herakles refers to Kṛṣṇa then it would point to the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult being popular in this region at least as early as the fourth century B.C. Confirmatory evidence of this comes from Pāṇini where reference is made to the worship of Vāsudeva and to the *dvandva* compound of Saṅkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva. The identification with the cult is made even more explicit in Patañjali.[46] The earliest epigraphic evidence for this cult dates to about the second century B.C.[47] The Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult not only served to underline the Vṛṣṇi-Yādava identity of the region but it is also worth noting that as a more personalised cult, with its sharper definition in the worship of a deity associated with the same lineage, the cult comes to the fore in the period of incipient state formation under the Śūrasena. Among the indigenous cults centering on the worship of the *yakṣas, nāgas* and the like, the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult had the maximum potential to encourage wider networks of kin ties which could perhaps be welded into a politically unifying factor.

The Bacchanalian sculpture at Mathurā has been identified with the inebriated Kubera and it has been argued that there might be a connection with the classical iconography of the drunken Hercules.[48] But the notion of the *yakṣa* goes back to earlier periods and there is within the *pañca-vīra* cult of the Vṛṣṇis, known to have been prevalent in the Mathurā region, the theme of Saṅkarṣaṇa-Baladeva given on occasion to drunkenness. The theme of inebriation may well have

been evoked by the names *madhu* and *saura* as intoxicants. The cult of Saṅkarṣaṇa-Baladeva is also linked with the nāgas, the worship of which is known in this region.[49]

The *yakṣa* figure from Parkham is thought to be dated to the Mauryan period though some would date it later.[50] If the *yakṣa* images are also linked with the concept of the *pañca-vīras*[51] then the finds at Mathurā would endorse the link, but the earliest evidence for the latter is post-Mauryan.

There is a surprising lack of evidence associating Mathurā with the Mauryan period, other than that from excavations. There are no Aśokan inscriptions in the vicinity which is admittedly negative evidence, but nevertheless telling. Archaeological data suggests a transition to urbanism during this period and it is therefore possible that some inscriptional evidence may yet appear. It is difficult to be dogmatic about precisely when Mathurā became an urban centre as urbanism is a gradual process. Since the pre-Mauryan evidence does not indicate an urban settlement and the post-Mauryan evidence does, it may be assumed that the transition to urbanism took place in the Mauryan period.

Of the sites excavated within the limits of what is thought to have been the city of Mathurā, that of Kaṭrā is described as the most imposing.[52] An early report stated that Painted Grey Ware was obtained from the lowest levels, a statement which has led to some controversy. More recently Painted Grey Ware has been found in the locality of Amabarisha.[53] This would make it clear that there was a pre-Mauryan settlement at the site of Mathurā. Both Painted Grey Ware and Black-and-red ware have been found in the vicinity of Mathurā at Sonkh.[54] Such sites could perhaps provide the archaeological co-relation for a settlement of the Śūrasena period.

Excavations at Kaṭrā Keśavadeva[55] have provided evidence at Mauryan levels of a transition from rudimentary structures to well-defined buildings of fired bricks and all the appurtenances of urban living in the form of floors, walls, drains, and ring-wells. The earlier excavation unearthed a coppersmith's furnace and workshop. These finds would endorse the probability of a demographic increase with a concentration of population as well as some evidence of craft production, both of which would point to a process of urbanism. More recent excavations have yielded terracotta figurines associated with this period and animal figures, especially the elephant. The early settlement appears to have made use of a chain of natural mounds perhaps resulting from successive flood deposits and would recall one of the disadvantages of the city of Mathurā as listed in Buddhist sources, namely, its uneven ground.

Excavations in the Dhulkot[56] area have revealed a mud-fortification around the city which dates to the Mauryan period or just prior to it, judging by the characteristic remains from the core of the fortification, such as Northern Black Polished ware sherds and terracotta animal figures. The fortification was strengthened in later periods. Fortification in itself need not imply an urban centre, but continued fortification of an effective kind would indicate the beginnings of urbanism. Where fortification is accompanied by other characteristic features, of what later come to be recognised as urban settlements, there the function of the fortification vis-à-vis the urban settlement is more obvious. There is also the distinction between urban activity within the fortified area (as is frequent in settlements moving towards becoming urban centres), and activities outside the area of fortification which is more common in cities of some standing.

The excavation at Sonkh unfolds a similar sequence. The Painted Grey Ware levels with an admixture of Black-and-red ware preceding the Mauryan provide evidence of post-holes and reed impressions and mud-plaster. The PGW sherds frequently carry the *nandi-pada* symbol. The Mauryan phase at Sonkh indicates a better quality of mud-plaster to begin with and at a later stage there is a change to mud-brick. The artifacts associated with these levels include NBP ware and terracotta figures of characteristic Mauryan design; silver punch-marked coins and uninscribed cast coins occur at these levels. Among them are some which carry the crescent-on-hill and the tree-in-railing symbols, associated with the Mauryas.

The occurrence of coined money would indicate an incipient commercial economy more complex than either barter or the direct exchange of goods. That Mathurā had the potential of an important commercial centre in the Mauryan period can be gathered from the references to it as a centre of cotton production and of northern trade in texts such as the *Arthaśāstra*[57] and the *Divyāvadāna*.[58] The latter, in particular, would suggest that Mathurā could slowly have been developing as a distribution point for items coming from the north. Connections between Mathurā and Taxila could date to the Mauryan period since Marshall maintains that Mathurā sandstone was found at Bhir Mound, Stratum III.[59] Chunar sandstone is also attested to for this period at this site. Mathurā's eventual emergence as a sacred centre not merely for the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult with which it appears to have had earlier connections but also for the Buddhists and the Jainas, would have lent additional support to its strategic, political and commercial status.

Nevertheless, the question as to why Mathurā does

not have any direct evidence of Mauryan control remains, and a number of partial answers can be put forward. The important administrative centres were Pāṭaliputra, Taxila and Ujjain and the latter doubtless overshadowed Mathurā. It was perhaps too close to the centre of power to develop as a provincial capital. Alternatively it may still have nurtured a lineage autonomy to a larger extent than the other cities and managed to maintain this autonomy. It is significant that the Classical accounts refer to Methora as a town of the Sourasenoi and do not connect it with the Mauryas although it must certainly have been under Mauryan control and that the Sourasenoi are described as an Indian tribe and not merely as a territorial unit. This may also suggest that state formation in this region was less well-developed and it was only after the hegemony of the Mauryas that it matured. The *gaṇa-saṅgha* system may have had a strong base in the area.

In the earlier period the major routes appear to have by-passed Mathurā, the more important places being Bairat and Kauśāmbī. This might explain the early location of Buddhist centres at both these places, with the Aśokan inscriptions indicating their importance in the Mauryan period. A major crossing point over the Yamunā river at Delhi is suggested by the nature of Mauryan remains recently discovered.[60] It probably needed the more enveloping control of an imperial administrative and political system to extend the routes from localized circuits to long-distance connections. The counterpart to this is seen in the comparative rapidity with which the Vāsudeva cult restricted to the Śūrasena region in the Mauryan period, spread to parts of Rajasthan, central and western India within a couple of centuries.

The traditional evidence on Mathurā suggests a process of historical change from a lineage based society with a prominence of the Yādava lineage to the emergence of a *janapada* that of the Śūrasena, who, in spite of contradictory statements seem to have been a segment of the Yādava lineage or at any rate sought a connection with them. The Śūrasena *janapada*, as a territorial unit, claims historical recognition and was counted among the important states of northern India. Its status was determined not only by its being listed among the sixteen *mahājanapadas*, but also by the reference to its political centre at Mathurā. Furthermore, it provided a base for a religious cult which was initially specific to the region, but was soon to attain a far wider geographical and social circumference. The identity of Śūrasena was not totally submerged when it came under Mauryan control. With the advent of urbanization during the Mauryan period, a new dimension was added to the importance of Mathurā as it incorporated the role of a commercial centre which reached its full growth in the post-Mauryan period.

NOTES

1. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith (eds.), *Vedic Index*, II, reprint, Delhi, 1967, p. 185.
2. *Ṛgveda*, VII.18.6.
3. *Ṛgveda*, IV.30.18.
4. *Ṛgveda*, VII.1.31; 6.46.
5. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 392.
6. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 183–5.
7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV.10.
8. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV.4.101; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX.4.30–31.
9. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV.4.11. The story is repeated in a late book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII.61 and 62.
10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX.23.30; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III.63.186; 71.145–60; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88.105; 96.143–59; *Harivaṁśa*, 35.
11. II.16.41; III.74.138; X.1.27–34; X.50 to 54.
12. Jātaka no. 454.
13. C. T. Maloney, *The Effect of Early Coastal Sea Traffic on the Development of Civilization in South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania, 1968 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
14. O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, London, 1964, p. 148.
15. As for example in Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaisnavism*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 80 ff.
16. Romila Thapar, 'Genealogy as a source of Social History' in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 326 ff.
17. Romila Thapar, 'Puranic Lineages and Archaeological Cultures,' in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, pp. 240 ff.
18. Thapar, 'Puranic Lineages.' As a society given to some pastoral activity, the Yādava clans could have also been itinerant traders on a small scale with routes of transhumance becoming important as trade routes with the development of trade. The thrust from Gujarat towards southern Rajasthan may well have been connected with the availability of copper near Udaipur known to have been worked in the second millennium B.C. from the site of Ahar. From here the route along the Aravallis would lead to Bairat and further to the Indo-Gangetic watershed. The route skirting south of the Aravallis would arrive at Bharatpur and Mathurā.
19. *Pāṇini*, VI.2.34; *Arthaśāstra*, XI.1.4.
20. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 183–5.
21. As evidenced from the Mora well inscription, *Epigraphia*

Indica XXIV, p. 194. Another reference to the *pañca-vīra* comes from the Ghosuṇḍi inscription near Udaipur, *EI*, X, Appendix, p. 2. There is a curious parallel to the concept of the *pañca-vīra* in the reference to the five great *velir* chiefs—the *aimperumvelir*—in the Śangam literature. The *velir* also claim to be of Yādava descent. (*Pattinap*. 282; *Puram* 201, 202; N. Subrahmanian *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, Madras, 1966, p. 110.) If both traditions derive from a common ancestor then perhaps the concept of the five heroes may be very much earlier and may also have some connection with that of the *pañca-janāḥ*.

22. G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Poona, 1960; S. G. Tulpule, 'The Origin of Vitthala: A New Interpretation,' *ABORI*, 1977–78, LVIII–LIX, p. 1009–15.
23. III.13.26; 22.10 ff; 287.20 ff.
24. II.28.2.
25. VII.193; II.19.
26. J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 308–09.
27. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I.213; IV.252.
28. *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, no. 454.
29. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, Calcutta, 1936.
30. XIV.3.44.
31. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 83–90.
32. *Divyāvadāna*, C. 353.
33. F. E. Pargiter, *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 21–24; *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, pp. 181–82.
34. IV.11.
35. *EI*, VIII. Herakles is mentioned frequently in the accounts of Alexander's campaign in India. However, since the Greeks seem to have been in the habit of bestowing the name on a number of diverse gods in various parts of the then-known world, there is some confusion about the identification of Herakles. J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, Westminster, 1896, p. 70, n.2; The rock Aornos is said to have been impregnable since even Herakles failed to conquer it (p. 70). An image of Herakles was carried into battle when Alexander faced Poros (p. 208).
36. *Hist. Nat.* VI.22.
37. Ptolemy 50.
38. A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, reprint, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 315–16.
39. J. W. McCrindle, *India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877, p. 140.
40. There is, however, little evidence for such a crossing point. Whereas the Pāṇḍavas go through Śūrasena when traveling from Pañcāla to Vairāṭa, the account of Hsüan Tsang (admittedly many centuries later), takes the route from Vairāṭa to Mathurā but travels north again along the western side of the Yamunā to Thanesar and from there he goes to the upper *doāb*. This may have been due to his having to return to Thanesar to meet Harṣa-vardhana. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, reprint, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 301 ff.
41. A. Cunningham, *ASI Report*, XX, 1909, p. 45; *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1973–74, p. 31.
42. F. S. Growse, *Mathurā: A District Memoir*, reprint, Ahmedabad, 1978.
43. H. Waddington, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavation of a mound at Meholi near Muttra, U.P. 1940,' *JUPHS*, XV, Pt. II, 1942, pp. 135 ff.
44. *Mahābhārata*, IV.1.9–10; IV.5.1–4.
45. A. Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, Uppsala, 1962.
46. Pāṇini, IV.3.98; VIII.1.15. Patañjali, III.43; I.426; I.436.
47. The Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus, *EI*, X, p. 63; Ghosuṇḍi Inscription, *EI*, X. Appendix p. 2; The Nānāghāṭa Cave inscription, *EI*, X, p. 121. Epigraphic evidence is supported by literary data in Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya*.
48. B. Rowland, 'Gandhara Rome and Mathurā,' *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, X (1956), quoted in J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, 1967, p. x, 248.
49. Ph. Vogel, 'Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathurā,' *Archaeological Survey of India, Ann. Rep.*, 1908–09, p. 162; H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' in *German Scholars on India*, II, Bombay, 1976.
50. Rosenfield, *Kushans*, p. 302; N. R. Ray, *Maurya and Sunga Art*, Calcutta, 1945.
51. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 92–94.
52. B. B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapur. . . ,' *Ancient India*, nos. 10 and 11, p. 140. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954–55, pp. 15–16; 1973–74, p. 31.
53. Personal communiction from Shri M. C. Joshi, *ASI*, New Delhi.
54. Härtel, 'Sonkh.'
55. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1974–75, pp. 1–114 (cyclostyled copy).
56. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1974–75, pp. 1–114.
57. II.11.115. The name is given as Madhurā and could be either the northern or the southern city.
58. *Divyāvadāna*, C. 353.
59. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 108 ff.
60. The Mauryan levels at the excavations at the Purana Qila are substantial. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1969–70, pp. 4 ff, and 1970–71, pp. 8 ff. A version of the Minor Rock Edict was found in a Delhi suburb and goes by the name of the Bahapur inscription; see, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1967, pp. 67 ff.

3. Mathurā from the Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa Period: An Historical Outline

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

In trying to understand the historical pattern of Mathurā from the Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa period—a period marked by a definite shift in the pull of political gravity in north India, caused largely by an impressive series of population movements from across its north-western frontier—it would be worthwhile to begin by looking at its geographical location. Mathurā lies within what has been called the Delhi–Agra 'filter zone',[1] to the immediate west of the upper Ganges basin, which defines its intermediary position between the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Punjab plains on the one hand and the stretch of the Ganges basin on the other. In relation to western India, the zone holds the approaches to the great Malwa passageway. When one considers also one of the major 'structure lines of Indian History', the Delhi–Aravalli Axis and the Cambay node,[2] Mathurā can be shown to have had affinity with this line, particularly in periods when the northwestern part of the subcontinent, rather than the Ganges basin, became the centre of political gravity. The period under review being one such period, certain features of Mathurā's history will be best understood with reference to contemporary historical developments in the northwest.

The emergence of Mathurā as an important political and urban centre in the post-Maurya period was a gradual process and the process may perhaps be best examined in terms of three well-marked political phases: i) the revival of local authority and political separation from Magadha, ii) beginnings and gradual intensification of contact with centres of power in the northwest and development as an outlying area of that region, iii) emergence as a core area and eastern centre of a northwestern empire, the Kuṣāṇa empire.[3]

I

Mathurā in the pre-Mauryan period was the centre of Śūrasena *mahājanapada*,[4] its cultural antecedents being similar to those of other *mahājanapadas* in the upper Ganges basin.[5] It was included in the Magadhan empire, although judging from the distribution of the major political centres in the Mauryan period, its importance to the empire may have been due mainly to the trade route passing through it.[6] For the first phase of the post-Mauryan history of Mathurā one has to depend mainly on the evidence of several series of coins, and the nature of the evidence makes the reconstruction of this phase rather hazardous. What, however, is clear is that the coins, which are comparable to several contemporary series[7] in other centres, represent a political pattern which emerged within a broad geographical area and which marked a movement away from the authority of Magadha.[8] According to one set of opinion, expressed for example by John Allan, the independent coin series of Mathurā started with a ruler named Gomitra in the late third century B.C., although Allan also concedes that a number of later rulers of Mathurā known from coins may have been 'Vassals of the Śuṅgas'.[9] Another opinion is in favour of assigning the coins with, or without the regal title *rājan*, to a period between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. and of viewing some of the rulers known from them as the 'vassals of the Kushāṇas'.[10]

A somewhat clearer idea of the broad chronological range of the coin series is necessary for two reasons: to understand the process of Mathurā's political separation from Magadha, and to determine whether the coins really represent lineal succession—a point which bears

on the nature of polity in early Mathurā. There is no direct evidence of Śuṅga rule in Mathurā;[11] it may also be presumed that Magadhan authority in Mathurā considerably weakened as a result of Yavana raids and also the establishment of a Yavana base. Archaeologists, however, indiscriminately use the dynastic label Śuṅga for the immediately post-Maurya cultural phase at various archaeological sites. Despite the inappropriateness of this label, it has to be conceded that this phase may be taken to correspond to the cultural deposits following the Mauryan, at several sites including Sonkh near Mathurā and Purana Qila in Delhi.[12] In fact, at Sonkh two post-Mauryan phases are labelled as early Śuṅga and middle Śuṅga, the distinction being based mainly on differences of art objects found at these phases.[13] Whatever the merit of this distinction, for the chronology of the local coin series this phase is significant as it shows that it preceded the period of inscribed coins which would somewhat overlap with the Śuṅga period but not with the Mauryan period.

What has so far been published on Sonkh is still rather inadequate but two of its findings appear to be acceptable if the sequence is correctly recorded: i) the emergence of the first inscribed coins of Mathurā around the close of the second century B.C.; ii) the sequence of four rulers with Mitra-ending names in the following order: Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra.[14] The impression Härtel, the excavator of Sonkh, gives is that the period of Gomitra and Sūryamitra marks a new phase in the archaeology of the Sonkh site.[15]. The process of the political separation from Magadha and of the reemergence of an autonomous political centre at Mathurā may thus correspond to a phase when the Magadhan ruling lineage was itself being split up into several territorial segments.[16] The other problem concerns the policy of this phase. As will be shown later, references to Yavana incursion into Mathurā towards the close of the Maurya period and to the establishment of a Yavana base there indicate that Mathurā could hardly have been a completely isolated political region in the period when local authority reemerged.[17] But the numismatic evidence does nevertheless suggest that Mathurā be considered a single political unit in this period, and the list of names known from the coins may provide an understanding of the structure of this unit.[18] The following names are so far available: Gomitra I, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Gomitra II, Satamitra, Dhruvamitra, Dṛḍhamitra, Śeṣadatta, Puruṣadatta, Uttamadatta, Kāmadatta, Bhavadatta, Rāmadatta, Balabhūti, and Apalata.[19] Other contemporary political centres in the Ganges basin (for example, Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla, Ayodhyā) have yielded coins which provide similar, or more formidable lists of local rulers.[20] In some of these centres the problem of the chronological sequence of the coins is made more complicated by the 'city' and the 'negama' series.[21] The general tendency among numismatists is to use the evidence to 'dynasticize' and thus to reconstruct a genealogical sequence which could very well stretch over a period of three hundred years or more.[22] The method, followed also in epigraphic studies, has already been subjected to severe criticism;[23] the same tendency in numismatic studies also needs to be rectified.

This should imply that two problems connected with the coins are unlikely, at least for the moment, to yield any satisfactory solution: reconstruction of a genealogical–chronological sequence of all rulers, and the significance of the titles *rājan* and *mahārājan*[24] for determining chronological progression.[25] In fact, as an alternative to 'dynastic' reconstruction, one may repeat a suggestion made by Härtel, although not in the context of the nature of polity in Mathurā or in other areas which have yielded local coins; 'The outcome of Sonkh excavation raises the question whether the dynasty of the Dattas can be taken as a continuous one . . . . May it not have been that most of the Dattas ruled concurrently in small subdistricts of Mathurā . . . .'[26]. There is no reason why this statement should be limited to the Dattas alone. If Mathurā reemerged as a *mahājanapada* some time during the Śuṅga period, it is possible that the constituent parts of the *mahājanapada* had several foci of authority. At the same time, it must be remembered that Mathurā coins show a remarkable uniformity in typology down to the time of the Kṣatrapas and thus define Mathurā as a recognizable political unit. A long list of Mathurā rulers who are interrelated by their coinage and who cover a relatively short chronological span is perhaps an indication of segmentation of authority of a lineage or lineages in the region, a pattern which is not uncommon in early Indian polity and which in fact is also in evidence to an extent in the period of Kṣatrapa rule in Mathurā.

II

Mathurā must have had early contacts with regions in the northwestern part of the subcontinent through routes which linked the Ganges basin and Malwa with Gandhāra and beyond. The find of pieces of Mathurā sandstone at the Bhir mound in Taxila[27] is a tangible evidence of this contact perhaps dating to the Maurya period. Mathurā however came to be caught directly in the expanding political network of the northwest from

the close of the Maurya period. The extensive raids by the Yavanas, recorded in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, affected Mathurā along with Sāketa and the Pañcāla regions, before the offensive was launched against the Magadhan capital. There seems to be a consensus of opinion now that the raids were undertaken as early as the period of Demetrius I.[28] The evidence of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which perhaps refers to the same Yavana raids, does not relate directly to Mathurā, only Sāketa and Madhyamikā in southern Rajasthan being mentioned in that text,[29] but if one juxtaposes the relevant passages in the two texts it may seem plausible that in the two-pronged raids, one in the direction of the Ganges basin and the other in the direction of the Malwa passageway, Mathurā may have been the springboard for the raid in south Rajasthan. This appears likely in view of the fact that Mathurā became a base of Yavana power, although not much detail is available regarding the nature and duration of its Yavana occupation. D. C. Sircar has recently cited the evidence of the Jaina text *Nisītha Sūtra* and its *cūrṇi*, both of which refer to a Yaünarāja or Yavanarāja of Mathurā. Another set of Jaina texts refer to the atrocity committed by a Yavana king of Mathurā on a Jaina monk while *Viśesavasyaka-bhāṣyavṛtti* of Kotayācārya, another Jaina text, mentions Yaünasena or Yavanasena as a king of Mathurā.[30] That Mathurā was a base for periodic forays of the Yavanas is suggested by an epigraph written probably in the second half of the first century B.C., the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela. Mathurā appears in this epigraph as a refuge for the Yavana king, retreating from the Ganges basin as a result of Khāravela's successful military campaigns in that region.[31] These references are significant in that they show that the establishment of a Yavana base in Mathurā overlapped in time with the reemergence of local rule. Mathurā was also otherwise coming into political contact with the north and the northwest in that period. The evidence of the coins of the Mathurā ruler Uttamadatta, restruck by Audumbara Mahādeva, may be cited in this connection. As 'both the original and the restruck coins . . . . do not bear any Kharoṣṭhī legend on them', it is believed that Mahādeva 'carried his arms into the territory of Uttamadatta and after inflicting a defeat upon the latter, restruck his coins'.[32] The Yavanas and the Audumbaras both represent power centres of the north, and Mathurā's contact with them was a prelude to its gradual absorption by powers which had their epicentre in the northwest.

It was however in what may be called its 'Kṣatrapa' phase that Mathurā's political history came to be directly linked with changes in the northwest. The origin of the office of the Kṣatrapa is traced to the Achaemenid period[33] but it became politically really significant for northern and western India only with the expansion of Scytho-Parthian power. In reconstructing the Kṣatrapa phase at Mathurā one confronts a problem similar to that of the period of local rulers, namely, the ordering of all the Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas within a satisfactory chronological frame. From epigraphic and numismatic sources the following Kṣatrapa names are known so far:[34] Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula; Kṣatrapa (later mahākṣatrapa) Śoḍāsa; Kṣatrapa Taraṇadāsa, son of a mahākṣatrapa; Kṣatrapa Hagāmaṣa; Kṣatrapa Hagāna; Kṣatrapa Śivadatta; Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa; Kṣatrapa Vajatatajama. It is not only the relative chronology of these Kṣatrapas that has been in dispute, the chronological position of the whole Kṣatrapa group vis-à-vis the local rulers and the Kuṣāṇas has also been subjected to debate.[35] However, when one considers the broad pattern of Mathurā's history in the post-Mauryan period, it seems that the problem of relative chronology should be viewed in terms mainly of Mathurā's links with the northwest. From this perspective, the period of local rulers represents a continuity; this continuity is broken as a result of Mathurā's growing contact with the northwest and its final absorption into an empire originating in the northwest. Among the Kṣatrapas, seen from this perspective, Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula and Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa must have preceded others. Rajuvula's various coin series reveal his antecedents perhaps both in Taxila and Sagala;[36] his Mathurā series with the devices 'Lakṣmī' and 'Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī' and the coin-legend in Brāhmī script[37] initiate a wholly local Kṣatrapa series in which the characteristics of his Mathurā coinage continue. The date of Rajuvula's arrival at Mathurā from the northwest does not have to be based on pure speculation. The Āmohinī votive tablet inscription, dated in year 72,[38] places Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa in 14–15 A.D. His predecessor may thus have started his Mathurā career towards the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the Christian era.

Though not on his coins, the Kharoṣṭhī script is used in Rajuvula's Mathurā Lion capital inscriptions which bears an unmistakable stamp of official association.[39] Mathurā was outside the Kharoṣṭhī zone[40] and its use was perhaps not repeated in Mathurā even in the time of the Kuṣāṇas,[41] although it was in use in other parts of their empire. In fact, the ethos of the Lion capital inscriptions, engraved on the occasion of a religious benefaction on a grand scale, is that of a wholly alien elite. The benefactions, in favour of a Buddhist *vihāra*, were made by the chief queen of

Rajuvula and other members of his family at Mathurā[42] but the inscriptions invoke a host of names, of Kṣatrapas and others, mostly located away from Mathurā, as references to Mahākṣatrapa Kusulaa Padika and Yuvaraya Kharaosta[43] would indicate. The *bhikṣu* Buddhila of these records is also from Nagara,[44] probably Nagarahāra in eastern Afghanistan. And most significantly, the records invoke the whole of Śakasthāna (*sarvasa Sakrastanasa Puyae*)[45], evidently in memory of a remote homeland. Śoḍāsa who is mentioned as a Kṣatrapa in the Lion capital inscriptions but who later became a mahākṣatrapa as shown by his coins and several Mathurā inscriptions,[46] was a local ruler of Mathurā, so were the other Kṣatrapas listed above, known as they are only from their Mathurā type coins. There is nothing in Śoḍāsa's records which is comparable to the world of the Mathurā Lion capital inscriptions; even the single official appearing in his records, a *gañjavara* (a term incidentally of Persian origin), was a brāhmaṇa.[47] The names of Śivadatta, Śivaghoṣa and Taraṇadāsa further suggest how the Kṣatrapas were being gradually localized.

Although there is a suggestion to that effect, it is hardly likely that the political authority of Taxila had anything to do with Mathurā in the period of Rajuvula[48] or his successors. The nature of the evidence relating to this phase suggests consolidation of local authority, much in the same way as the Kṣatrapa base in western India in a somewhat later period.[49] Another parallel with western India is that the Kṣatrapa system in both areas provided for sharing of authority within the family. It has however been pointed out that what is known among numismatists as the Gondopharian symbol ( )[50] occurs on the coins of Hagāmaṣa, Hagāna, Śivadatta and Vajatatajama.[51] This does suggest continuity in the link between Mathurā and regions in the northwest but the link does not necessarily have to be explained in terms of political subservience. Compared to the material for the Kṣatrapa phase at Mathurā, the evidence of political control is more direct only when one comes down to the period of the Kuṣāṇas.

III

The volume of Kuṣāṇa material at Mathūra is so vast that for the purpose of the present paper reference to it has of necessity to be restricted to the barest minimum. Only three points will be briefly touched upon: Mathurā in comparison to eastern and southern regions into which Kuṣāṇa power penetrated, the nature of Kuṣāṇa involvement in Mathurā, and Mathurā as an urban centre in the Kuṣāṇa period. The first two points are interrelated and can be taken up together. The eastern expansion of the Kuṣāṇas is largely exaggerated, provenances of Kuṣāṇa coins being in most cases the sole evidence.[52] The dynastic label 'Kuṣāṇa' has been applied to an early historical archaeological phase over a wide geographical area much in the same way as Śuṅga. Direct evidence for Kuṣāṇa rule is available for only Kauśāmbī,[53] Vārāṇasi,[54] Śrāvastī[55] and Vidiśā,[56] and at all these centres Kuṣāṇa authority was shortlived. Mathurā on the other hand remained a seat of Kuṣāṇa power for at least a hundred years if not more, as suggested by its 'more than 150' epigraphs referring to Kuṣāṇa rulers.[57] It is indeed significant that this kind of evidence is not forthcoming from any other part of the Kuṣāṇa empire. When one considers the usually neglected but important fact that to the south of Taxila Kuṣāṇa material is sparse until one comes down to Mathurā,[58] the logic of Kuṣāṇa concern for Mathurā becomes to some extent understandable. Control over Mathurā could provide the Kuṣāṇas with a base in the south from which they could strive both to check the powerful republics, like that of the Yaudheyas of this period and to maintain direct contact with two regions, the Ganges basin and the Malwa passageway.

The position of Mathurā as a political centre changed significantly from the Indo-Greek and the Kṣatrapa period to that of the Kuṣāṇas. It was no longer an area in which relatively minor political elites such as the Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas could exist on their own away from the main seats of power; it was now properly integrated into an empire. The direct involvement of the Kuṣāṇas in Mathurā is suggested, apart from the continuous series of epigraphs referring to them, by the presence here of their imposing dynastic monuments. The most impressive monument seems to be the Kuṣāṇa sanctuary at Māṭ,[59] situated nine miles from Mathurā across the Yamunā. The dynastic sanctuary concept which was presumably of Iranian origin[60] is believed not to have served any 'immediate local function'[61] but it was nevertheless an important monumental feature as in other crucial areas of the empire, as is suggested by the Surkh Kotal sanctuary in Bactria.[62] At Māṭ, the royal images predominate, the three kings represented being Vima, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, and it is possible that other important political elites physically present at Mathurā were also represented at the sanctuary; Māṭ images may include one of a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*,[63] and attempts at restoration of the sanctuary which was destroyed rather early were also made by a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.[64] Rosenfield may be right in thinking that the Māṭ sanctuary was not really a 'center of a royal cult',[65] but the installation of

massive royal portraits in the *devakula*, a term which was also applied to religious shrines at Mathurā in this period,[66] and perhaps points to the introduction of a new type of royal symbolism under the Kuṣāṇa regime. To cite Rosenfield again, 'overtones of martial authority permeated the portraits of Kaniṣka and the other princes celebrated in the *devakula*'.[67]

All this seems to suggest that Kuṣāṇa involvement in Mathurā was direct.[68] Apart from evidence of a political nature, other types of evidence are also forthcoming. An epigraph dated in the year 28 of the time of Huviṣka records the construction of a *puṇyaśālā* for the feeding of a hundred brāhmaṇas and a gift of cash deposited with local guilds by a person of non-local origin who was a *Bakanapati*, probably an official in charge of temples.[69] It is significant that the merit that accrues from this act of charity goes to Huviṣka and those to whom he is dear,[70] suggesting official patronage towards the construction of the *puṇyaśālā*. There are two other epigraphs which refer to the *vihāra* of Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Huviṣka,[71] similarly suggesting that Kuṣāṇa penetration in Mathurā was much more comprehensive than mere political control. As suggested earlier, the integration of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa empire marked a change in its political organization, although it has to be conceded that substantiation of this change from the Kṣatrapa period will remain for the moment unsatisfactory. Early inscriptions of Kaniṣka I mention the offices of the Kṣatrapa and the Mahākṣatrapa in the eastern part of the empire;[72] in Mathurā reference to these offices in the Kuṣāṇa period seems to be absent. A damaged inscription containing a reference to a Kṣatrapa[73] is assigned on palaeographic reasons to the Kuṣāṇa period but the evidence is questionable.[74] In any case, irrespective of whether the office continued at Mathurā or not, the nature of the imperial control vis-à-vis the Kṣatrapas in the Kuṣāṇa territories in general is indicated by one significant fact—the absence of Kṣatrapa coinage in this period.[75] At Mathurā, the effective Kṣatrapa phase of polity came to an end with the advent of Kuṣāṇa control, the numismatic evidence being conclusive on this point. That the Kuṣāṇas had at some stage of their rule a mint at Mathurā is suggested by a highly important copper coin of a Kuṣāṇa king, inscribed with a Brāhmī legend, recently found at Sonkh.[76] Even if the Kṣatrapas continued at Mathurā, they did not do so in the manner of their predecessors as Rajuvula or Śoḍāsa. In fact, the Kuṣāṇa material at Mathurā may suggest that the most crucial position in this period was wielded by the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* who at least in one case appears to have also been a *Bakanapati*.[77] The personal names of the *mahādaṇḍanāyakas*[78] and the *Bakanapatis* (the term is mentioned in several Mathurā inscriptions)[79] suggest their non-local origin; the dominant elements in Mathurā polity thus continued to be from the north-west, although the petty offices of the *grāmika*,[80] the *padrapāla*[81] or the *vohārika*,[82] held by persons bearing Sanskritic names, point to a mixed composition of Mathurā's ruling elites much as its general population in this period.

The final point relates to the transformation of Mathurā as an urban centre—a transformation which is vitally linked up with its Kuṣāṇa phase. Archaeology recognizes Śaka-Kuṣāṇa as a distinct and perhaps the most prosperous urban phase in early historical India.[83] But Śaka-Kuṣāṇa phase is present at sites covering a vast geographical area and the specific characteristics of Mathurā as an urban focus of the Kuṣāṇa empire are still not very satisfactorily revealed by archaeology. However, its growing importance as a political centre is suggested by the history of its fortification, the final phase of which is believed to coincide with the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period.[84] But the urban dimension of Mathurā appears to have been much wider if one considers the distribution of Mathurā mounds which, if Sonkh is an indicator, were habitational units with both secular and non-secular contents. The mounds, some of which may have been located across the Yamunā on its left bank, suggest that the urban settlement of Mathurā was not nucleated.[85] This would imply that urban settlement at Mathurā had come to develop numerous foci, and the overwhelming number of Kuṣāṇa period epigraphs from Mathurā's various mounds alone point, in two ways, to its unprecedented urban growth. First, there was definitely a proliferation of professional groups, the most frequent references being to commercial and industrial groups. As the groups are mentioned in connection with religious benefactions there cannot be any doubt regarding the social and economic eminence these professions had reached. An inscription of year 28 of the time of Huviṣka also shows the existence of urban-based guilds dealing with agricultural produce and acting as bankers.[86] The available epigraphs do not obviously cover the entire range of occupations; even so the following list will sufficiently reveal Mathurā's urban profile in the Kuṣāṇa period: *śreṣṭhī*,[87] *sārthavāha*,[88] *vyavahāri*,[89] *lohikākārika*,[90] *lohavaniya*,[91] *gandhika*,[92] *maṇikāra*,[93] *hairaṇyaka*,[94] *sovanika*,[95] *rajaka*,[96] *nataka*,[97] *sailālaka*,[98] *gaṇika*,[99] *pravarika*,[100] and so on. A sample of archaeological finds at Mathurā confirms this picture: 'The third period (i.e. the Kuṣāṇa period) was notable for various types of beads in crystal, agate,

carnelian, lapis lazuli, faience, jasper and shell, bone disc, copper coins including those of the Kushans, stone caskets and a turquoise-blue glazed finial'.[101] The list is an obvious pointer not only to Mathurā's discriminating urban elite but also to its links with regions which could be sources for such impressive varieties of industrial items.

Perhaps what is more significant is that the Kuṣāṇa period further helped transform Mathurā into a base for absorption of men and ideas from outside its orbit. Many of the communities mentioned in the epigraphs, such as Kākaṭika,[102] Kālavāḷa[103] and Māthuraka[104] must have been of local origin; personal names occurring in the epigraphs also point to this. But movement of people from the northwest continued and this was not limited to ruling elites alone. Religious benefactions were now being made at Mathurā by persons coming from as far afield as Uḍḍīyāna,[105] Vadakṣa[106] and Abhisāra.[107] Such personal names as Śurāṇa,[108] Khvaśica,[109] Vakamihira,[110] Horamurṇḍaga,[111] Aśyala,[112] and honorific titles as *viśvasika*[113] (which is believed to have been used for a foreigner and was of Iranian origin) are unmistakable evidence of movement of people from the northwest—a phenomenon which Mathurā does not seem to have experienced in the post-Kuṣāṇa period.

IV

A quick overview of the historical trends in Mathurā from the Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa period may now be offered. The reemergence of local authority in Mathurā, as suggested by its series of copper coins, is comparable to a similar process in many other localities of northern and central India. What distinguishes Mathurā from at least the localities of the Gaṅgā basin is that it steadily came to be caught into the larger political changes that were primarily affecting northwestern and western India from the second century B.C. The Yavanas included Mathurā not only in their political network; the presence of the coins of Strato, Menander, Antimachus and Apollodotus at Mathurā[114] suggests commercial links which extended to Barygaza on the western coast where, according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*,[115] coins of Menander and Apollodotus were in circulation. The distribution of Soter Megas coins from Afghanistan to Mathurā[116] suggests a geographical pattern as does the spread of Kṣatrapa authority in northern and western India.

Kṣatrapas represent a wellmarked political phase at Mathurā; they remained entrenched in Malwa and Gujarat till the period of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II. It is possible that the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas who preceded the line of Caṣṭana in Malwa and Gujarat had links with Mathurā; the family name Kṣaharāta has been noticed in a Mathurā epigraph.[117] There is no positive proof that the authority of the Kuṣāṇas extended to western Malwa and Gujarat; perhaps there was no need for direct control. Authority over Mathurā and the lower Indus country[118] could provide them with the desired control over the traffic passing to two regions: the western coast and the Ganges basin.

An important qualification, however, needs to be made at this stage. The point which is being made in this paper should not suggest final and absolute absorption of Mathurā in any geographical structure line. If one takes a long term perspective, the polity of Mathurā shows essentially a pattern of oscillation. Even when Mathurā was integrated into the Kuṣāṇa empire, some elements of local polity must have survived. This is suggested by the hereditary office of the *grāmika*,[119] and it is interesting that some *grāmikas* had *nāga*-ending names.[120] It has also been suggested that such pre-Kṣatrapa rulers of Mathurā as Śeṣadatta were of Nāga origin.[121] Nāga elements are present at Mathurā throughout the period under review[122] and their rise to eminence is perhaps attested by the Sonkh excavation material.[123] Revival of local authority under the Nāgas follows Kuṣāṇa rule,[124] and when the empire emerges again in Magadha, Mathurā becomes a part of it, somewhat earlier than the Kṣatrapa bases in Malwa and Gujarat.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMCAI	J. Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (Ancient Indian Coins), London, 1936.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
IA	*The Indian Antiquary*
IHQ	*The Indian Historical Quarterly*
IMC	V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906.
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*

JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JIH *Journal of Indian History*
JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
Lüders' List *A list of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to about* A.D. *400 with the exception of those of Aśoka*, Appendix to *EI*, Vol. 10.
Lüders, *MI* H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, edited by K. L. Janert, Gottingen, 1961.
PIHC *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PMC R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I (Indo-Greek Coins), Oxford, 1914.

NOTES

1. R. L. Singh, ed., *India: A Regional Geography*, Varanasi, 1971, p. 126.
2. O. H. K. Spate and A. I. A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 3rd edition, 1967, pp. 175–79: 'This line runs slantwise from about Mathurā, on the Yamuna above Agra, along the Aravallis to the Gulf of Cambay.'
3. This paper is intended to be primarily a study of the major political trends in Mathurā. Detailed discussions on problems of genealogy and chronology have been deliberately avoided in it, except where they are found to be strictly relevant.
4. See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 138–142.
5. This will be true at least from the Painted Grey Ware phase.
6. This impression one derives from the fact that Mathurā has neither yielded any official Maurya record nor is it mentioned in records in which Mauryan administrative centres are mentioned. One point may, however, be significant. It seems that the earliest phase of fortification at Mathurā dated to the third century B.C. (information kindly supplied by Sri M. C. Joshi, Director, Archaeological Survey of India). However, comparable fortifications at various centres in the Ganges basin have been dated to two chronological periods: i) *c.* 600 B.C. and ii) 200–100 B.C. 'when the Mauryan empire had broken up and local dynasties were cropping up,' A. Ghosh, *The City in early historical India*, Simla, 1973, p. 66. It is therefore likely that fortifications around Mathurā began in the latter period. Beginning of fortification around a settlement which had been in existence for a long time may be of political significance. At Mathurā they appear to coincide with the reemergence of local political authority. For an early trade route touching Mathurā see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, p. 138.
7. For a general idea of the series, known as local coins, see J. Allan, *BMCAI*, passim; also A. K. Narain, ed., *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India, c. 300* B.C. *to 300* A.D.; Memoirs of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, no. 2, Varanasi, 1968, passim.
8. For a recent and comprehensive review of the history of those centres in the post-Mauryan period see B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (*circa* 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.), Calcutta, 1974.
9. *BMCAI*, p. 169 and cxiii of Introduction. Allan seems a little inconsistent on this point. On p. cxvi of his Introduction he states, 'The coins of the Hindu Kings of Mathura cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C.' P. L. Gupta too dates the beginnings of the Mathurā local coins in the third cenury B.C.; P. L. Gupta, 'The Coinage of the Local Kings of Northern India and the date of Kaniṣka,' in A. L. Basham, ed., *Papers on the date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden, 1968, p. 116.
10. D. C. Sircar in R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Vol. 2 of the History and Culture of the Indian People), 3rd impression, Bombay, 1960, p. 171. Archaeological evidence from such sites as Rupar, Purana Qila and Hastinapur strongly negates the possibility of the kings being contemporaneous with the Kuṣāṇas; see M. D. N. Sahi, 'Bearing of excavations on the chronology of Mathura coins' in A. K. Narain, ed., *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 62–66.
11. E. J. Rapson's suggestion (E. J. Rapson, ed., *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ancient India, 3rd Indian reprint, Delhi, 1968, pp. 471–472) that Śuṅga suzerainty extended over Mathurā is based on the rather flimsy evidence of one Dhanabhūti being mentioned in inscriptions from both Mathurā and Bharhut. For a criticism of this suggestion see S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (From the fall of the Mauryas to the death of Harṣa), 3rd edition, Delhi, 1976, p. 26.
12. For relevant evidence from Purana Qila see *IAR* 1969–1970, p. 5.
13. H. Härtel, 'Some results of the excavations at Sonkh: A preliminary report', in *German Scholars on India*, Vol. 2, Bombay, 1976, pp. 79–80; fig. 10.
14. Härtel, 'Sonkh', pp. 80–82. It is easy to criticize Härtel on certain points. First, he does not state whether he would distinguish between two Gomitras as Allan did. As the distinction made by Allan appears to be valid, Härtel will have to specify whether the Gomitra of

Sonkh excavations is Gomitra I or II. Second, in trying to controvert the suggestion that Mitra coins were issued in the Śuṅga period, Härtel asks (p. 82): '. . . why not a single inscribed coin of the Purāṇic Śuṅga from the same time is known to us. That only the vassals or local rulers issued coins in their name and neither Puyṣamitra nor his successors in the Purāṇic list, seems quite improbable.' And yet, Härtel suggests the close of the second century B.C. for the beginning of inscribed Mathurā coins—a date which is well within the Śuṅga period.

15. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 80.
16. This impression is derived from the fact that in its later phase evidence of Śuṅga rule is available from such disparate centres as Vidiśā and Ayodhyā.
17. The political and economic network of Mathurā in this period was mainly confined within the Ganges basin. A brick inscription from Mora, seven miles to the west of Mathurā, mentions that Yaśamatā, daughter of one Bṛhatśatumitra, generally identified with the ruler known from Kauśāmbī coins, was married to a king of Mathurā, *JRAS*, 1912, p. 120; Lüders, *MI*, p. 155. Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, p. 156, postulates that the authority of Mathurā extended to Kanauj on the following grounds: i) Gomitra, Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra are names common to coins from both areas, ii) 'Ujjain' symbol, which she considers as the dynastic emblem of the Mitras of Mathurā, occurs on both Mathurā and Kanauj series. The provenances of the local Mathurā series are such sites as Hastinapur, Purana Qila, Sankisa, Rupar: Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, p. 160, fn. 83; *JNSI*, 36 (1974), pp. 9–19.
18. The list is based on *BMCAI*; P. L. Gupta, 'Coinage'; Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, p. 152. For Satamitra see K. D. Bajpai, 'A Coin of Satyamitra—a new ruler of Mathurā,' *JNSI*, 28, no. I (1966), p. 42. Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, p. 152, fn. 36, correctly points out that the Prākṛta form Satamita can be Sanskritized as Satamitra and not Satyamitra.
19. Some of these kings are identifiable with their namesakes appearing on epigraphs. Some fragmentary inscriptions from Gaṇēshrā mention the *amātya* of Gomitra, perhaps one of the Gomitras of coins, *ASIAR*, 1911–12, p. 129. One Viṣṇumitra is known from a Mathurā inscription, *IHQ*, 2 (1926), pp. 441 ff., Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, pp. 153–54, refers to a Mathurā inscription in a private collection which yields the name Sūryamitra.
20. See A. K. Narain, ed., *Seminar papers on Local coins of Northern India*, passim; also, P. L. Gupta, 'Coinage.'
21. B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, Chapter III; Idem, 'India's earliest inscribed coins: the city issues,' *JNSI*, 38, pt. 2 (1976), pp. 35–54.
22. For a sample of this method see P. L. Gupta, 'Coinage.'
23. D. P. Henige, 'Some Phantom dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum,' *BSOAS*, Vol. 38, pt. III (1975), p. 526.
24. The title *mahārāja* appears on several coins bearing the personal name Apalata, which Allan is strongly inclined to assign to Mathurā, *BMCAI*, lxxxi–ii; cx and p. 182.
25. A reconstruction of this kind has been attempted by B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, pp. 155–59.
26. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 83.
27. For stool-querns of Mathurā origin from Bhir mound and later sites see John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1951, p. 103; Vol. 2 pp. 486–87; also M. Ishtiaq Khan, 'Mathura objects in Taxila museum,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. 11, no. 1 (1966), pp. 41–49. For a comprehensive review of cultural links between Mathurā and the northwest see J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Ghandhara and Mathura: their cultural relationship,' in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 27–43.
28. For a recent note on the *Yuga-Purāṇa* evidence, see D. C. Sircar, 'Problems of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*' in *Studies in the Yuga-Purāṇa and Other Texts*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 1–16; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, ed., *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 2 (Mauryas and Sātavāhanas), Orient Longman, 1957, pp. 153–54. However, A. K. Narain adduces strong arguments to associate Menander with the Yavana invasion into the Ganges basin, *The Indo-Greeks*, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 81–87.
29. F. Kielhorn, ed., *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. 2, Bombay, p. 119.
30. D. C. Sircar, 'The Yavanas and Mathurā,' *JAIH*, Vol. 6, pts. 1–2 (1972–73), pp. 168–173.
31. For the relevant passage in the text of the Hathigumpha inscription, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, p. 216.
32. K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India* (A Numismatic Approach), Calcutta, 1974, p. 55. The Audumbara affiliation of Mahādeva has been strongly doubted by A. Mitra Sastri, ('Was Mahādeva an Audumbara chief?', *JNSI*, 34, pt. 1 [1972], pp. 15–22) but the controversy will not seriously effect the argument in this paper.
33. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, ed., *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 2, p. 263.
34. The list is compiled on the basis of *IMC*, pp. 195–96; *BMCAI*, cxi–cxvi; P. L. Gupta, 'Coinage'; K. D. Bajpai, 'The joint issues of the Kshatrapas Hagāna and Hagāmāsha', *JNSI*, 25, pt. 2 (1963), pp. 102–103; B. N. Mukherjee, 'A unique Satrapal coin', *JNSI*, Vol. 38, pt. 2 (1976), pp. 60–61.
35. See note 10.
36. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 134–35.
37. *BMCAI*, p. 187.
38. Despite Rosenfield's recent upholding of the reading 42 (John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, p. 299, note 11), see D. C. Sircar's strong arguments in favour of the reading 72, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 120, fn. 3. The date is generally assigned to the Vikrama era which will make it, in terms of the Christian era, 14–15 A.D.

39. For the text of the Mathurā Lion capital inscriptions, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 114–118.
40. *CII*, Vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. XIII–XIV.
41. A short Kharoṣṭhī inscription, found at Sonkh, has also been assigned to the Kṣatrapa phase; Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 90.
42. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 114–118, Group I, A(i), Group II, B.
43. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Group II, G E; Kusulaa Padika of this inscription may be identified with Patika, son of Liaka Kusuluko, of Taxila copper plate inscription of year 78, *CII*, II, i, pp. 28–29. Kharaosta may be identical with Kharaosta of coins bearing Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends, although Whitehead is against this suggestion, *PMC*, I, p. 159.
44. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 116, Group II F.
45. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 118, Group III P.
46. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 120–123, nos. 25, 26, 26A; for Śoḍāsa's coins as a *mahākṣatrapa* see *BMCAI*, p. 191.
47. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 121, and fn. 6.
48. B. N. Mukherjee believes, mainly on the strength of the 'Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī' device used by both Azilises and Rajuvula, that Azilises' 'Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī' coins may be attributed to Mathurā and that Rajuvula was a subordinate of Azilises, *An Agrippan Source: A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 173.
49. For the early Kṣatrapas of western India, see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History*, Chapter IX.
50. For Gondopharian symbol, see *PMC*, I, pp. 146, 150–153.
51. This is pointed out by B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source*, p. 253; also B. N. Mukherjee, 'A Unique Satrapal Coin,' *JNSI*, 38, pt. 2 (1976), pp. 60–61.
52. For a recent review of the problem, see P. L. Gupta, 'Kushana-Muruṇḍa rule in eastern India—Numismatic evidence,' *JNSI*, 36 (1974), pp. 25–53.
53. K. G. Goswami, 'Kosam inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka, the year 2,' *EI*, Vol. 24, (1942), pp. 210–212.
54. J. Ph. Vogel, 'Epigraphical discoveries at Sarnath,' *EI*, Vol. 8 (1905–06), p. 173 ff.
55. Vogel, 'Sarnath,' p. 180; T. Bloch, 'Inscription on the umbrella staff of the Buddhist image from Sahet Mahet,' *EI*, Vol. 9 (1907–08), p. 291.
56. Bühler, 'Further Inscriptions from Sanchi,' *EI*, Vol. 2 (1894, reprinted 1970), pp. 369–70.
57. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 51.
58. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 133.
59. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 140–142.
60. See M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art*, London, 1977, p. 86.
61. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 140.
62. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, Chapter VII.
63. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 148.
64. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 299, note 13.
65. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 150.
66. R. D. Bandyopadhyaya, 'Mathura Inscriptions in the Indian Museum,' *JASB* (N.S.), Vol. 5, no. 7 (1909), p. 238; *IA*, 33 (1904), p. 153.
67. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 181.
68. S. Piggott believes, on the strength of a reference in Hiuen-tsang, that a Kuṣāṇa record office was located at Mathurā, *Some Ancient Cities of India*, Oxford, 1945, p. 46.
69. H. W. Bailey, 'Kusanica,' *BSOAS*, 14 (1952), p. 421 for the meaning of the term *Bakanapati*.
70. *Ya catra puṇya taṁ devaputrasya ṣāhiṣya Huviṣkasya Yeṣā ca devaputro priyaḥ teṣāmapi puṇya bhavatu*, Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 152.
71. Lüders' *List*, nos. 62, 52 (additions, p. 166).
72. Vogel, 'Sarnath,' *EI*, 8, p. 173 ff.
73. J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, reprint, Varanasi, 1971, p. 63, no. A66.
74. B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas*, Bombay, 1965, p. 82, refers to the inscription as being from Anyor. This is not so. The record is from Galateswar Mahadev Math and its 'characters are of archaic type,' Lüders, *MI*, pp. 31–32.
75. The significance of this point has been underlined by me in an unpublished paper 'Kuṣāṇa polity in India' read at the International Seminar of Kushana Studies, Kabul, November, 1978.
76. See P. L. Gupta, 'A Kushana Coin with Brahmi Legend,' *JNSI*, 35 (1973), pp. 123–126. The use of Brāhmī may suggest that the coin was minted at Mathurā.
77. See Lüders, *MI*, pp. 134–138.
78. A Jamālpur mound inscription gives Valāna as the name of *daṇḍanāyaka*, and according to Lüders (*MI*, pp. 65–67) it is 'certainly a foreign and probably an Iranian name.' A Gaṇēshrā mound inscription refers to *mahādaṇḍanayaka* Ulāna, also taken to be an Iranian name (*MI*, p. 158).
79. Lüders, pp. 134–138; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I p. 152.
80. G. Bühler, 'New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura,' *EI*, I (1892), p. 387, no. 11.
81. B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas*, p. 84.
82. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Curzon Museum Inscription of Kanishka's reign; year 23,' *EI*, Vol. 28 (1952), pp. 42–44. Chhabra's reading *Mahāra*, restored by him as *Mahārāja*, was corrected by D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions* I, p. 146) to V(o)hāri, i.e., *Vyavahārika*. The name of the Vyavahārika is Matsyagupta.
83. R. S. Sharma, 'Decay of Gangetic towns in Gupta and post-Gupta times,' *PIHC*, 32 session, Muzaffarpur, 1972, pp. 92–104.
84. Information kindly supplied by Sri M. C. Joshi. See also S. Piggott, *Ancient Cities*, p. 45. Within the city walls, 'similar walls with indications of towers at the angles' are found around Kaṭrā area, suggesting that it 'constituted a citadel within the main city walls.'
85. A. Cunningham, *Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–83* (Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 20), Calcutta, 1885, p. 38 ff; Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, pp. 6–19; maps in Lüders, *MI*.

86. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 151–53.
87. Lüders, *List*, no. 24.
88. Lüders, *List*, no. 30.
89. Lüders, *List*, Add. 140.
90. Lüders, *List*, nos. 53–54.
91. Lüders, *List*, no. 29.
92. Lüders, *List*, nos. 37, 39, 68, 76.
93. Lüders, *List*, no. 29.
94. Lüders, *List*, no. 74.
95. Lüders, *List*, no. 95.
96. Lüders, *List*, no. 32.
97. Lüders, *List*, no. 100.
98. Lüders, *MI*, pp. 62–63.
99. Lüders, *List*, no. 102.
100. Lüders, *MI*, pp. 34, 110, 116.
101. *IAR*, 1954–55, p. 16.
102. Lüders, *MI*, pp. 101–102. Lüders, however, takes it to represent the name of a local Buddhist school.
103. Lüders, *MI*, p. 49.
104. Lüders, *MI*, pp. 49, 154. Here Māthuraka and Kālavāḷa are together used as part of the same name.
105. Lüders, *MI*, p. 68.
106. This term, appearing in two Mathurā records, is taken to refer to a place-name in the northwest, Lüders, *MI*, pp. 75–77.
107. Lüders, *MI*, p. 39.
108. Lüders, *MI*, p. 104.
109. Lüders, *List*, no. 43.
110. Lüders, *MI*, pp. 92–93. The variant of the name is *Vvagamīhira*, p. 93.
111. The name appears along with Horamurddhaphara, Lüders, *MI*.
112. Lüders, *MI*, p. 98.
113. Lüders, *MI*, p. 98; also, Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 299, no. 13.
114. A. Cunningham, *Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–83*, p. 37.
115. W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912, pp. 41–42, sec. 47.
116. B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas*, pp. 24–25.
117. Round stone slab from Gaṇēshrā, *ASIAR*, 1911–1912, pp. 128 ff. This itself is significant even if we do not accept the suggestion that a portrait figure from the Māṭ sanctuary may represent Caṣṭana; see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 145–46.
118. For the significance of Kuṣāṇa connection with the lower Indus country, see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushana History*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 11–17; also Appendix III.
119. Bühler, 'New Jaina,' *EI*, I, p. 387, no. 11.
120. Bühler, 'New Jaina,' *EI*, I, p. 387, no. 11.
121. S. L. Katare, 'Two new coins of King Seshadatta,' *JNSI*, Vol. 34, pt. 2 (1972), pp. 189–195.
122. See J. Ph. Vogel, 'Naga Worship in ancient Mathura,' *ASIAR* (1908–1909), pp. 159 ff; B. N. Puri, 'Naga worship in the Kushana period,' *JIH*, Vol. 20 (1942), pp. 137–143.
123. H. Härtel, 'Sonkh.'
124. Mathurā was one of several centres of Nāga rule in the immediately pre-Gupta period; *Mathurāṁ ca purīṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokṣyanti sapta vai*; F. E. Pargitar, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. Oxford, 1913, p. 53. Coins of Gaṇapati Nāga, one of the rulers vanquished by Samudra Gupta, have been found abundantly at Mathurā, see B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States*, p. 169.

PART II

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

4. Trends in the Economic History of Mathurā (*c.* 300 B.C.-A.D. 300)

R. S. SHARMA

Evidence from Pali texts and archaeology suggests that Mathurā was a considerable settlement in Maurya times. North Black Polished (NBP) ware sherds have been found in excavations at Mathurā and Sonkh and also in explorations at several places in Mathurā district. Although settlements at Mathurā had started around the sixth century B.C. with the people who used Painted Grey Ware, they became substantial by *c.* 300 B.C. But coins, inscriptions and archaeology show that the real importance of Mathurā as an urban centre started in the first century A.D.; about this time we find brick structures, roofing tiles, fortifications, etc.[1] Mathurā became a great centre of trade and crafts, and of religion, and administration in the first two Christian centuries in the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa phase.

The great economic importance of Mathurā was not derived from its hinterland or from the resources of that region. It has a desert type of climate.[2] Sandholes and ravines mark the bank of the Yamunā,[3] and cultivation on the banks bordering the ravines is poor.[4] At Mathurā the annual average rainfall is 21.43″.[5] Except during the brief south-west monsoon season the air over the district is generally dry.[6] The Mathurā soil is good for excavators but bad for cultivators. However, the land adjacent to the Yamunā is quite often very fertile,[7] but still irrigation is needed for the major part of the district. Till recent times a good part was irrigated by the *rahaṭ* or Persian wheel system, but this contrivance was not known in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Although the district is a part of the Indo-Gangetic alluvium,[8] because of less rainfall it was not capable of producing much in ancient times. Probably it produced wheat, barley, millet, rice and pulses, but whether the rural base of Mathurā was strong enough to support its urban settlement is doubtful. Mathurā, however, is famous for its *tamāla* trees, and according to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* spices in the form of green leaves were imported from India.[9] According to Wilfred H. Schoff the imported spice is the leaf of the *tamāla* tree, which is a variety of cinnamon or laurel.[10] Mathurā may have contributed to the export of this spice from India. The mention of *cūtaka vihāra* suggests that Mathurā also produced mangoes. Probably the Mathurā artisans produced some luxury and essential goods for local use and export. Otherwise it is very unlikely that the natural resources/products of Mathurā enabled it to pay its way.

We have no idea about the land system or the agricultural methods prevalent in the Mathurā region. Finds of votive tanks in excavations and numerous references to the construction of wells, tanks and water reservoirs for religious purposes in inscriptions[11] suggest that the practice of providing water facilities may have also been followed in the countryside where it promoted the supply of water for both drinking and irrigation. Such facilities may have been organised individually or collectively; the state does not seem to have played any important part in it.

While some land grants were made by the Sātavāhanas in Maharashtra, none seems to have been made by the Kuṣāṇas unless it is understood in terms of indirect grant of land for the construction of monasteries, tanks, reservoirs, etc. The term *akṣayanīvi*, which indicates perpetual land tenure in a Sātavāhana inscription, is used in a Kuṣāṇa epigraph from Mathurā,[12] but not in

the context of land grant. In villages, headmen seem to have been men of importance, and the *grāmika* is mentioned in two Mathurā inscriptions[13] and one of them had more than one wife.[14] Probably he assessed and collected taxes from the peasants, as was the case with the *gāmasāmika*, mentioned in the *Milinda-pañha*.[15] Possibly he collected from the peasants *praṇaya*, *viṣṭi*, and taxes levied on their fruits and flowers from which they were exempted by Rudra-dāman in the construction of the Sudarśana lake. At any rate he may have collected the royal share of the produce. According to Agrawala *kālavāḍa* or *kārapāla*, collector of taxes, mentioned as one of the donors at Mathurā, was an official of high rank whose title was in vogue even before the rise of the Kuṣāṇas.[16] It seems that in the Mathurā region or in northern India there was hardly any class of landed intermediaries between the state and the peasants during the period we are considering.

An overall view of Mathurā and whatever we can infer about its resources and its land system would show that it did not enjoy any special advantage from the agrarian point of view. The carrying capacity of its soil was poor. We have no means to show that taxes collected from the peasants were sufficient to maintain administrative and other establishments at this place during the Śaka or the Kuṣāṇa regime. In spite of this, archaeology and other sources of evidence indicate continuous progress of Mathurā in structure and artifacts from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. How did this happen? Mathurā obviously owed all this to its pivotal position as a great clearing house of commodities, for it was well connected with Central Asia through the north-western route and also with the western coast through the Ujjain route. It was certainly situated at the centre of four cross-roads,[17] if not several more as pointed out by Professor Bajpai.[18] The merchants undoubtedly played a significant role in the economic life of the city. Known by different terms such as *vaṇik*, *śreṣṭhin*, *sārthavāha*, *vyavahārin*, etc., at least twelve merchants are mentioned as donors in inscriptions from Mathurā.[19] If we add the number of several *gandhikas*[20] (literally perfumers but generally merchants) the total number would reach seventeen. The merchants were rich enough to set up their monastery[21]; so were the goldsmiths[22] or *sauvarṇikas*, who are repeatedly mentioned.[23] All types of jewellery are profusely represented in sculptures.[24] We notice earrings, bracelet, double bracelet, necklace, double necklace, breast jewel, bangle, anklet, torque, bangles including the heavy ones, armlets, wristlets, crown, amulet string, ear-pendants, and metallic chain.[25] Earrings, bracelet and necklace figure commonly.[26] A gold leaf has been discovered at Sonkh. Apparently all this accounts for the importance of goldsmiths, who, as artisans and merchants, served the needs of the upper crust of society.

This brings us to the question of semi-precious stones and possibly art objects. Fine textiles were produced in Mathurā which was famous for its *śāṭaka*,[27] a special kind of cloth. But in the period under review Mathurā also traded in some essential commodities. We frequently come across iron mongers,[28] suggesting thereby that agricultural implements needed by the ordinary folk in the countryside were manufactured and supplied by them although war weapons, which are so frequently represented in sculptures and also in coins, may have received priority in trade.

This leads us to the nature of trade in the Mathurā region. A good many articles of trade seem to have been luxury and prestige objects. Trade in silk, when temporarily disturbed on the Central Asian route, was diverted to the eastern part of the Roman empire via Broach through the *uttarāpatha* which touched Mathurā and wherefrom goods went to the western coast via Vidiśā, Ujjain. We hear of horse-dealers from Taxila passing through Mathurā.[29] In addition to this the merchants of Mathurā may have participated in trade in ivory objects, glass goods, semi-precious stones and possibly in art objects.

Six types of lances,[30] six types of swords,[31] various types of sheaths,[32] three types of shields,[33] and five types of daggers[34] are known from the sculptures of the period. These sculptures obviously belong to the 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D. In addition to these, numerous weapons of the period are mentioned in chapter IX of *Life* by N. P. Joshi. Vogel[35] and V. S. Agrawala[36] refer to many swords, spears, daggers, etc. Thus, sculptures suggest that weapon-making was a thriving industry, and inscriptions indicate that blacksmiths and traders in iron objects were an important group, and their activities may have something to do with the steel goods that were sent to Rome where there was a complaint on waste of gold in purchasing the Indian cutlery. There also seems to have been some trade in brass goods at Mathurā. A piece of brass rod, and brass hook, have been found,[37] and we also get a reference to brass scissors meant for cutting arecanuts.[38] But still even in the houses of upper class people, pottery was not replaced by brass/bronze utensils for eating and cooking purposes.

Numerous representations of tunics,[39] trousers,[40] scarfs,[41] shawls,[42] draperies,[43] turban, head dresses,[44] etc., in sculptures might suggest the needs of soldiers

and upper class of society, but representations of *dhotīs*[45] and *sārīs*[46] suggest that the needs of the common people in the city were not ignored. We also hear of cotton-dealers.[47] Similarly the existence of the guild of flour-makers[48] suggests that wheat, barley or millet flour was sold to the urban population. Thus we have some evidence to show that essential articles meant for day to day needs had become marketable.

As stated above, in many cases it is difficult to demarcate between artisans and traders. Goldsmiths, for instance, who had set up their own monastery, functioned as both traders and artisans. Although we may not be able to pinpoint such cases, there is no doubt that the later phase of the post-Maurya period saw a phenomenal progress in artisanal activities in northern and western India in whose trade Mathurā participated as a great transit centre.

The general economic climate in northern India was favourable. The *Milinda-pañha* lists as many as seventy-five occupations,[49] about sixty of which were connected with various kinds of crafts; eight crafts were associated with the working of such mineral products as gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass, iron, and precious stones or jewels.[50] The *Mahāvastu* mentions a variety of brass (*ārakūṭa*), zinc, antimony and red arsenic.[51] All this shows considerable advance and specialisation in the working of various kinds of metal. Chemical examination of iron artifacts shows that by *circa* 100 B.C. steelmaking was known in India,[52] and the *Milinda* tells us something about the process employed in making iron objects. According to it, even when beaten, black iron carries weight and it does not vomit up the water it has once soaked in.[53] Apparently on account of large scale production of iron goods, Indian iron and steel are mentioned in the *Periplus* as imports into the Abyssinian ports. That Mathurā had an important group of artisans and traders dealing in iron goods is clear from numerous epigraphic references, although we do not know the source of their supply of iron ores which may have come from a considerable distance.

Textile manufacture was another important handicraft in the period under review. According to the *Milinda-pañha* five processes of cloth manufacture were undertaken by Gotamī, the aunt of the Buddha.[54] But it should be understood that in spite of the use of wheels in numerous other objects such as pottery, carts/chariots, oil-making, the spinning wheel or *charkhā* was not known. Spindles and whorls seem to be the instruments meant for spinning. The presence of cotton dealers and representations of numerous types of cloth coupled with the reference to the Mathurā *śāṭaka* in Patanjali shows that it was an important centre of cloth manufacture with a considerable population of weavers. Silk weaving may have also been practised at Mathurā, for along with cloth making and the making of arms and luxury articles, it is mentioned in the *Milinda*.[55] However, it is still not clear as to when the art of growing silk worms fed on mulberry leaves appeared in India. In any case it is a measure of the importance of the weaving class that Manu recommends levy of taxes on the produce of weavers.

Textile manufacture was supplemented by tailoring, which seems to have been known in the age of the Buddha. But the craft received special impetus because of the new type of the seven dresses introduced by the Indo-Scythians. Tunics, trousers, cloak or mantle, coloured coat, overcoat, embroidered coat, skirts, petticoat, conical hat, long-sleeved tunics, long trousers, etc., are represented repeatedly in Mathurā sculptures, and have been noted by Vogel, Agrawala and K. D. Bajpai. Apparently all this provided sufficient work for tailors (*prāvārika*) who are mentioned several times as donors in Mathurā inscriptions.[56] It is interesting to note that tailors were rich enough to set up their own monastery.[57] Besides tailoring, dyeing was another subsidiary occupation, and we hear of a donation made by the wife of a dyer (*rayagini*).[58] Outside Mathurā we have several references to dyers and in an excavation in Tamil Nadu a dyer's vat has been discovered.

Pottery seems to have been a thriving craft at Mathurā in the post-NBP phase. Apart from various types of red ware found in excavations, jars, vases, bowls, pitchers, large vessels, goblets, cups, etc., are found represented in sculptures, and have been noted by Vogel[59] and Agrawala.[60] A characteristic feature of some pots discovered from Mathurā is their thin walls, particularly of sprinklers with bottle necks. Their walls are thinner even than those of NBP, and this thinness shows more skill and better technology. In any case sprinklers, which seem to have been a typical feature of pottery in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, were present at Mathurā. They may have been used either for religious purposes or for sprinkling perfumed water by affluent sections of society in the city.

In view of the profuse number of sculptures found in Mathurā, especially those in red sandstone,[61] we may visualize the presence of a large number of sculptors. Several sculptors are mentioned in inscriptions.[62] Probably they were literate enough to incise their names. It appears that architectural activities such as housemaking, pillar making (especially sacred ones),

protection on long journeys. Moreover although camels were not so common as a means of transport,[106] the Central Asians introduced camels of double humped Bactrian variety, which were controlled by reins and switches made of twisted stuff.[107] It is interesting that even bulls were used for riding and controlled by thongs and long staffs.[108] Another improvement in transport seems to have been the use of bridges. Literature of about 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. shows that moats around fortifications were provided with bridges (*saṁkrama*).[109] It is likely that some kind of bridges, apart from boat bridges, may have been put up for crossing rivers intersecting the roads.

Apart from some of these improvements in transport technology, we may also take note of the beginning of the techniques of making steel which seems to have appeared around 100 B.C. The technique of glass blowing may have been introduced about the beginning of the Christian era. While we have considerable evidence of the sale and manufacture of iron goods at Mathurā, no such evidence is available about glass manufacture. But, as M. G. Dikshit has shown, the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200 saw the high watermark of glass manufacture in India, and it is likely that Mathurā had some share in it. We have already referred to the possible introduction of growing mulberry silk in this period.

But the most revolutionary change that affected foreign trade and economic life of the cities was the discovery of the monsoons. Its date is placed around A.D. 48, but the finds of Roman coins in south India from an earlier date suggest that this discovery may have occurred around the beginning of the Christian era. The discovery not only helped sea trade immensely but also encouraged export and import from the hinterland and interior.

According to a Hindi saying Mathurā occupies a unique place in the three traditional worlds (*tīn lok se Mathurā nyārī*). This saying may have been derived from the heretical character of the city in the period under consideration. It was only in later times that this place became a centre of the Kṛṣṇa cult. But from the economic point of view Mathurā's special feature lay in not possessing a strong rural base. Whatever importance it enjoyed in crafts, commerce and urbanism was derived mainly from certain economic and technological developments which characterized almost the whole of northern, western and a good part of coastal India. Mathurā's share in all this development was substantial because of the strategic position it enjoyed. It is significant that the general decline in trade and urbanism based on artisanal and commercial activities from the third–fourth centuries A.D. also affected Mathurā as it did many other towns in northern and western India. It is because of this that while we have seven levels of Kuṣāṇa structures at Sonkh, we have only two levels of Gupta structures.[110] The later importance of Mathurā was derived more from its being a place of pilgrimage than from its being a centre of crafts, commerce and administration.

NOTES

1. *Indian Archaeology 1974–75—A Review*, New Delhi (1979), p. 50; *IA* (1975–76), p. 55.
2. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, *Mathurā*, Lucknow, 1968, pp. 5–6.
3. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 6.
4. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 7.
5. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 9.
6. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 10.
7. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 6.
8. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 8.
9. P. H. L. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas and the Ancient Trade-Route from Taxila to Ujjain,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, ix, 1966, pp. 278–9.
10. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 279.
11. H. Lüders, 'A list of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400 A.D., with the exception of those of Aśoka,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X (1909–10), Appendix, 1912. (Cited below as *Lüders' List*.) nos. 64, 82, 102. V. S. Agrawala, 'A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathurā Art,' *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*. (Cited below as *JUPHS*.) Vol. XXII, 1949, p. 204; 'Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum,' *JUPHS*, 1950, Vol. XXIII, p. 75.
12. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965. (Cited below as *Sel. Inscr.*)
13. *Lüders' List*, nos. 48, 69a.
14. *Lüders' List*, no. 48.
15. V. Trenckner (editor), *Milindapañha*, London, 1880, p. 147.
16. *JUPHS*, XXIII, no. E, p. 147.
17. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 293.
18. Shiva G. Bajpai, 'Mathurā: Trade Routes, Commerce, and Communication Patterns from the Post-Mauryan

Period to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Period,' paper presented to the Seminar on Mathurā in New Delhi, January, 1980.

19. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXXI, no. 121, p. 65; *Lüders' List*, no. 140, Addition and Correction, nos. 105, 24, 41; H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961. (Cited below as *MI*) nos. 44, 65, 172 etc.
20. *Lüders' List*, nos. 37, 39, 68, 76; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXIII, no. B2 (p. 39), l.2.
21. *Lüders' List*, no. 140, p. 174, Addition and Correction.
22. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 193, no. 260.
23. *Lüders' List*, nos. 95, 150, 168.
24. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI–XXIII.
25. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII–XXIII.
26. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII–XXIII.
27. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1.2.
28. *Lüders' List*, nos. 29, 53, 54.
29. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 293.
30. N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, Banaras, 1967, pp. 256, 259.
31. Joshi, *Life*.
32. Joshi, *Life*, pp. 261, 263.
33. Joshi, *Life*, p. 263.
34. Joshi, *Life*, p. 264.
35. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910. (Cited below as *AMM*.) no. T.27 (p. 199); no. F.1 (p. 111); no. F.13 (p. 145); no. E.13 (p. 108); no. F.3 (p. 112); no. F.32 (p. 116).
36. *JUPHS*, XXII, no. 1022 (p. 140); no. 1579 (p. 140); no. 592 (p. 152); no. 724 (p. 152); no. 2028 (p. 152); no. 889 (p. 158); no. 738 (p. 160); no. 739 (p. 161); no. 126 (p. 161); no. 604 (p. 165); no. 739 (p. 161); no. 126 (p. 161); no. 604 (p. 165); no. 739 (p. 205); no. 1244 (p. 205); no. D.46 (p. 167); no. 269 (p. 167); no. 894 (p. 168); no. 936 (p. 168); no. 938 (p. 168); no. 100 (p. 168).
37. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 2799 (p. 79).
38. *AMM*, no. V 31 (p. 202).
39. K. D. Bajpai, 'Some New Mathurā Finds,' *JUPHS*, XXI (1948), no. 12, p. 127. Many examples of tunic have been quoted by Vogel and Agrawala.
40. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 43, 66; XXII, pp. 129, 167, 174, 195; *AMM*, pp. 84, 94, 110.
41. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 485 (p. 67); no. 746 (p. 69); no. 1366 (p. 72); no. 1410 (p. 72); no. 2739 (p. 75); no. 2798 (p. 77). Several instances are quoted in *JUPHS*, XXII also. Other examples are given by Vogel in *AMM*, pp. 112–14, 137, 141–42, 144–48, 153.
42. *AMM*, no. E.21 (p. 110), no. 22 (p. 110), no. G.26 (p. 121).
43. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 64, 66, 68–69, 71–74, 77.
44. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 67, 70–71; *AMM*, pp. 113–16, 120–21, 124, etc.
45. There are more than a dozen references to *dhotī* in Vogel, *AMM*, pp. 56–58, 62, 64, 83, 88, 90–99, etc. Agrawala makes seven references to it in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 47, 67, 69–72, 75, 127, 142.
46. K. D. Bajpai in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 3, p. 119.
47. *Lüders' List*, no. 15.
48. S. Konow, 'Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the year 28' *EI*, XXI, no. 10, pp. 55–61.
49. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
50. *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
51. E. Senart's ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1882–97; ii. 106.
52. D. P. Agrawala and A. Ghosh, ed., *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, Bombay, 1973, pp. 398–99.
53. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 415.
54. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 240.
55. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
56. *MI*, nos. 7, 74, 81, 124 and 133.
57. *MI*, no. 74.
58. *Lüders' List*, no. 32.
59. *AMM*, pp. 109, 111, 162, 199, 201–04.
60. *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 165, 180–88, 190–91, 193, 201, 204–05.
61. *AMM*, p. 188; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 158, 188.
62. *MI*, nos. 77, 146–49.
63. Joshi, *Life*, Chapter II.
64. Devangana Desai, 'Social Background of Ancient Indian Terracottas', *History and Society Essays in Honour of Professor Niharranjan Ray*, ed., D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 153–61.
65. K. D. Bajpai in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 128–129; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 186.
66. *MI*, no. 27; *Lüders' List*, nos. 85, 100.
67. *AMM*, p. 126; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 186–87; XXIII, p. 131.
68. Bela Lahiri, 'Indian Earliest Coins: The City Issues,' *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXVIII (1976), pt. II, pp. 52–53. Hiranyāśrama may have been a market quarter in the city of Taxila, p. 54.
69. Manfred G. Raschke, *Roman Coin Finds on the Indian Subcontinent: A Catalogue and Analysis*. (Cyclostyled paper; place and date not mentioned.)
70. Lahiri in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pt. II, p. 54.
71. Cf. H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' *German Scholars on India*, ii, Bombay, 1976, p. 87.
72. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 37.
73. Information from Professor A. M. Shastri.
74. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 37–38.
75. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 35–38.
76. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
77. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 36.
78. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
79. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
80. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 42–43.
81. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 44–45.
82. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 45.
83. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 50.
84. J. Allan *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. ciii.
85. Allan, *Catalogue*, p cli.
86. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. clii–cliii.
87. K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India, A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 255.

fortification, etc., constituted an important form of artisanal activity. The Kuṣāṇas introduced new types of shafts,[63] which may have employed quite a few masons. At any rate, these activities provided livelihood for a good number of people. Terracottas are found in good numbers, and their makers flourished in an urban milieu, as has been shown by Devangana Desai.[64]

Because of the urban milieu a sizeable class of entertainers including actors, dancers, etc.,[65] appears as donors for religious purposes.[66] We also notice musical instruments, which are represented in sculptures.[67] This would suggest that a few artisans were engaged in the manufacture of these instruments. Since numerous slabs, tablets, images, etc., were set up, it is evident that sculptors were in good demand and probably paid handsomely.

Although we know something about artisanal and trading activities at Mathurā, we have no means to determine the prices of different products and the nature of their distribution. We have no idea about the nature of taxes that were collected nor of the way they were disbursed. We have some idea about the large-scale donations that were made in Mathurā; more than 370 inscriptions deal with this subject. Most gifts were made in favour of the Buddhist cause, the Jains' cause came second, and the Brāhmaṇical gods were a very poor third. Kṛṣṇa, the popular god of Mathurā, does not find any place in donative inscriptions known to me. Every donation was a form of economic activity, but most donations were made for non-functional, unproductive purposes, and did not promote the cause of production. If we leave out donation of tanks, water reservoirs, monasteries, etc., and the donation of money to the guild of flour makers for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, it will appear that most gifts were useless from the economic point of view. They certainly gave employment to a large number of masons, sculptors and various categories of wage earners but did not contribute to the wealth of Mathurā, unless we presume that art objects carried the same value as they do today and were exported in good numbers. However they may have strengthened the donors ideologically and psychologically in pursuing their normal avocations.

Compared to donations, trade was certainly a far more important mechanism in the distribution of various types of goods, and it seems that most goods were priced in terms of metallic money. We have no idea about the nature of profit reaped by the middlemen. An impressionistic view of the information available about the coins suggests that the period 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D. was an age of most plentiful coinage in ancient India. It would be wrong to think that from the monetary point of view the post-Maurya period was marked by decline and the Gupta period by prosperity. The period is noted for the finds of both Roman and indigenous coins. 129 hoards of Roman coins have been reported so far,[68] but most of these have been found south of the Vindhyas. It is likely that some imitation Roman coins were being issued by Indian agencies, but the overwhelming part of transactions seems to have been carried on in indigenous coins. Possibly numerous agencies such as cities, guilds, 'tribes' and ruling dynasties issued their coins in this period mostly in copper/bronze, lead, and potin, although gold coins appeared for the first time in good numbers under the Kuṣāṇas. So far the number of dies/moulds even for the published coins has not been worked out, but we possibly encounter their largest number during this period. Apart from the circulation of uninscribed punch-marked coins this is a period of inscribed coins. Thus the city of Taxila issued three series of coins (i) the *negama* series, (ii) the *pañcanekame* series and (iii) the *hirañasame* series. The first contained five varieties of legends and the last contained two such varieties.[69] Although Taxila came under the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kuṣāṇas in post-Maurya times, its coinage continued till its conquest by the Kuṣāṇas.[70] Taxilan coins have been found at Sonkh[71] which shows commercial contacts between the two. Varanasi, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Erakiṇa, Bhāgila, Kaurara, Ujjayinī, Tripurī, Māhiṣmatī, and probably Tagar and Ayodhyā, issued coins.[72] Indrapura or Indor also issued its coins.[73] Puṣkalāvatī and Kāpiśa also seem to have issued their coins.[74] In some other cases such as Kādaṣa, Vatasvaka, Upagodasa, Upātikya it is not clear whether these were cities or 'tribes'.[75] Certain features of the city coinage system may be noted. Most cities lay on trade routes.[76] At many places their coins are datable to about the third and second centuries B.C. and become rare in later layers.[77] All of these coins were made of copper or of some alloy of it.[78] In fact properly speaking they should be called bronze coins. In any case the point has to be stressed that these coins were meant for day-to-day transactions carried on by the ordinary folk. It is to be further noted that most city coins were die-struck,[79] but in order to obtain even a rough idea of the volume of the coins we have to find out the number of dies used for this purpose. We may add that we have three types (I, II & III) of coins from Kauśāmbī; in addition we have three varieties with the legend *negama* or *gadhikan*.[80] Three types of coins have been found from Eran.[81] Two varieties called A & B are known from Bhāgila near Sanchi.[82] Two types of Māhiṣmati coins have been recovered.[83]

In addition to city coins we have a large number of

'tribal' coins which belong to a later period. It seems that those who issued these coins were not in the tribal stage of development, but divided into classes, as can be inferred from social distinctions in the states of the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. However the nomenclature 'tribal' persists and has been used by Allan and other scholars. They were coins issued by segmentary oligarchies. K. K. Dasgupta has made a detailed study of coins issued by 14 tribes, most of whom were located in Panjab and Rajasthan, and apparently their coins circulated in Mathurā. Thus the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land between the Yamunā and the Sutlej.[84] The Yaudheya coins have been found plentifully in the country to the west of the Yamunā in Haryana and Panjab.[85] They belong to the period from the late second century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D.[86] Numerous coin moulds of the Yaudheyas have been obtained from Rohtak and Sunet.[87] On the basis of K. K. Dasgupta we can count nearly 175 types of 'tribal' coins,[88] which would mean as many dies/moulds. But this list is not exhaustive. In addition to this, coins were issued by numerous local dynasties, the most famous of these being the 'Mitra' rulers. In the Pañcāla area we have a large number of such coins, especially from Ahicchatra. The Pañcāla coins have been carefully studied by Dr. K. M. Shrimali, in his doctoral thesis on the History of Pañcāla, which is yet to be published. On the basis of symbols, palaeography, etc., Agnimitra alone seems to have used nearly 100 dies/moulds.[89] Apparently the Pañcāla coins may have circulated in the Mathurā region.

An idea of the abundance of coins in this period can be had from the fact that the Śaka and Pahlava coins which circulated in north-western India had more than 200 monograms[90] which would presuppose a similar number of dies/moulds. Similarly, as can be said on the basis of the study of Professor A. M. Shastri, the Maghas of Kauśāmbī issued 121 varieties of coins, which would mean as many dies. If we carefully examine the coins issued by the foreign and indigenous dynasties in post-Maurya times we will notice a bewildering variety of dies/moulds used by them. In examining the number of moulds/dies we have to take into account the nature of symbols, palaeography, size, metal, etc.

It is strange that although Mathurā was an important commercial centre, so far we have not recovered any coins issued by it as a city. Obviously its needs were served by the coins issued by the dynasties which ruled here and also by numerous other city and 'tribal' and dynastic coins from outside. The Mitra and Datta coins 'cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C.', when these were succeeded by a dynasty of the Śakas bearing the title *kṣatrapa* and *mahākṣatrapa*.[91] It seems that the Kuṣāṇas issued the largest number of copper coins, and I am told by a numismatist[92] that Kuṣāṇa coppers are found in almost every important museum in India. So far as the Mathurā Museum is concerned, it contains copper coins of Soter Megas,[93] Vima Kadphises,[94] Huviṣka[95] and Indo-Scythians or Kuṣāṇa type;[96] a copper coin of late Indo-Sasanian type is also available.[97] Coppers were meant for the use of the ordinary people, but for big transactions gold coins were issued by the Kuṣāṇas on a large scale. Vogel's catalogue of the antiquities of the Mathurā Museum lists the gold coins of Scytho-Sasanian or Kuṣāṇo-Sasanian type, of the later Kuṣāṇa type and of the later Indo-Kuṣāṇa or Little Kuṣāṇa type.[98] Some coins have also been recovered from Sonkh and other excavations, but the general impression is one of the predominance of coppers in the Mathurā region, which would imply that marketization had affected even the common people. The general picture of coinage in India in the period 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D. is consistent with the high peak of urbanism, handicrafts and commerce in this period.

No background study of trends in the economic history of Mathurā can be complete without some idea of the technological factors operating in this period. There is little doubt that urbanism reached its climax in northern and western India in this period. Several factors contributed to it. One such factor was the change in building methods. At Mathurā,[99] and Ganwaria[100] in Basti district in north-eastern Uttar Pradesh the flooring was made of brick concrete mixed with lime. This indicates the use of *surkhi* which contributed to the stability of structures. Further, baked tiles for roofing appear in this period at several places in both the Sātavāhana[101] and Kuṣāṇa zones including Mathurā.[102] These innovations added to the solidity and longevity of urban structures in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In addition to improvement in housing facilities, we notice some new features in the use of horses, which may have indirectly helped commerce. Stirrups were illustrated both at Sanchi and Mathurā.[103] Although these seem to have been loose ropes in the form of toe stirrups and less in use, they may have provided better control of the horse to the caravan leader. Saddles[104] and bridles[105] were also in use in this period, but the latter were more common. Although the equestrian technology primarily helped fighters, it may have also been of use to the trade caravans which certainly needed

protection on long journeys. Moreover although camels were not so common as a means of transport,[106] the Central Asians introduced camels of double humped Bactrian variety, which were controlled by reins and switches made of twisted stuff.[107] It is interesting that even bulls were used for riding and controlled by thongs and long staffs.[108] Another improvement in transport seems to have been the use of bridges. Literature of about 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. shows that moats around fortifications were provided with bridges (*saṁkrama*).[109] It is likely that some kind of bridges, apart from boat bridges, may have been put up for crossing rivers intersecting the roads.

Apart from some of these improvements in transport technology, we may also take note of the beginning of the techniques of making steel which seems to have appeared around 100 B.C. The technique of glass blowing may have been introduced about the beginning of the Christian era. While we have considerable evidence of the sale and manufacture of iron goods at Mathurā, no such evidence is available about glass manufacture. But, as M. G. Dikshit has shown, the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200 saw the high watermark of glass manufacture in India, and it is likely that Mathurā had some share in it. We have already referred to the possible introduction of growing mulberry silk in this period.

But the most revolutionary change that affected foreign trade and economic life of the cities was the discovery of the monsoons. Its date is placed around A.D. 48, but the finds of Roman coins in south India from an earlier date suggest that this discovery may have occurred around the beginning of the Christian era. The discovery not only helped sea trade immensely but also encouraged export and import from the hinterland and interior.

According to a Hindi saying Mathurā occupies a unique place in the three traditional worlds (*tīn lok se Mathurā nyārī*). This saying may have been derived from the heretical character of the city in the period under consideration. It was only in later times that this place became a centre of the Kṛṣṇa cult. But from the economic point of view Mathurā's special feature lay in not possessing a strong rural base. Whatever importance it enjoyed in crafts, commerce and urbanism was derived mainly from certain economic and technological developments which characterized almost the whole of northern, western and a good part of coastal India. Mathurā's share in all this development was substantial because of the strategic position it enjoyed. It is significant that the general decline in trade and urbanism based on artisanal and commercial activities from the third–fourth centuries A.D. also affected Mathurā as it did many other towns in northern and western India. It is because of this that while we have seven levels of Kuṣāṇa structures at Sonkh, we have only two levels of Gupta structures.[110] The later importance of Mathurā was derived more from its being a place of pilgrimage than from its being a centre of crafts, commerce and administration.

NOTES

1. *Indian Archaeology 1974–75—A Review*, New Delhi (1979), p. 50; *IA* (1975–76), p. 55.
2. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, *Mathurā*, Lucknow, 1968, pp. 5–6.
3. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 6.
4. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 7.
5. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 9.
6. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 10.
7. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 6.
8. *Mathurā* Gazetteer, p. 8.
9. P. H. L. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas and the Ancient Trade-Route from Taxila to Ujjain,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, ix, 1966, pp. 278–9.
10. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 279.
11. H. Lüders, 'A list of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400 A.D., with the exception of those of Aśoka,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X (1909–10), Appendix, 1912. (Cited below as *Lüders' List*.) nos. 64, 82, 102. V. S. Agrawala, 'A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathurā Art,' *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*. (Cited below as *JUPHS*.) Vol. XXII, 1949, p. 204; 'Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum,' *JUPHS*, 1950, Vol. XXIII, p. 75.
12. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, *From the Sixth Century* B.C. *to the Sixth Century* A.D., 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965. (Cited below as *Sel. Inscr.*)
13. *Lüders' List*, nos. 48, 69a.
14. *Lüders' List*, no. 48.
15. V. Trenckner (editor), *Milindapañha*, London, 1880, p. 147.
16. *JUPHS*, XXIII, no. E, p. 147.
17. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 293.
18. Shiva G. Bajpai, 'Mathurā: Trade Routes, Commerce, and Communication Patterns from the Post-Mauryan

Period to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Period,' paper presented to the Seminar on Mathurā in New Delhi, January, 1980.

19. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXXI, no. 121, p. 65; *Lüders' List*, no. 140, Addition and Correction, nos. 105, 24, 41; H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961. (Cited below as *MI*) nos. 44, 65, 172 etc.
20. *Lüders' List*, nos. 37, 39, 68, 76; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXIII, no. B2 (p. 39), l.2.
21. *Lüders' List*, no. 140, p. 174, Addition and Correction.
22. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 193, no. 260.
23. *Lüders' List*, nos. 95, 150, 168.
24. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI–XXIII.
25. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII–XXIII.
26. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXII–XXIII.
27. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1.2.
28. *Lüders' List*, nos. 29, 53, 54.
29. Eggermont, 'The Muruṇḍas,' p. 293.
30. N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, Banaras, 1967, pp. 256, 259.
31. Joshi, *Life*.
32. Joshi, *Life*, pp. 261, 263.
33. Joshi, *Life*, p. 263.
34. Joshi, *Life*, p. 264.
35. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910. (Cited below as *AMM*.) no. T.27 (p. 199); no. F.1 (p. 111); no. F.13 (p. 145); no. E.13 (p. 108); no. F.3 (p. 112); no. F.32 (p. 116).
36. *JUPHS*, XXII, no. 1022 (p. 140); no. 1579 (p. 140); no. 592 (p. 152); no. 724 (p. 152); no. 2028 (p. 152); no. 889 (p. 158); no. 738 (p. 160); no. 739 (p. 161); no. 126 (p. 161); no. 604 (p. 165); no. 739 (p. 161); no. 126 (p. 161); no. 604 (p. 165); no. 739 (p. 205); no. 1244 (p. 205); no. D.46 (p. 167); no. 269 (p. 167); no. 894 (p. 168); no. 936 (p. 168); no. 938 (p. 168); no. 100 (p. 168).
37. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 2799 (p. 79).
38. *AMM*, no. V 31 (p. 202).
39. K. D. Bajpai, 'Some New Mathurā Finds,' *JUPHS*, XXI (1948), no. 12, p. 127. Many examples of tunic have been quoted by Vogel and Agrawala.
40. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 43, 66; XXII, pp. 129, 167, 174, 195; *AMM*, pp. 84, 94, 110.
41. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 485 (p. 67); no. 746 (p. 69); no. 1366 (p. 72); no. 1410 (p. 72); no. 2739 (p. 75); no. 2798 (p. 77). Several instances are quoted in *JUPHS*, XXII also. Other examples are given by Vogel in *AMM*, pp. 112–14, 137, 141–42, 144–48, 153.
42. *AMM*, no. E.21 (p. 110), no. G.26 (p. 121).
43. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 64, 66, 68–69, 71–74, 77.
44. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 67, 70–71; *AMM*, pp. 113–16, 120–21, 124, etc.
45. There are more than a dozen references to *dhotī* in Vogel, *AMM*, pp. 56–58, 62, 64, 83, 88, 90–99, etc. Agrawala makes seven references to it in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 47, 67, 69–72, 75, 127, 142.
46. K. D. Bajpai in *JUPHS*, XXI, no. 3, p. 119.
47. *Lüders' List*, no. 15.
48. S. Konow, 'Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the year 28' *EI*, XXI, no. 10, pp. 55–61.
49. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
50. *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
51. E. Senart's ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1882–97; ii. 106.
52. D. P. Agrawala and A. Ghosh, ed., *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, Bombay, 1973, pp. 398–99.
53. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 415.
54. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 240.
55. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañha*, p. 331.
56. *MI*, nos. 7, 74, 81, 124 and 133.
57. *MI*, no. 74.
58. *Lüders' List*, no. 32.
59. *AMM*, pp. 109, 111, 162, 199, 201–04.
60. *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 165, 180–88, 190–91, 193, 201, 204–05.
61. *AMM*, p. 188; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 158, 188.
62. *MI*, nos. 77, 146–49.
63. Joshi, *Life*, Chapter II.
64. Devangana Desai, 'Social Background of Ancient Indian Terracottas', *History and Society Essays in Honour of Professor Niharranjan Ray*, ed., D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 153–61.
65. K. D. Bajpai in *JUPHS*, XXI, pp. 128–129; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 186.
66. *MI*, no. 27; *Lüders' List*, nos. 85, 100.
67. *AMM*, p. 126; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, XXII, pp. 186–87; XXIII, p. 131.
68. Bela Lahiri, 'Indian Earliest Coins: The City Issues,' *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXVIII (1976), pt. II, pp. 52–53. Hiranyāśrama may have been a market quarter in the city of Taxila, p. 54.
69. Manfred G. Raschke, *Roman Coin Finds on the Indian Subcontinent: A Catalogue and Analysis*. (Cyclostyled paper; place and date not mentioned.)
70. Lahiri in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pt. II, p. 54.
71. Cf. H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' *German Scholars on India*, ii, Bombay, 1976, p. 87.
72. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 37.
73. Information from Professor A. M. Shastri.
74. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 37–38.
75. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 35–38.
76. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
77. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 36.
78. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
79. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 39.
80. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 42–43.
81. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 44–45.
82. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 45.
83. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 50.
84. J. Allan *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. ciii.
85. Allan, *Catalogue*, p cli.
86. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. clii–cliii.
87. K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India, A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 255.

88. *Tribal History*, Appendix IV.
89. I gather this from a chart prepared by Dr. Shrimali and also from discussion with him.
90. K. Walton Dobbins, *Śaka-Pahlava Coinage*, Varanasi, 1973, pp. 149–93.
91. Allan, p. cxi.
92. Information from Dr. Pratipal Bhatia.
93. *AMM*, p. 205.
94. *AMM*, p. 205.
95. *AMM*, p. 205.
96. *AMM*, p. 205.
97. *AMM*, p. 205.
98. *AMM*, p. 205.
99. Archaeological Survey of India (cyclostyled), *Report of the Director General for the Years 1974–78*, 25th Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, New Delhi, 9 December 1979, p. 20.
100. ASI (cyclostyled), Report 1974–78, p. 28.
101. ASI (cyclostyled), Report 1974–78, p. 38; *Indian Archaeology 1974–75—A Review*, p. 32.
102. *Indian Archaeology 1974–75—A Review*, pp. 49–50. There seems to be some confusion in ascribing the use of roof tiles to Period I (*circa* fourth–third century B.C.) at Mathurā on p. 49.
103. N. P. Joshi, *Life*, pp. 107–109.
104. Joshi, *Life*, p. 107.
105. Joshi, *Life*, p. 105.
106. Joshi, *Life*, pp. 109–11.
107. Joshi, *Life*, pp. 109–11.
108. Joshi, *Life*, p. 111.
109. Joshi, *Life*, p. 248.
110. H. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 71.

5. Daily Life in Ancient Mathurā

RICHARD SALOMON

In attempting to deal with topics such as daily life in connection with ancient India, scholars inevitably come head-to-head with the problem of inadequate or unreliable source materials. We are handicapped, on the one hand, by the paucity of actual remains of everyday items from ancient times, and on the other hand by the meager data available from the literary sources, which are typically concerned primarily with abstract subjects and idealized portraits and much less with the everyday realia of life.*

We are forced, nonetheless, to do the best we can with what material is available; and in the case of ancient Mathurā we are fortunate in having a good deal of information for at least some of the topics which fall under the broad heading of 'daily life.' Specifically, the sources which survive in relative abundance are sculptural representations and inscriptions; the topics which they particularly reveal are personal appearance and dress, and vocations. Archaeological evidence, especially from the recent excavations in the Mathurā area, have also greatly increased our knowledge of the appearance and features of the ancient city. Other matters, such as food and drink, sports and games, etc. are partially attested by these sources, and may be supplemented to some extent by materials from literary and other sources, which, however, do not usually apply specifically to Mathurā.

Given the purpose and format of these papers, I feel that the most appropriate approach is to concentrate on those sources which relate directly to Mathurā, and to de-emphasize more general sources. Thus while it may not be possible, with this approach, to give a complete and fully detailed account of daily life in ancient Mathurā, we can at least be sure that the information presented is properly applicable to our subject, and is therefore as accurate as it can be.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

If this approach is accepted, it would be appropriate to begin with the information which can be derived from the famous schoql of Mathurā sculpture. From these numerous relics we can derive a relatively clear and detailed picture of the appearance and styles of the people of ancient Mathurā, especially in the Kuṣāṇa period.

[Of course, it must be recognized and acknowledged at the outset that the representations of dress and ornamentation in statuary can hardly be claimed to portray the everyday wear of the ordinary citizens. No doubt they are, in most if not all cases, stylized and idealized depictions of the formal wear of privileged people. Nevertheless, for lack of other sources of information, we must make use of what is available to us, while keeping in mind the limitations of its applicability. As far as the dress of the ordinary or poor people is concerned, information is very scarce, though one may assume that it generally consisted of simpler and unadorned versions of the basic garments described below.]

One of the interesting features of the Mathurā statuary is its explicit portrayal of two strikingly different styles of dress: the traditional Indian, and the Scythian or Kuṣāṇa. The typical Indian style of male dress consisted of a *dhotī* with one end tucked in at the back, and the other on the left side with a loop (V vii c-d, J 18; C p. 38**), and a scarf, worn over both

shoulders (V ii c-d), or only over the left (J 18-19, V xxxv b). Some men also wore a decorative belt or band (*kamarband*) around the hips (V xxi b, C II.54 A-D, p. 39). Sometimes a decorative band around the shoulders was worn as well (V xxi b, C II.54 A, D).[1]

The Indians are usually portrayed wearing a turban tied on the head (J 5, 21). The turbans were often large and ornate (J 6), and elaborate plaques and crests were frequently attached to them (J 18, V xxxvi a-b). Some men are shown without turbans, with curled hair (J 75, VA vii, left-hand figure). The Indians were usually clean-shaven.

The Indian male costume as depicted in the statuary included a good deal of ornamentation. All the men had large earrings, most frequently hoop- (Sm xvi.2) or barrel-shaped (J 6). Other forms, such as one 'like an inverted pericarp of a lotus' (NPJ p. 191; V xxi b) are also seen. They often wore elaborate necklaces, usually with a large flat pendant at the bottom (V xxxiii a, xxxiv–a, xxxv–b, J 42), or less commonly with two plaques on either side of the necklace (V Cat. xxi). Such pendants could be rectangular (J 5), round (V xxxiv-b), crescent-shaped (V xxxiii-a), rhomboid (V xxxv-b), etc. These large pendant necklaces were usually accompanied by a smaller, choker-style necklace of beads (V xxxv-b, J 42) or floral designs (J 5).

The Scythian men's costume was entirely different from that of the Indians. Not surprisingly, it resembled quite closely the Scythian costume known from other regions of south and central Asia, and indeed is not unlike that which is still worn today in parts of the latter area. The basic garment was a close-fitting tunic held at the waist by a belt and extending to the knees (R 12, 13), or below (R 2, 3). Especially on royal figures, the borders of the tunic were often embroidered. Over the tunic, many of the Scythian men had a heavy coat (R 2), which was also joined by a belt (R 2) or a clasp (R 23). The coat was usually longer (R 2), but sometimes shorter (R 26) than the tunic. In sharp contrast to the generally barefooted Indians, the Scythians wore thick knee-length central Asian boots with straps around the ankle and under the sole.

Like the Indians, the Scythians covered their heads, but their style of headgear was quite different. Most of them wore the characteristic tall pointed cap[2] with the tip slightly bent forward (R 14). These were sometimes embroidered with designs (R 16), or had monograms on the sides (V iv a, d).[3] One example (V iv-c) also has a crescent design. Some of the Scythians had smaller, non-pointed caps or hats of various styles (R 17, 19; NPJ p. 165). This was apparently a less regal or wealthy style.

The Scythians seem to have worn their hair straight and medium-long under their hats (R 16, rear view). Some portraits (R 4, 14, 16) are clean-shaven, but many of the male statues have full beards (R 19).

The use of personal adornments was somewhat more restrained among the Scythians than with the Indians. One figure has beaded ornaments on his collar and wrists (R 13). Their tunics and coats often had decorative plaque belts of varied designs (R 3 a-c, 12), sometimes with a decorative tie hanging down in the middle (R 8, 13).

Thus from the statutary it would appear that the Scythians of Mathurā persisted in wearing their heavy traditional clothes, inappropriate and uncomfortable as they must have been in the Indian climate. Of course, it may well be that the statuary portrays only their formal or ceremonial costumes, while in their everyday life they may have adapted at least partially to Indian styles.

The basic garment of the Indian women of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa era was a sort of sārī which usually hung from the waist down (V xviii, vii a-b, xvi-b). Many women also wore a long shawl or scarf over both shoulders (V vii-a). Around the hips was a broad and elaborate girdle with beadwork and decorative clasp in front (V xviii). The breasts were usually uncovered (there is some controversy as to whether this was the actual practice, or merely an artistic convention). In some cases, however (Sm VI), the sārīs are shown being worn so as to cover the upper body as well.

In a few cases (PA 22, S xl) we see a woman in a mid-length skirt. This may be an example of the ordinary dress of the peasant or poorer classes.

The women wore their hair in a wide variety of styles. Some had single or double braids or pigtails (C VI.41-2, Sm xxxiv-xxxv, J 44). Others pulled their hair straight back (VA viii) or curled it in front (VA xi-xii). Some women wore elaborate hairdos done up with large turbans (J 3). Another style had the hair curled up on top in a spiral turban (V xvii-a, PA 17; cf. C pp. 42, 213). One young girl has her hair cut shoulder length, pulled back over the ears, with a row of curls at the bottom (J 47).

The women are always depicted as heavily ornamented. They wore large heavy earrings, armlets on their upper arms and many bangles on their wrists, and heavy ankle bracelets (V xix). Some wore a row of smaller anklets as well (V 1). The female statues have many types of necklaces, from a single strand of pearls (V xix-c) to many-stranded compounds (V xix a-b), and lavish combinations thereof (J 3).[4]

Mathurā sculptures present several scenes of women

adorning themselves. A *toraṇa* pillar (V xvi-c) has two such scenes. In each of them the woman is being helped by a man-friend or servant, while another servant is bringing her elaborate headdress or turban[5] on a tray. Another scene (V xviii, right hand figure) shows a woman applying makeup to her face with one hand while holding a mirror in the other. Yet another (S xl) shows a women, dressed in a skirt, drying her hair, which hangs down to her thighs; a goose stands at her feet, catching the drops in its beak as they fall from her hair.

We can derive some idea of how the Scythian women dressed from sculptural representations of a few of them, though these specimens are less common than the others. One (presumably) Scythian woman is shown in a 'bacchanalian scene' in a long-sleeved short tunic, fitted close at the waist, and reaching down only to the top of the thighs (V xlvii-a). She also wears a small, two-tiered cap. Other women, it would appear, wore long gowns in the Gandhāra style (V xlv, lx-b).

VOCATIONS

Most of the Sanskrit and 'Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit'[6] inscriptions from Mathurā of the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa periods are donative in nature, either Buddhist or Jaina. Frequently the secular or religious profession of the donor(s) are mentioned along with their names. From these inscriptions, therefore, we can derive some idea of the vocations followed by many of the residents of ancient Mathurā. These vocations can be divided into three groups: religious, official and lay.

Among religious activities, a great many donors of Buddhist structures were 'monks' (*bhikṣu*, LL 12, 61, 62, etc.). Sometimes the term was 'Buddhist monk' (*Śakyabhikṣu*, LL 134, 146–9, etc.). Another common title was 'preacher' (*vācaka*, LL 17, 27–9. etc.). Other donors were denoted as 'pupil' (*śiṣya*, LL 54, 71, etc., or *antevāsin*, LL 93, 150, etc.), or 'female pupil' (*śiśinī*, LL 50, 70, 75; *antevāsinī*, LL 99); 'lay-hearer' (*sāvaka*, LL 45, 93) and 'female lay-hearer' (*śamanasāvikā*, LL 59, 102, 108); 'ascetic' (*śramaṇa*, LL 75, 93); 'priest' (*devakulika*, LL 63); and 'elder of the congregation' (*saṁghasthavira*, LL 129, 131).

Official or governmental positions noted among the donors in Mathurā inscriptions include 'treasurer' (*gaṁjavara*, LL 82, or *hairaṇyaka*,[7] LL 74), 'general', (*mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, LL 60, MI 119), and 'trooper' (*aśvavārika*, MI 176). Lesser designations of the official class are 'village-headman' (*grāmika*, LL 48) and 'servant in the royal harem' (?) (*abhyantaropasthāyaka*, MI 25).

Among lay professions, 'perfumers' (*gandhika*, LL 37, 39, 68, 76) and 'cloakmakers' (*prāvārika*, MI 7, 74, 124, 133) are frequent donors. It is interesting to note that the former are connected with Jaina images, and the latter with Buddhist. A 'cotton-dealer' (*kārppāsika*, MI 15) was also a Jaina donor. Both Buddhist and Jaina dedications were made by 'bankers' or 'merchants' (*śreṣṭhin*, LL 24, 41; *sārthavāha*, LL 30, MI 172; *vyavahārin*, MI 65; *vānika*,[8] LL 105). 'Goldsmiths' (*suvanakāra*, MI 89; *sovaṇika*, LL 95, MI 168) and 'smiths' (*lohikākārika*, LL 53–4) also appear frequently. A 'dyer' (*rayagini*, LL 32) may be the donor in one inscription.[9]

Entertainers of various types also were followers of the two faiths: 'actors' (*śailālaka*, LL 85), 'dancers' (*nataka*, LL 100), and 'courtesans' (*gāṇikā*, LL 102).

From the epigraphic data, we see that Buddhist and Jaina religious establishments in Mathurā of the early centuries of the Christian era were supported by people who followed a wide range of professions, from mighty generals to humble smiths. The presence of the lower professions among the donors' rolls suggests a high level of prosperity in the era. The economic position of such craftsmen was no doubt strengthened by the various guilds, which are known to have had considerable power and influence in the traditional economic system of India. One such guild, that of the flour-makers (*samitakaraśreṇī*) is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription of the time of Huviṣka (EI 21, pp. 60 ff., line 12).

It is worthy of note also that none were excluded from the practice of the heterodox faiths. Thus a courtesan could at once pursue her vocation and yet be a lay-disciple of the Jaina Nirgranthas (LL 102); such a liberality of outlook was no doubt a key part of the great success enjoyed by these faiths. It is also, perhaps, a measure of the relatively relaxed and informal atmosphere which seems to have prevailed in Mathurā's heyday.

BUILDINGS AND HOUSES

Among the abundant sculptural remains from Mathurā we have several carvings which depict the town and its dwellings, giving us some idea of its appearance in ancient times. One of these (V xxiii-a) shows the gates and gate towers of a walled city. Behind the walls can be seen the roofs of the town. Such, no doubt, was the general aspect of the ancient city of Mathurā. Another gateway with two balconies above is seen in V. Cat. xx.

Other carvings depict dwellings within the city. These were multi-storied (three floors seems to have been the commonest type), with the barrel-vaulted

roof with gabled ends characteristic of the era (V xx). Each story had a verandah with a fence, and was supported by ornate pillars. They had decorated windows of either the grill or railing pattern (NPJ p. 22; Sm xli.1, 3). Details of such structures can also be seen in J 56, R 28–9, and V xvi–c, xxiii–c. One bas-relief shows a roofed stairway[10] enclosed with pillars and railings rising up to a balcony (V. Cat. xx).

Fortunately, recent excavations at Sonkh and other sites in the Mathurā area have provided an entirely new fund of information as to the nature of the structures and the general aspect of the ancient urban area. Most important are the discovery of house sites of the Śuṅga and following periods, consisting of complexes of several structures of two to three rooms each. These houses were built separately, and then joined together by plain walls to form an enclosed space or 'farmstead' (H pp. 72–6; figs. 4–8). The houses were made of baked bricks, and had gabled roofs with tiles (H p. 74; fig. 6). In the pre-Kuṣāṇa period, we find such refinements as large stones protecting the corners of the houses from passing vehicles, covered drains, and a combined bathroom and toilet paved with bricks and furnished with two water jars, one each for cold and hot water (H p. 75).

Our picture of this type of housing is further clarified by a votive tank found at Sonkh, in the form of a model of a four-house complex of just the type described above (H pp. 88–9; fig. 28; also IAR 1970–1, LXIV A). The importance of this piece is rightly emphasized by H (pp. 88–9), who says 'as houses of this period are not preserved in the original, this small, three-dimensional specimen enriches our knowledge of the architecture of that time. So far we had to rely on buildings depicted in reliefs.' This piece not only confirms that the arrangements described above on the basis of the excavated remains were the standard style of housing, it also shows further details not otherwise known, such as the domed roof with three peaks.[11]

Thus from the recent archaeological finds we get an entirely new view of the appearance of the ordinary houses of ancient Mathurā, which, not surprisingly, is quite different from the stylized portrayals of stately structures seen in the sculpture. Such house-complexes enclosing an inner yard may well represent the typical aspect of the residential areas of the ancient city.

Also from the Sonkh excavations, we now have two small apsidal temples of the Kuṣāṇa period, one within the habitation area (H pp. 76–7) and the other on a hill or 'temple island' outside the area (H pp. 94–9). Both of the temples seem to have been associated with 'Hinduistic cults' (H p. 77) of *Mātṛkās* and *Nāgas*. Here again we get for the first time a picture of what must have been the usual temple forms of ancient Mathurā.

No doubt Buddhist and Jaina *stūpas*, such as are frequently depicted in the sculptural remains (e.g. Sm XVII.2), were also to be commonly seen around the city.

FOOD AND DRINK

A Mathurā inscription of the time of Huviṣka (EI 21, pp. 60 ff.) mentions some items of food which were to be given daily to the poor, and which therefore might be taken to represent a normal basic diet. These items are called *sādyaṁ-sakta*, which seems to mean sweet or savory meal[12] (probably barely); *lavṛṇa*, salt; *śakta*, probably plain meal[13]; and *harita-kalāpaka*, or mixed green vegetables.

Beyond this, we have little data specific to Mathurā on matters of diet. But it may be reasonably assumed that the overall diet was like that of north India in general; and that, as Basham says, 'ancient Indian cookery did not differ much from that of the present day.'[14] In addition to the items noted above, such staples as rice, ghee, and various fruits[15] must have been commonly eaten, and sweets were no doubt popular. There is no direct evidence of meat-eating, but it seems unlikely that the diet was completely vegetarian,[16] especially in view of the central Asian background of the prominent Scythian community.[17]

That the use of alcoholic beverages was widespread in ancient Mathurā is clear from the well-known 'bacchanalian scenes' in Mathurā sculpture. While it is true that a Hellenistic source may be traced in this motif, and that some of the participants in the drinking bouts are Scythian in appearance (R 47, second figure from left), others are clearly Indian (VA vii–viii); and it cannot be claimed that the practice was entirely foreign. Moreover, it is evident from abundant references in Sanskrit literature that, despite the severe prohibitions on alcohol in orthodox circles, the practice of drinking was common in ancient India, not only among the lower classes, but among the highborn as well (with the possible exception of brahmans). Nevertheless, the emphasis on drinking in the Mathura sculptures may be partially attributed to the influence of the strong foreign element from a culture which did not traditionally condemn alcohol. Here again, the co-existence of carefree worldly attitudes with the austerity of the Buddhist and Jaina religions is characteristic of the openness and liberality which prevailed in Mathurā.

SPORTS, GAMES, AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Mathurā in ancient times must have been a major center of the performing arts, even as it is today. From

the inscriptions, we know of dancers (LL 100) and actors (LL 85 = MI 27). The latter are explicitly described as 'Mathurā actors' (*Māthurāṇāṃ śailālakānāṃ*), suggesting that then as now the city was renowned for its dramatic performances.

From the sculptures we know of dancing girls (PA 17, J 3[18]) with luxurious styles of dress and ornamentation. The inscriptions (LL 102) also mention 'courtesans' (*gāṇikā*). No doubt such pastimes were popular in Mathurā, as in the other cities of ancient India.

In view of these data, and of our knowledge of ancient Indian culture generally, music must have been an important pastime in ancient Mathurā also. One sculpture (J 30) shows a musician with a long drum slung over his shoulders with a strap. The *vīṇā* is depicted on a *toraṇa* fragment (Sm xxxiii.2) and a Jaina slab (Sm xviii, reverse). The latter piece also shows a 'mouth-organ' (NPJ p. 238). In another fragment a woman is seated on a bench playing a harp. According to NPJ (pp. 234, 238), a scene from Mathurā represents six musical instruments: conch, flute, tabor, harp, bag-pipe (?), and drum.

Along with their other pastimes, the residents of ancient Mathurā seem to have been fond of keeping pets. Several sculptures (J 54, V lix-a, PA 16, 17) show women feeding or playing with their pet parrots. Another female figure (V xix-a) has a woman carrying a small bird-cage with a strap or handle. In a statue (S xl) described above in the section on Dress and Ornaments, a woman is accompanied by a goose.

Hunting was probably a popular pastime; one scene on a Mathurā terracotta shows hunters on horseback pursuing boars (NPJ p. 222). Fighting animals (NPJ p. 225) and wrestling must also have been widely practiced; Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* (Act IV) describes a wrestling match at Mathurā. Bird-fighting was another popular sport; a group of men is illustrated in a panel (PA 11) enjoying a quail fight.

Young girls were portrayed playing ball (PA p. 9, no. 5; NPJ fig. 730). It may also be assumed that other well-known pastimes like water games (*jalakrīḍā*) and dicing or gambling must have been commonly practiced.

UTENSILS AND FURNITURE

Many of the sculptural remains from Mathurā depict utensils and furnishings of various sorts. Thus, for example, the statue of a woman in Mathurā style found at Deokali near Ayodhyā (V 1) has in the right hand a water jug with a handle and long neck, and in the left hand a shallow basket with a conical cover. This latter was evidently the utensil used for carrying cooked food or sweets. Similar basketry plates are seen in Sm xxxiii.i, but these are larger and have round covers.

Another type of drinking jug can be seen in a female statue from Bhūteswar (V xix-d). This has a long neck over which is set an upside-down drinking cup, exactly as is done in India today. A similar type of jug is depicted in Sm xxxiii.2. A jug in a *śālabhañjikā* railing (PA 22) has a wider neck and is carried on the figure's head. Larger stone vessels with ornate carvings for storage of water or food (perhaps as alms) can be seen in V xlviii, and on the top of the aforementioned Deokali pillar (V 1).

The excavations at Sonkh and other sites have brought to light numerous specimens of the pottery of the historical period of ancient Mathurā. From the Dhulkot site, many wares of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period were discovered, including basins, bowls, sprinklers, and spouted jars and pots. Some of the latter were plain, others decorated with floral motifs, loops, spirals, and other designs, and with various auspicious symbols (IAR 1974–5, p. 50). At Sonkh, several types of pottery have been unearthed from different periods: flat-sided bowls, water jugs of various shapes (round, elongated, etc.), and cups of the Mauryan to Kuṣāṇa periods are illustrated in H figs. 11–12, 17, 18.

Items for personal comfort and convenience are occasionally represented in the sculptures. Palm-leaf fans (Sm xxiii.2, NPJ figs. 176–7) and parasols (PA 1, Sm 14, 17) were standard items of this class. One type of torch or lamp consisted of an oil-cup attached to a handle (Sm xxviii; NPJ p. 79; the same piece also portrays a bird-shaped oil-can). At Sonkh, such typical everyday personal utensils as an ivory comb, shell-bangles, beads, and a rattle have been excavated.

An interesting item of furniture (V lix-c), found in Taxila but believed to have come from Mathurā (V p. 126), is a small four-footed bench with carved floral decorations and *makara*s on the sides. A cane seat, or *bhadrapīṭha*, with complex woven patterns, is to be seen in NPJ figs. 157–8; and a cot or bedstead in fig. 198.

We also have, in the damaged statue of a Kuṣāṇa king (Vima Kadphises?) (V ii) an example of a royal lion-throne.

TRANSPORTATION

As typical means of transport, sculptural representations show elephants (V vii-b, viii-b), horses (V viii-b), and animal-drawn carts (V viii-b, lvii). The latter are two-wheeled covered wagons yoked to a pair of large bullocks. Through the open windows of the first example can be seen the faces of four passengers; the

driver, wielding a stick, is seated in front between the horses. The second example, on a decorated *toraṇa* archway, shows five such wagons, which were evidently a common means of transport. One of these is drawn by horses. The reverse of the same piece presents a different kind of open horse-drawn cart, carrying three passengers.[19] According to NPJ (p. 87), a Mathurā terracotta also depicts a chariot drawn by stags.

CONCLUSIONS

Such, in brief, is the picture of some prominent features of daily life in ancient Mathurā, particularly in the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period for which the information is most abundant. It is a picture of a complex but harmonious life, in which secular and religious pursuits each played a major part. On the one hand, religious concerns clearly predominate in the sculptural and epigraphic remains, and an air of spirituality and piety pervades these relics; on the other hand, there is, simultaneously, a sense of worldly, sensual delight in life which somehow co-exists harmoniously with the supposedly austere Buddhist and Jaina faiths. The people of ancient Mathurā led a prosperous, cosmopolitan, and sophisticated existence, while at the same time keeping in mind the higher values of the spiritual life. Nowhere is this balanced and harmonious attitude better symbolized than by the location of the 'bacchanalian scenes' within the Buddhist temples. The seeming contradiction posed by this juxtaposition has puzzled and disturbed some scholars;[20] but perhaps it should be taken, not as a contradiction, but rather as the expression of a culture which was able to reconcile and harmonize all the different phases and styles of human life.

This description of daily life in ancient Mathurā has concentrated, as stated at the outset, on those sources which specifically relate to Mathurā itself. Given these constraints in the name of accuracy, the picture is inevitably limited both in scope and detail. But Mathurā was certainly a typical, even prototypical, north Indian city of the ancient and classical period, so that it would not be wrong to extrapolate data from more general literary sources (although that has not been our purpose here). To derive a broader, if perhaps less strictly accurate idea of daily life in ancient Mathurā, the reader may consult such general treatments of daily life in ancient India as those by Joshi (NPJ), Auboyer[21], and Basham.[22]

**ABBREVIATIONS

C = Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi 1970. (Chapter and figure numbers.)

EI = Epigraphia Indica.

H = Herbert Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh: A Preliminary Report,' *German Scholars on India*, Vol. 2, 1976, pp. 69–99.

IAR = Indian Archaeology: A Review.

J = N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Mathura 1966.

LL = Heinrich Lüders, 'A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,' *EI* 10 (1912), Appendix. (Inscription numbers.)

MI = Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. Klaus L. Janert), Göttingen 1961. (Inscription numbers.)

NPJ = N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, Banaras 1967.

PA = Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, *Mathura Railing Pillars*, Varanasi 1966 (Indian Civilization Series VI).

R = John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967.

S = R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum Introduction*, Mathura 1971.

Sm = Vincent Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*. (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 20, 1900.)

V = J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Paris and Brussels 1930. (*Ars Asiatica* XV.)

V. Cat. = J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad 1910.

VA = Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture*, Varanasi 1965.

(All citations in the text are to plate or figure numbers except where otherwise indicated.)

NOTES

* This is a revised version of the paper which was originally presented at the Mathurā conference. I wish to thank Professor N. P. Joshi, who was especially helpful in personally suggesting to me various changes and additions to the paper. Drs. B. N. Mukherjee and M. A. Dhaky also assisted me in this matter. Of course, whatever shortcomings remain are my responsibility alone.

1. For a detailed account of the various styles of these garments (and of the others described below) worn in Mathurā and elsewhere, see N. P. Joshi, *Life in Uttarāpatha*, Banaras 1967, pp. 143–161 (cited below as NPJ). I have attempted in this section to provide a general description of the major features of dress, rather than to describe all of the many varieties of style and ornamentation.
2. The pointed hat has been the trademark of the Scythians throughout history. From the time of the Achamenian empire of Persia, in whose inscriptions they are referred to as *Saka tigra-xauda* or 'pointy-hatted Śakas,' to the medieval illustrated manuscripts of the Jaina *Kālakācāryakathānaka*, the Śakas or Scythians have always been portrayed with this characteristic headgear.
3. These monograms, which read *Nāyasa* and *Lavana*, presumably represent the names of their wearers. However, the practice may be Indian, rather than Scythian; Lüders (H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* ed. K. L. Janert, Göttingen 1961, p. 167 [cited below as MI]) points out that capes with their owners' names worked into them are mentioned in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.
4. For more details on the hairdos and ornaments in the period concerned, see NPJ, Chapter VII.
5. According to some scholars, however, this object is a bunch of garlands.
6. The term is aptly proposed for this mixed dialect by Th. Damsteegt in the recent book of the same name (Leiden 1978).
7. But Georg Bühler ('Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā', *Epigraphia Indica* [cited below as EI], Vol. II (1894); p. 205, no. xxiii) takes this term to mean 'goldsmith.'
8. This term may, however, be a proper name, not a professional designation; cf. Bühler, EI II, p. 207, no. xxx, note 91.
9. Here again G. Bühler ('New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā' EI I, [1892] p. 382, no. v) takes this as a proper name, rather than an occupational title.
10. Vogel, however, describes this as 'a covered road'; see J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad 1910 (cited below as V. Cat.), p. 136.
11. Another interesting house type which seems to have been current in the early (pre- or early Mauryan) phase is a circular structure with thick mud walls, covered on the inside with mud-plaster mixed with chaff. (H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh: A Preliminary Report', *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, Bombay 1976 p. 72; fig. 3 [hereafter cited as H]).
12. So it is taken by D. C. Sircar in *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* Vol. I, *From the Sixth Century* B.C. *to the Sixth Century* A.D. Calcutta, 2nd ed. 1965, p. 153; Sten Konow, 'Mathura Inscription of the year 28', *EI* Vol. XXI (1931–32), pp. 55–61, disagrees.
13. Or, according to Sircar, it means *amlarasa*; Konow says 'The meaning is uncertain.'
14. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, 3rd ed. New York, 1968, p. 214.
15. A female figure from Bhūteswar (J. Ph. Vogel, 'La Sculpture de Mathurā', *Ars Asiatica* Vol. XV Paris and Brussels 1930 [cited below as V] Pl. xix-d) holds in her left hand a branch with mangoes or grapes (R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum Introduction* Mathura 1971 [cited below as S], p. 44).
16. Basham, *Wonder*, p. 213.
17. U. P. Shah cited in the discussion at the conference a reference in the *Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya* which seems to imply that the Mathurā region was not a major agricultural producer (*na karṣaṇaṁ yathā Mathurāyāṁ*). (The original text is not available to me.)
18. So described by S, pp. 19–20.
19. These carts are described and discussed by Bühler in *EI* II, pp. 319–20.
20. See for instance V. p. 53.
21. Jeannine Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India*, New York, 1965.
22. *Wonder*, Chapter 6, pp. 189–231.

6. Mathurā: Trade Routes, Commerce, and Communication Patterns, from the Post-Mauryan Period to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Period

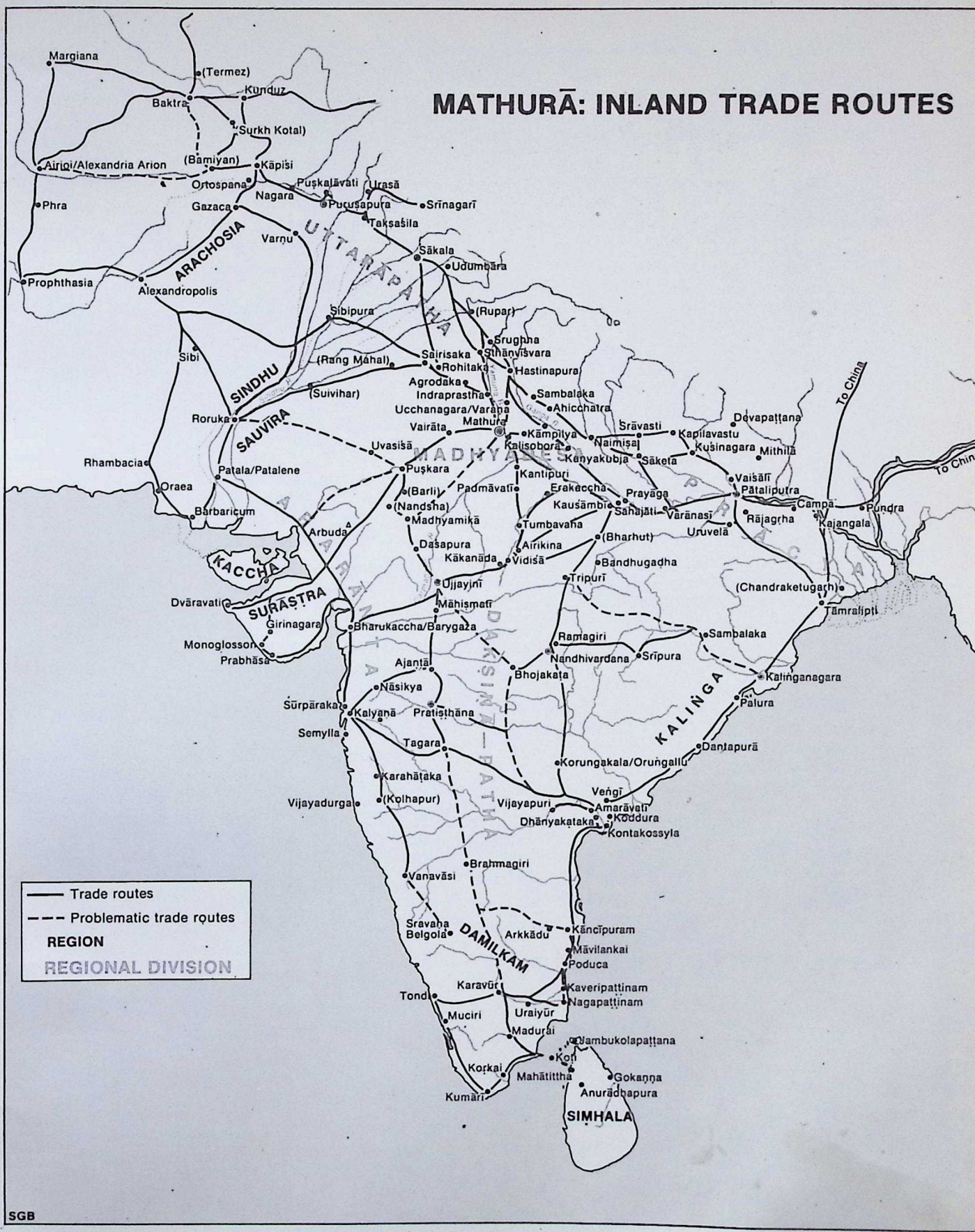
SHIVA G. BAJPAI

Literary and archaeological evidence reveals a phenomenal transformation in the fortunes of Mathurā and its environs from the age of the Buddha, when it suffered from bad roads, dust storms, infestations of fierce dogs and bestial *yakkhas* (demi-gods and spirits), and niggardliness in alms-giving,[1] to the period between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D., when it attained the position of a leading metropolis 'rising beautiful as the crescent moon over the dark streams of the Yamunā' and celebrated for its magnificence, prosperity, munificence, and teeming population.[2] In the latter stages, Mathurā, already a notable city during the intervening Mauryan period, became a great centre of power, trade and commerce, religious and cultural movements, aesthetic excellence and artistic creativity. Its zenith was attained under the imperial Kuṣāṇas, when Mathurā served as one of their principal capitals and the chief stronghold for the expansion and control of their territorial possessions in the mainland India.

Among the factors contributing to this remarkable rise of Mathurā were her strategic geographical location and network of communications within the emerging patterns of geo-politics and commerce. Situated at the western periphery of the Gaṅgā plain on the cross-roads of the principal geo-political and cultural divisions of India, the city commanded the gateway to the rich alluvial Gaṅgā plain, to central and southern India, and to the flourishing ports of the western seaboard. It traditionally had served as the focus for the ethnic migrations from the north-west and as a conduit for their further movements to the south and west. Its nodality was evidenced in its linkages to the principal subcontinental highway system: the *Uttarāpatha* (Northern or Northwestern Highway) and the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (Southern Route). It must be noted, however, that it was central to neither highway because their alignments were determined by the geo-political and commercial perspectives of the Magadhan powers. While its functions in the Mauryan empire remain uncertain, subsequent events revealed that Mathurā was a strategically vulnerable outpost of the central Gaṅgā based power system. Inevitably, the North-western invaders, the Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas gravitated towards it in their drives for conquest of territories and control of trade routes of northern India.

MATHURĀ: THE REGIONAL METROPOLIS

In the development of Mathurā's trade routes, her metropolitan character, and economic function within her hinterland were more influential than her trans-regional nodal linkages in establishing the layout of its highway system. As a central-place in a spatial system characterized by modes of reciprocity, redistribution, market exchange and mobilization of resources for political and cultural ends, Mathurā exerted an integrative effect on the Śūrasena region and its neighbouring territories. Roads and water communications were initially developed and maintained in order to promote local economic undertakings and ensure constant flow of resources to support the city's burgeoning economy and administrative functions. Royal roads connected the capital with routes leading to the headquarters of its administrative units, to the countryside, to military garrisons, to places of specific


MATHURĀ: INLAND TRADE ROUTES
Margiana
(Termez)
Kunduz
Baktra
Surkh Kotal)
Airtoi/Alexandria Arion
(Bamiyan)
Kāpiśi
Ortospana
Puṣkalāvati
Urasā
Nagara
Puruṣapura
Srīnagarī
Phra
Gazaca
Taksaśila
ARACHOSIA
Varṇu
UTTARĀPATHA
Sākala
Udumbāra
Prophthasia
Alexandropolis
Śibipura
(Rupar)
Śrughna
Sthāṇvīśvara
Śibi
SINDHU
(Rang Mahal)
Śairisaka
Rohitaka
Hastinapura
Agrodaka
(Suivihar)
Indraprastha
Sambalaka
Ucchanagara/Varaṇa
Ahicchatra
Roruka
SAUVĪRA
Vairāta
Mathurā
Kāmpilya
Śrāvasti
Kapilavastu
Devapaṭṭana
Kośinagara
Mithilā
Kośalā
Uvasisā
Kośobora
Naimiśa
Rhambacia
Patala/Patalene
Puṣkara
Kanyakubja
Sāketa
Kantipuri
Vaiśālī
Oraea
(Barli)
Padmāvatī
Erakaccha
Prayāga
Pāṭaliputra
Barbaricum
(Nandsha)
Kausāmbī
Sahajāti
Campā
Pundra
Madhyamikā
Varānasī
Rājagṛha
Arbuda
Tumbavana
Uruvelā
Kajangala
Dasapura
Airikina
(Bharhut)
KACCHA
Kākanāda
Vidiśā
Bandhugadha
Ujjayinī
Tripurī
Dvāravatī
Māhismatī
(Chandraketugarh)
SURĀṢṬRA
Girinagara
Bharukaccha/Barygaza
Tāmralipti
Monoglosson
Prabhāsa
Ramagiri
Sambalaka
Nandhivardana
Śrīpura
Ajantā
Bhojakaṭa
Kalinganagara
Nāsikya
Śūrpāraka
Kalyanā
Pratiṣṭhāna
Paiura
Semylla
KALIṄGA
Tagara
Dantapurā
Korungakala/Oruṅgallu
Karahāṭaka
Veṅgī
Vijayadurga
(Kolhapur)
Vijayapuri
Amarāvatī
Koḍḍura
Dhānyakaṭaka
Kontakossyla
Brahmagiri
Vanavāsi
Śravaṇa Belgola
DAMILKAM
Arkkādu
Kāncīpuram
Māvilankai
Poduca
Karavūr
Kaveripattinam
Tond
Nagapattinam
Muciri
Uraiyūr
Madurai
Nambukolapaṭṭana
Kori
Korkai
Mahātittha
Gokaṇṇa
Anurādhapura
Kumāri
SIMHALA
To China
To Chin
Trade routes
Problematic trade routes
REGION
REGIONAL DIVISION
SGB

economic undertakings such as irrigation works, forests, quarries, towns, and to ports on the Yamunā.[3] These routes also served as arteries for commerce as well as pilgrimage and cultural missions. Although the precise pattern of network of routes serving its metropolitan ends is poorly documented, archaeological finds and excavations and a few literary references demonstrate that Mathurā, together with the city of Kleisobora or Kṛṣṇapura, identified with modern Mahabana, about thirteen kilometers south on the opposite bank of the Yamunā, constituted the hub of the communication system of the Śūrasena *janapada*, which in its narrowest limits corresponded to the traditional frontiers of the Braja-maṇḍal or virtually the modern district of Mathurā.[4]

MATHURĀ: THE NODE OF INTER-REGIONAL TRADE ROUTES

Beyond the regional core, Mathurā's trade routes developed in response to the demands of commerce and conquest as well as ethnic migrations and cultural interactions. What follows is an account of the alignment of the inter-regional trade routes and linkages, most of which, though established during the preceding period, acquired new orientations and meanings in our age due to the ascendancy of the powers based in north-western India over the political and commercial interests of north India. In addition, the developing institutional structures of the urban economy characterized by local professional, industrial, and mercantile guilds and financial and organizational instruments of long distance trade such as *śreṣṭhin* (the business-magnate *cum* banker) and *sārthavāha* (the caravan-leader) as well as the expansion of international commerce and innovations in maritime shipping had imparted special significance to long distance trade. These factors contributed to Mathurā's transformation from a regional metropolis into a subcontinental pivot of trade and communications.

Trade Routes to Uttarāpatha (The North–western Region)

Uttarāpatha denotes both the region as well as the route(s) which linked the Gaṅgā plain with the Northern or North–Western Region. It is used here in its dual sense but in discussing the route we shall note only those sections lying to the north-west of Mathurā.

There were three major routes which led from Mathurā to become eventually the *uttarāpatha* reaching Śākala, Takṣaśilā, Puṣkalāvatī, Kāpiśa/Kāpiśi, and Bālhīka/Bāctria, each of which could be considered its terminals at different periods of our age. The first, most direct and frequently travelled, route followed the course of the Yamunā passing through Varaṇa (Bulandshahr), joined somewhere in modern Meerut and Saharanpur districts, the Mauryan 'Royal Road' from Pāṭaliputra and an earlier version of *uttarāpatha* from Śrāvastī and Sāketa, and proceeded to its north-western termini.[5] The second led through Indraprastha along the Delhi–Ambala road via Kurukṣetra (and Sthāṇvīsvara) and joined the main *uttarāpatha* somewhere in the Ambala district.[6] The third also proceeded along the Yamunā by way of Rohītaka, Aggalapura/Agrodaka, and Udumbara (Pathankot) to Śākala where it eventually merged with the main highway.[7] Another offshoot of this route passed through Iṣukāri (Hissar) and Śairiṣaka and linked up with Śibipura (Shorkot) in Punjab[8] and proceeded by way of the central Indus routes via Kurram valley to Nāgarahāra or westward to link up with Kāpiśi–Alexandropolis (Kandahar) strategic road.[9]

The North–Western Region was also approached from Mathurā by way of the lower Indus region whence routes via the Bolan and Mulla passes reached Alexandropolis in Arachosia,[10] which as already noted, was linked to Kāpiśa, a prominent stage and junction of the *uttarāpatha* highway to the south of the Hindukush.

Trade Routes to Aparānta (The Western Region)

For the purposes of this paper, all trade routes going west through Rajasthan to Sind and Gujarat are treated as belonging to the Western Region.

Mathurā had direct links to Sindhu–Sauvīra in the lower Indus region and to Saurāṣṭra. Roruka, the capital of the former, and Patala/Patalene could be reached by way of either Indraprastha–Rohītaka–Rangamahal–Sui Vihar route[11] or Dvāravatī, which was reached from Mathurā via Virāṭanagara and Puṣkara, following the western spurs of the Aravali Range. From Puṣkar, an important branch of this route went to Mādhyamikā and linked up with the communication system of Malwa and Gujarat,[12] thereby making Bhārukaccha and other ports accessible to Mathurā. Branches of the Mathurā–Dvāravatī route led to different places in Rajasthan, especially to the Mālava strongholds of Karkoṭanagara and Rairh, which could also be reached by a different route through Bharatpur district.

Trade Routes to Madhyadeśa and Prācya (The Gaṅgā Plain)

The Gaṅga Plain was the principal area of trade, politics, and culture and it had developed communications with various parts of the subcontinent. Mathurā

had been an integral, though prior to our period somewhat peripheral, part of its central communication network, the *uttarāpatha* or 'Royal Road' (Mauryan), which ran from Tāmralipti at the mouth of the Gaṅgā to Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī in the north-west. From the perspective of Mathurā, its sections which lay to the east, are considered here, and may be termed as Eastern rather than Northern or North-western Highway.

There were three trunk-routes: (i) the Northern, which paralleled the foothills of the Himalaya connecting cities and towns of Ahicchatra, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Kuśināgara, Pāvā, Vaiśālī, and Mithilā;[13] (ii) the Central, which followed the Gaṅgā and passed through Hastināpura, Saṁkāśya, Kānyakubja, Prayāga-Pratiṣṭhāna, Vārānasī, Pāṭaliputra—the imperial metropolis of the Mauryas, Campā, Kajaṅgala, and ultimately Tāmralipti,[14] the famous port of the overseas commerce and the junction of land-routes and coastal navigation between the Gaṅgā plain and the Peninsular India and Śri.Lanka;[15] and (iii) the Southern, which followed the Yamunā to Kauśāmbī and joined the Central highway at Prayāga.[16] At Kauśāmbī, it intersected the traditional Dakṣiṇāpatha, linking Śrāvastī and other central Gaṅgā cities with Pratiṣṭhāna in the Deccan.[17] Further, routes along the northern bank of the Yamunā linked important cities and marts of the *doab*. Additionally, the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā and their tributaries constituted major arteries of commerce. Among these routes, the Southern one was of special significance to Mathurā; the Central one continued to retain its prominent position, but the importance of the Northern route declined by the end of the second century A.D. as the patterns of trade and politics shifted towards the central nodes and southern periphery.[18] These major routes were criss-crossed at important stages and junctions by many land-routes and waterways, making significant towns, marts and mining cities, minerals, and forests along them accessible to traders. Further, all of the metropolises of the Gaṅgā plain had developed their own communication systems which integrated not only their nuclear regions but also other commercially attractive places including those in the Himalayan regions. Many important cities and sacred places such as Rājagṛha and Buddha Gaya, though situated at considerable distance from the main highway were easily reached by its well developed branch routes.

Trade Routes to Dakṣiṇāpatha (The Southern Region)

The term Dakṣiṇāpatha connotes 'Southern route' as well as the 'Southern Region'. For the purpose of this paper, it denotes Southern Route(s) from Mathurā to central and southern India and their continuations to the western seaboard.

The prominence of Mathurā derived largely from its strategic location on the passage way to the commercially rich central and southern regions and the direct access it provided to the merchants and monarchs of the western Gaṅgā plain and the North–West into the rich Malwa and Deccan plateaus and to the flourishing ports of the western seaboard. The most important route(s) led from Mathurā to Vidiśā and Sanchi,[19] where it joined with the older Southern route from the Gaṅgā plain and its easterly branch by way of Sahajāti and Bharhut which also picked up the important sectors of Baghelkhand, Cedi country on the Narmada, Dakṣiṇa Kosala and Kaliṅga.[20] From Vidiśā it continued to Ujjayinī, whence a western branch reached Bhārukaccha and linked up with routes of Aparānta and Lāṭa, and Sindhu, while the main line wound southward through Māhiṣmatī to Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of the imperial Sātavāhanas.[21]

From the Southern highway, routes branched off to various parts of Peninsular India, those leading to the ports of Kalyāna, Śūrpāraka, and Cemūla on the west coast; and south to Tagara, Andhra, Kuntala, Vanavāsī, Puṇṇāṭa, and to Tamilakam, were commercially extremely significant.[22] There were several other routes linking Vidiśā and Ujjayinī with the cities and emporia of Vidarbha and Andhra which provided commercial and cultural exchange.

Additionally, Mathurā was connected through the Gaṅgā plain, and particularly through Tāmralipti, with the trans-peninsular highway passing through Dantapura in Kalinga, Tropina in Kerala, Perumala or Chaul in Maharashtra, to Patala in Sind.[23] Further, maritime navigation was highly advanced from the mouth of the Ganges to all the port cities and emporia of the south on the east and west coast facilitating trade with Kaliṅga; Andhra, especially its ports and inland cities of Dhānyakaṭaka/Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa/Vijayapuri; and Tamilakam, especially Kollapaṭṭana (Kāveripaṭṭinam);[24] and Madurai, also known as Southern Mathurā. Trade links were also advanced with Siṁhala, an increasingly important partner in commerce and culture of southern as well as northern India.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

During our period the Han, Kuṣāṇa, Parthian, and Roman empires jointly spanned the breadth of Eurasia. Because of their commercial needs and strategic interests, these opened, improved and expanded a network

of overland and maritime trade routes, which made India a principal trade area and an intermediary of Eurasian commerce. Among the more important cities of India, Mathurā, though an inland metropolis, was linked to them through a series of routes to West Asia and Europe; Central Asia and China; and South East Asia and China.

West Asia and Europe

India's ongoing trade and cultural relations with West Asia and Europe entered their most active phase as a result of the consolidation of the Roman empire in the first century B.C. and the regular use of monsoon winds (the *Hippalus*) for direct maritime navigation between the West and India in the mid-first century A.D. Furthermore, the overland routes through Iran were never better serviced than under the Parthians, who encouraged trade with India and derived considerable income from taxes on transit trade to the West.

Overland routes between India and the West were the continuation of Mathurā's principal routes to the North-Western region beyond Taksaśilā and the strategic Alexandropolis (Kandahar)–Ortospana (Bala Hissar–Kabul)–Kāpiśa–Bactria line. There were three main routes: (i) The principal route led from Alexandropolis by way of Prophthasia (Phra) Airioi (Herat), Marigiana (Merv), the junction of routes from Bactria, through convenient North Parthian valleys via Caspian Gate and Ecbatana to Ctesiphon and Seleucia, whence the main line proceeded to Antioch, a renowned emporium of international trade, and its branches to Palmyra, Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Sidon and Petra. (ii) The Northern route went from Bactria through Margiana along the Oxus across the Caspian and Black sea to the Mediterranean world. (iii) The Southern Route from Alexandropolis traversed Carmania, and passed through Persepolis to Charax Spasimu on the Persian Gulf whence West to Petra or North to Celeucia–Ctesiphon, the Seleucid and Parthian capitals respectively, and thence to Graeco-Roman emporia. The Makran route from the Indus delta was virtually neglected on account of the more convenient routes mentioned above and the much safer sea route to the Persian Gulf.[25]

From the perspective of Mathurā, Bhārukaccha (Barygaza) and other ports of Gujarat, and Patala and Barbaricum in Sind provided the best maritime connections to the West by way of the Persian Gulf to Omana and Gerrha on the Arabian side and Charax and others on the Iranian side whence trade was carried by the well-established caravan routes to Petra, Palmyra and Antioch or by way of the Red Sea to Dioscorida, and the Arabian ports of Moscha, Cane, Eudaemon, Ocelis, Leuce Come and Adela; the Aethiopian port of Adulis; and the Egyptian ports of Bernice, Myos Hormos, and Arisone. From these ports and their caravan routes, goods were brought to Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesos, for transhipment to Rome and other parts of Europe.[26]

Central Asia and China

The trade routes to Central Asia, and through it to China, were opened for regular commerce following the migrations of the Śakas and Yüeh-chih to India and the Imperial Han efforts to establish diplomatic, commercial, and cultural exchange with their western neighbours. Mathurā was linked with Central Asia by routes which led from the principal junctions of the North-western Highway, especially from Takṣaśilā, Puṣkalāvatī, Puruṣapura, Kāpiśa, and Bactria to the Tarim basin where they joined both branches of the 'silk-route' traversing along its southern rim through Kashgar (So-lo, Skt. Śailadeśa), Yarkand (So-chu, Skt. Chokkuka) and Khotan (Yu-tien, Skt. Kustana/Godāna, Khotaṁna) and northern edges through A-k'o-su (Wen-su/Pol-lu-chia, Skt. Bharuka), Ku-chih (Kuei-tzu, Skt. Kuchi), Karashahr (Yen-chih, Agnideśa). These met at Yu-men-kuan or the Jade Gate near Tun-huang before entering China proper.[27] Although routes from Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, Abhisāra and Kaśmira, ascended the difficult passes of the Pamir to Tashkurghan on their way to either Kashgar or Yarkand, the easier and commercially more important ones led from Bactria:[28] (a) east through Wakhan Valley; (b) north across the Oxus at Termez either along the Alai valley to Darut Kurghan, 'the Stone Tower' of the Silk-route, and Irkishtam to Kashgar; or (c) continued further north to Markanda/Carmakhaṇḍika (Samarkand) whence via Ferghana to Kashgar or by a more northerly course via Tashkent and lake Issik-Kul to A-k'o-su.[29] Among these the Alai valley Silk-route was by far the least formidable, although the traders and missionaries travelled on all of them.

Additionally, the Chinese and Classical sources identify overland routes to China from eastern India, especially from Pāṭaliputra: one by way of Assam and Burma and the other via Sikkim and Tibet.[30]

Southeast Asia and China

In the age of expanding Eurasian trade and maritime commerce, India's interactions with countries of Southeast Asia, known as Suvarṇadvīpa or Suvarṇabhūmi ('Land or Island of Gold') intensified. As a result, regular voyages were organized between Indian

ports from Bhārukaccha on the west coast to Tāmralipti and others in the Bay of Bengal and Burma; Malay (especially its port of Takkola located near modern Trang); Sumatra (especially Ko-ying located in its Southeast), Java, Borneo; the island of Timore or Celebes where the sandal wood bearing Ṛṣabha mountain of the *Rāmāyana* is sometimes located; Funan and Campa, (especially the maritime town of Oc-Eo) and further on to the Chinese ports, (especially P'an-Yu or Canton).[31] Although traders from Mathurā could embark on a voyage to Suvarṇabhūmi from different Indian ports, the most famous and easily accessible was Tāmralipti.

It should be noted that both the inland and foreign routes passed through many metropolises, cities, and emporia which had their own autonomous network of communication systems allowing much deeper penetration of long distance trade, which stimulated locally specialized economies and promoted extensive cultural exchanges. Further, these trade routes should be viewed as a series of routes because neither every merchant nor every type of merchandise travelled from one end to the other. Moreover, the volume and significance of trade over an intermediate range was often much higher than that over a long range, although the latter might serve as a catalyst of increased economic exchange. Finally, the dynamics of history affected the viability of the sections of these trade routes during the five hundred years of our concern.

MATHURĀ: THE MEANS OF TRANSPORT

The means of transport varied according to the kinds of routes whether land or water, the constraints of nature and geography, the types of merchandise, the distances involved, the conditions of the journey, and the character and organization of trade.[32] The requirements of long distance trade were many. The movement of caravan-trade resembled a military campaign involving the entire paraphernalia of a commercial expedition.[33]

The means of transport comprised carts, chariots, palanquins, elephants, horses, oxen, asses, donkeys, and a variety of pack animals, porters and boats and ships. Beasts of burden could be used either as mounts or yoked in a variety of vehicles. Literary evidence as well as sculpture, terracotta, and other art forms including coins provide evidence for the use of the preceding means of transport and enable us to view their different types, shapes, and sizes, capacities and endurance factors. Mathurā sculptures themselves portray a variety of beasts of burden and vehicles including covered carts primarily used for passenger service.[34] For lack of space, it is impossible to detail these conveyances, their accoutrements, equipment, and construction. However, it must be noted that these had attained a high level of workmanship for efficiency and comfort.

Mathurā, as a great entrepot, possessed transport facilities required to move merchandise and men along trans-regional routes. Except for desert routes (*marukāntāra* and *varṇupatha*) on which the camel was particularly useful, the different means of transport mentioned above were employed with a certain degree of regional variations. Porters were employed everywhere for local as well as long distance transport of goods. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* notes that from China '. . . raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought *on foot* through Bactria to Barygaza . . .' and, as he notes elsewhere, other goods were brought there by wagons from Paethan and Tagar.[35] Except for the increased maritime shipping and perhaps a greater use of horses, there seems little difference in the mode and means of transport from the Mauryan age. However, the scope, frequency of travel and trade had greatly intensified, integrating the more remote areas of economic significance into an ever widening network of exchange system.

MATHURĀ: PATTERNS OF TRADE

Although the geography of the trade routes is crucial to an understanding of Mathurā's rapid growth, these routes in themselves do not explain the patterns of interaction between Mathurā and centres and regions of trade and culture both within and beyond India. The forces making for these interactions were not so much the product of the resources of Mathurā as they were of those peoples and countries situated at varying distance from it. These were, however, inextricably linked with the geo-political shifts and economic developments occurring not only within India but in Eurasia as a whole.

The Metropolitan Trade and Regional Patterns

Crucial to Mathurā's ability and power to influence these patterns was its metropolitan role (which changed over the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period from that of a regional metropolis to one of the imperial capitals), its growing economic resources, and its function as node of trans-regional and foreign commerce and transit trade. Mathurā was conspicuous for a diversity of economic undertakings especially urban trade and developments of professions and crafts, as evident in the numerous guilds of industrial manufactures.[36] Besides the literary sources, we may note epigraphic and archaeological

evidence specifically mentioning professions and crafts of metal workers, goldsmith, blacksmith, jeweller, cloak-maker, actors/entertainers, dancers, perfumers, a variety of manufacturers of sculpture and other art objects for worship and decoration. Then too there was the building industry, occupations associated with means of transport, guilds of flour-makers and corn dealers and others.[37] More importantly, there are mentioned several mercantile organizations, especially institutions of *śreṣṭhin* and *sārthavāha*, which were essential to regional and long distance trade.[38] Additionally, the coinage of the Śuṅgas, local rulers, and the Kuṣāṇas promoted economic exchange both within and beyond Mathurā region.

Among the fields of specialized economy geared to long distance trade, Mathurā was noted for its textiles, perfume, metal work, and art objects. Specific evidence for the export of these commodities is available mainly from the sculpture of the Mathurā school of art which entered its most creative phase in the first century A.D. Not only were the art objects distributed throughout the Gaṅgā plain along the course of major routes at Lahurpur (Sitapur District), Śrāvastī, and Kuśīnagara along the Northern route; Agra, Eta, Musanagar and Wajidpur (Kanpur District), Tusaran Vihar (Pratabgar District), Kauśāmbī, Sahajāti (Bhita), Saranath, Pāṭaliputra, Rajagṛha, Buddha Gaya, and Chandraketugarh in Bengal along the Central and Southern routes, but appeared also in Malwa at Sanchi, an important centre of religion and art near Vidiśā on the Southern route: in Rajasthan at Osian (Jodhpur District) along a branch of the Western route; at Takṣaśilā on the North-western route, and at Amarāvatī in Andhra in the southeast.[39] There are reliable references to traders from Mathurā reaching Śākala and persons visiting Bharhut.[40] The spread of the coins of local rulers of Mathurā is limited to the western part of the Gaṅgā plain and Haryana, but the Kuṣāṇa coins and culture associated with them extended throughout northern India. Although Mathurā was a prominent Kuṣāṇa mint, it is difficult to ascertain its precise role in the extensive distribution of the Kuṣāṇa coinage.

Mathurā, the 'City of the Gods', was also the principal seat of Vaiṣṇavism, the Sarvāstivāda sect of Buddhism, and the famous centre of Jainism. It was also a prominent place of the cult of Maṇibhadra, the tutelary deity of the caravan-traders. Although the religious resources enabling Mathurā to play a role of cultural benefactor existed prior to our period, their magnetic and missionary forces were fully released only during our age in association with the Mathurā school of art. Mathurā contributed to the spread of the Sarvāstivāda sect of Buddhism along its North-western routes to Gandhāra, Abhisāra, Kaśmīra, Kāpiśa and beyond to Central Asia and China,[41] and of Vaiṣṇavism through its communication systems of the Gaṅgā plain and Southern India as well as Western India. This, taken together with the distribution of Mathurā sculpture from Takṣaśilā in the North-west to Amarāvatī in the southeast and from Śrāvasti in the north to Sanchi in the south, defines the extent of her cultural connections. The dynamics of these cultural linkages were associated with commerce rather than conquest.

MATHURĀ: THE INTER-REGIONAL PATTERNS

Mathurā's fortunes were largely determined by the evolving patterns of trans-regional and international power and commerce. The reasons for their decisive impact derived from her nodal functions of inter-regional trade rather than from her central-place position. Regionally specialized economies and trans-regional mechanisms of exchange subsumed under the systems of cities and marts were much in evidence during the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa age. Increasingly the long distance trade diminished the self-sufficiency of local economies and became instrumental in the growth of urbanization and the transformation of cities and their regions. Some salient features of inter-regional trade routes may, therefore, be noted in order to underscore their significance for Mathurā.

The predominent feature of the North-western trade-routes was the blending of war and commerce into a single process accomplished by the initiative and active role of the powers and peoples of those regions. Political expansion of the Indo-Greeks, Śakas, and Kuṣāṇas into the Mathurā region can be seen as a rationalization of long distance trade through diplomacy and war in order to secure needed resources for the augmentation of power and prosperity. Limitations of agricultural and industrial resources constituted crucial factors in the development of extensive exchange systems.

The interests of the North-western powers, particularly the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas affected both the extent and nature of economic and cultural interactions as well as the capabilities of Mathurā to exploit them for its own benefit. However, their own commercial and political endeavours were related to such international developments as the Chinese policy of territorial and commercial expansion in Central Asia and further west, the Parthian hostility to Rome, and the latter's growing demand for Indian as well as Chinese commodities.

These, together with the effects of direct maritime shipping between the Red Sea ports and India following the regular use of the monsoon winds for navigation in the mid-first century A.D., affected not only the overland trade routes through the north-west but also their inland networks. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* informs us that because of the changing political conditions, the trade of Chinese silk and other commodities particularly bound for export to the West, was routed from Bactria and Poclais (Puṣkalāvatī) by way of the secure North-western Highway via Mathurā to Uzene (Ujjayinī) and thence to Barygaza.[42] Chinese raw silk and silk yarn was, however, normally exported via Mathurā to Barygaza and by way of the river Gaṅgā to Damirica (Tāmilkam, the peninsular south).[43] Thus Mathurā became a principal beneficiary of such shifts affecting her orientation towards Malwa and her capabilities to compete with the cities of the Gaṅgā plain, especially Kauśāmbī.

Since becoming the principal Kuṣāṇa stronghold in mid-India, Mathurā's commercial and cultural interaction with the North-west and through its routes to Central Asia and West Asia entered the most significant phase. Its share in inter-regional commerce increased vastly as the Kuṣāṇas sought to channel Indian and international trade through their domains. In the pursuit of economic objectives, Kaniṣka sought the conquest of Ākara (eastern Malwa),[44] thereby reinforcing not only Mathurā's involvement with that region but also contributing to a general shift of the Gangetic trade preferences for the south, already accomplished from the east-central Gaṅgā plain during the rule of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. In fact, the Kuṣāṇa period of Mathurā witnessed the first occurrence of a north-west Indian based empire and its implications for the geo-political patterns of the subcontinent.

While war was thrust upon Mathurā solely from the northwest, commercial and cultural expeditions flowed in both directions. The initiative, however, remained largely with the North-Westerners. Donative records show visitors coming to Mathurā from various places and countries of the North-west, especially Takṣaśilā, Abhisāra, Uddiyāna, Nāgarhāra, Vālukṣa or Vālhīka/Bactria, Vokkhana (Wakhana) and possibly from eastern Iran on religious, political, and commercial missions.[45] Although Mathurā's activities connected with the spread of the Sarvāstivāda sect of Buddhism in Gandhāra, Uddiyāna, Kaśmīra, and other parts of the Northwest probably antedated our period, these were certainly intensified as a result of the lead taken by the people of those areas, especially under the Kuṣāṇa regime. The effects of Mathurā's goods, culture, and art even extended beyond India to Central Asia and China.[46] It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the nature of relationship between the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools of art, but brisk commerce between both regions prevailed during most of the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period.

The pattern of the routes to the Western Region was mainly determined by commerce. Available evidence suggests that traders from Mithilā, Magadha, and other places imported horses and other commodities from Sindhu-Sauvīra via Mathurā, which was also engaged in economic and cultural exchange with those areas as well as places in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Mathurā acquired a variety of goods including minerals and gems from Rajasthan. In addition to the spread of material culture associated with the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa age, and the probability of the expeditions of the Indo-Greeks, Śakas, and Kuṣāṇas from Mathurā along this route system, archaeological evidence also shows the spread of Vaiṣṇavism at Nandsa and Ghosuṇḍī.[47] Ethnic migrations of the Indo-Scythians from Sakastan and the Indus regions, struggles for political expansion among the contemporary powers of the Sātavāhanas, the Śakas of Gujarat and Malwa, and the Kuṣāṇas, and the tribal migrations of the Śibis, Mālavas, and Abhīras and others from Punjab and Sind adversely affected the patterns of interaction along these routes, often reducing commerce to intra-regional level or necessitating the rerouting of the Sindhu-Sauvīra trade via Saurāṣṭra to Bharukaccha and thence to Mathurā. Despite scholarly difference of opinion over the nature of the relationship between the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas of Mathurā and the Western Śakas, a satisfactory *modus operandi* existed between them to maintain uninterrupted flow of commerce through their domains.

Since the Gaṅgā plain continued to be the principal area of trade, politics, and culture, its routes retained their vital significance. The pattern however was radically altered because of the domination of the North-west radiating through Mathurā, especially during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas. The nature of interaction was largely dictated by economic factors of control which favoured Mathurā and enhanced its power of competition with other Gangetic cities especially of the *doab*. The communication system of the Gaṅgā plain was exploited for subcontinental trade, especially in commodities of regionally specialized economies (horses, wine, gold from the *uttarāpatha* and cotton textiles, metal wares, ivory works, iron and steel, elephants of the Madhyadeśa and Prācya) and for the international commerce in preciousities (Chinese silk

and Central Asian and Iranian horses) which were also transshipped by way of the Gaṅgā to the peninsular India and Southeast Asia.

The scope of trade over intermediate range involved a much greater variety of goods flowing in the direction of Mathurā because of her metropolitan and nodal needs and the surplus resources commanded by her rulers. The characteristic urban homogeneity of the Gaṅgā plain as demonstrated by archaeological excavations and finds precludes an assessment of the role of cities such as Mathurā as agents of change and development, but the eastward diffusion of adopted and imitative technologies associated with the material culture of the Kuṣāṇa age suggests that Mathurā, which prior to our period was mainly a recipient, began to function as a dispenser of advanced techniques and skills as indicated by its exported sculptures. Although no single political power controlled the entirety of the Gangetic routes following the break-up of the Śuṅga empire, economic and cultural exchange continued to advance through a system of cities sustained by autonomous mercantile and industrial organizations, which were encouraged in their role by rulers forced to pursue a policy of accommodation in the event of their failure to achieve political expansion. The importance of the trade routes of the Gaṅgā plain increased during our period because of connections they afforded to China and Southeast Asia as well as to South India and Śri Lanka.

Crucial to the rising importance of the southern routes were the evolving configuration of powers of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas at Mathurā, Western Śakas in Malwa and Gujarat, and Sātavāhanas in the Deccan and shifts in the pattern of expanding international commerce and communications. These heightened the importance of Mathurā as a centre of transit trade on the Puṣkalāvatī–Takṣaśilā Vidiśā, Ujjayinī–Bhārukaccha highway, which served not only as the principal artery of the inter-regional trade but more importantly of the export trade of the northwest and Central Asia and China particularly to the West through western ports, especially Bhārukaccha. The singular economic significance of this subcontinental route system was underlined by the intermittent struggle among the Sātavāhanas, Western Śakas, and Kuṣāṇas to gain its control. This often focused on the conquest of Vidiśā and the Ākara region which, in addition to being a critical strategic junction of the major southern routes, was a flourishing centre of crafts and industry with access to rich mines that probably included diamonds.[48] Despite political vicissitudes and the eventual failure of the Kuṣāṇas to annex the Vidiśā region, commerce along this route and its extensions into the Deccan and deep South flourished. Mathurā attained a pivotal position in interactions among the Northwest and South and West, which were more significant than those of the Gaṅgā plain in fixing its nodality. In addition to their commercial value, the Southern routes served cultural ends by carrying Vaiṣṇavism from Mathurā to not only the Malwa plateau but also to the Deccan, especially Nāsika, Kalyaṇā, and Bhaja in the west and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Amarāvatī and Chinna in the southeast. These places were, however, also accessible to Mathurā by way of Gujarat and the Gaṅgā plain respectively.

The International Patterns

Mathurā's connections with foreign countries by overland and maritime routes were as much the result of her historic role as the bastion of the economic and strategic interests of powers based in the Northwestern region and Central Asia, principally the Kuṣāṇas, as they were of her nodal position in mid-India. Long distance trade was primarily carried on by the foreigners or Indians of the frontier and coastal regions. Mathurā's capability to make direct use of caravan routes and maritime lanes to foreign countries was limited and her share of international commerce was obtained largely through intermediaries despite the statement in the *Milindapañha*[49] that any trader with adequate capital and entreprenurial drive could reach out to international emporia and ports from Egyptian Alexandria to Takkola in Malay and beyond to China. Even so, the impact of foreign trade on the fortunes of Mathurā, as noted above, was enormous. Apart from the commercial importance of Mathurā's own exports to the foreign countries, her cultural contribution to at first Central Asia and later also to China through the spread of Buddhism was significant. Although colonies of Indian traders existed in the oasis principalities of Central Asia, it is impossible to determine whether any residents were from Mathurā. However, in her role as the principal seat of the Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, Mathurā probably sent out missions along these routes and also received them later as demonstrated by journeys of Fa-hsien and Chih-meng.

Mathurā served as a centre of transit trade to the West by its north-western and southern routes. The former also facilitated links between Toparákkala in the lower Oxus region and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra as revealed by the presence of the Dravidian types in the sculpture of the former and of Scythian types in the latter.[50] Further, the Chinese evidence for the gift of the Yüeh-chih horses by Men-leun (Muruṇḍa) ruler of

the eastern India to the mission from Fu-nan in the third century A.D. and for the regular supply of horses by the Yüeh-chih merchants to Ko-ying in Indonesia[51] suggests Mathurā's role in trade with Southeast Asia, which exported to India a variety of commodities, especially aromatics, sandal wood, aloe, spices, gold, silver, and other metals. Additionally, the Han court's receipt of two missions from Tien-chu (India, particularly its northern sections) by sea in A.D. 159 and 169, sent probably by the Kuṣāṇas from Mathurā, indicates the pattern of the eastern maritime routes.[52]

In conclusion, then, what we have been describing are the trade-routes and role of a nodal city, rich in resources but one never able to achieve a self-sustaining trans-regional status. Mathurā's greatness hinged upon her nodal connection as a point where many subsidiary and larger effects came together. For a time her cosmopolitan population superbly exploited the historic combination of opportunities all around them. As a result, there was an explosion of urban growth and Mathurā was transformed into an active creator and disseminator of material and cultural benefits. But once the commercial and political patterns were disrupted in the wake of the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa empire, Mathurā gradually sank to the level of a regional metropolis. In themselves none of the ancient cities had sufficient economic resources and technical inventiveness to sustain their trans-regional role in the absence of favourable patterns of commerce. Mathurā, like many other cities, retained its pan-India recognition on account of its status as the 'City of the Gods.' In many ways the classical Mathurā anticipated the role of medieval Delhi and Agra. What is important to understand, however, is that the key to Mathurā's place in history lay outside its core.

REFERENCE WORKS

A. Cunningham. *The Ancient Geography of India*. Varanasi. 1975.

N. L. Dey. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. London. 1927.

Albert Hermann. *An Historical Atlas of China*. Chicago. 1966.

B. C. Law. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris. 1954.

G. P. Malalasekera. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. 2 Vols. London. 1937–38.

Joseph E. Schwartzberg edited with collaboration of Shiva G. Bajpai, et al. *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*. Chicago. 1978.

NOTES

1. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P.T.S., London, 1885–1900. Vol. III, p. 256; Trans. E. M. Hare, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, London, 1932–36, p. 188.
2. *Lalitavistara*. Ed. P. L. Vaidya. Darbhanga, 1958, Chp. 3, p. 15.
   'Iyaṁ Mathurā nagarī ṛddhā ca sphītā ca kṣemā ca subhikṣa cākīrṇabahujanamanuṣyā ca.'
3. *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*. Pt. I & II. R. P. Kangle, Ed. & Trans., Bombay, 1963, 1970. 2.3.3; 2.4 1–5.
   Milindapañha, 1–2; 330–31; Trans. I. B. Horner. *Milinda's Questions*. 2 Vols., London, 1964. Vol. I, pp. 1–3, Vol. II, pp. 170–171.
   A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historic India*. Simla, 1973, pp. 41 ff.
4. Arrian: *Indica* VIII. Trans. P. A. Brunt. Arrian: *History of Alexander and Indica*. 2 Vols., London, 1976; R. C. Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*. Calcutta, 1960, p. 222.
   Pliny. *Natural History*. Trans. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones. London, 1942. VI.c.17 (22); Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 343.
   A. Cunningham. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*. Calcutta, Vol. I (1871), pp. 231–244; Vol. III (1873), pp. 30–54; Vol. VII (1884), pp. 107–112; Vol. XX (1885), pp. 30–54.
   H. Lüders. *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Aśoka. Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. X. Appendix, Calcutta, 1912. nos. 13–150 & 12a–150.
   H. Lüders. *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Unpublished papers. Ed. by Klaus L. Janert. Göttingen, 1961 (for find spots of inscriptions).
   F. Growse. *Mathurā, A District Memoir*. Allahabad, 1883, pp. 71, 103 ff., 272 ff.
   J. Ph. Vogel. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*. Allahabad, 1910.

N. P. Joshi. *Mathurā Kī Mūrtikalā*. Mathura, 1964, pp. 57–58.
H. Härtel. 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh. A Preliminary Report.' Reprint from *German Scholars on India*. Vol. II, Bombay, 1976, pp. 70–99.

5. R. Strabo. *Geography*. Trans. H. L. Jones. London. 1930, 1961, XV.1.11 Pliny, *Natural History*. VI. 21. 8–23.11. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 248, 341.
Ptolemy. *Geography*. VII.I., nos. 43–54; J. W. McCrindle. *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*. Ed. R. C. Jain, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 112 ff.
H. R. Rawlinson. *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*. Cambridge, 1926, pp. 42, 64–65.
R. S. Sharma. 'Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and Post Gupta Time.' *Indian History Congress. Proceedings of the 33rd Session*, Muzaffarpur (1972), pp. 92–104. This important article summarizes the archaeological evidence bearing on routes up to Punjab.
6. Moti Chandra. *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1966, pp. 18–19. Sharma. 'Decay of Gangetic Towns . . .' pp. 94–95; Bela Lahiri, 'Tribal and Local Coins from Excavations,' A. M. Shastri (Ed.), *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins From Excavations*. Nagpur University, 1972, pp. 115–127.
7. J. Przyluski. 'Un Ancien Peuple du Penjab: Les Udumbara.' *Journal Asiatique*. Tome 208 (1926), pp. 3 ff.; *Ancient Peoples of Punjab: The Udumbara and the Salvas*: (Reprint) *Indian Studies Past and Present*. Calcutta, 1960, pp. 2 ff.
Mahābhārata. Crit. Ed. V. S. Sukthankar, et al. Poona, 1927–1971. 2.29.4 ff.
Milindapañha. 330–331. Horner. *Milinda's Questions*. Vol. II, pp. 172–173.
Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 15.
S. R. Phogat, *Inscriptions of Haryana*. Kurukshetra, 1978, pp. 2–3.

8–9. *Mahābhārata*. 2.29.4 ff.
Fa-hsien. The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414 A.D.) or *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*. Re-trans. H. A. Giles. Cambridge, 1923, pp. 17–20.
K. Walton Dobbins. 'The Commerce of Kapisene and Gandhara After the Fall of Indo-Greek Rule,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol. XIV (1971), p. 293.
E. H. Warmington. *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, 2nd ed., London, 1974, pp. 21, 24.

10. Rapson. *The Cambridge History of India*. Cambridge, 1914, Vol. I, p. 563 ff.
S. Konow. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. 1, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. xxxi–xxxii.
Arrian. *Anabasis*. VI. 17; R. C. Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 78.
H. T. Lambrik. *Sind, A General Introduction*. Hyderabad, 1975, 2nd ed., pp. 108 ff.
Thomas H. Holdich, *The Gates of India*. London, 1910, pp. 135 ff.

11. *Mahābhārata*. 2.29.4 ff; *Divyāvadāna*. (eds.) E. B. Cowell and Robert A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 544 ff.
Hanna Rydh. *Rang Mahal, The Swedish Archaeological Expedition to India, 1952–54*, Lund (Sweden), 1959, p. 171.
B. Srivastava. *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 78–80.
K. C. Jain. *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*. Delhi, 1972, pp. 85 ff.

12. Patañjali. *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (ed. F. Keilhorn). 3 Vols. Bombay, 1880–5. III.2.111.
J. Burgess. *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Inscriptions: Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV. N.I.S. Varanasi, 1964 (reprint), pp. 99–103.
E. Senart. 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik,' *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, pp. 78 ff.
D. C. Sircar. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, pp. 91–92 (Ghosūṇḍī Stone Inscription).
G. Bühler. 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sanchi Stūpas,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 87–116; 'Further Inscriptions from Sanchi,' *EI*, pp. 366–408. (Sanchi Stupa Inscriptions. References to donors from various places including Puskara.)
Periplus Maris Erythraei. The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea. Trans. Wilfred Schoff. London, 1912, Sec. 41; p. 180.

13. Chandra. *Sārthavāha*, p. 19.
Mahābhārata. 2.18.26–30.
Rāmāyaṇa. Cr. Ed. P. L. Vaidya. Baroda, 1962, II.62.10–14.
Y. D. Sharma. 'Exploration of Historical Sites,' *Ancient India*. No. 9 (1953), pp. 117–150.
Sutta Nipāta (*SBE*, Vol. X), verses 1012–1013.
B. Dube. 'Chief Routes in the Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa,' *Bharati, Bulletin of the Dept. of Anc. Ind. Hist., Culture & Archeology*, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Prof. V. S. Agrawala. Volumes 12–14 (1968–71).
Ptolemy. *Geography*. VII.1.51–54; McCrindle. *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 131–136.

14–15. Strabo. *Geography*. XV.1.11.; Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 248.
Pliny. *Natural History*. VI.21.8–23., VI.22.24; Majumdar, *Classical Accounts*, 341, 346.
R. L. Mehta. *Pre-Buddhist India*. Bombay, 1939, pp. 225–226.
Ancient India. No. 9 (1953), pp. 116 ff.
Divyāvadāna, p. 386.

16–17. K. G. Goswami, 'Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Kanishka,' *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXIV (1942), pp. 210–212. (Kosam Bodhisattva Inscription); Lüders. *List* No. 925 (Sarnath Bodhisattva Inscription).
Sutta Nipāta (*SBE* Vol. X), verses 976–977.

13–17. Mathurā's links with the principal routes of the Gaṅgā plain are evidenced from a variety of sources. Only a few of the literary sources have been noted above. The archaeological evidence is reported in various survey reports and issues of *Ancient India*.

18. R. S. Sharma. 'Decay of Gangetic Towns', p. 97.

19. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. 48, 64; Schoff. pp. 188 ff–263 ff.
P. H. L. Eggermont. 'The Muruṇḍas and the Ancient Trade-Route from Taxila to Ujjain,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol. IV., pt. III. Leiden (1966), pp. 257–296.
Ptolemy. *Geography*. VII.1.50; McCrindle. *Ancient India*, pp. 126 ff.
R. M. Smith. *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India*. Delhi, 1973, pp. 370–371.
A. Cunningham. *Bhilsa Tope*. London, 1854. (Archaeological and numismatic finds and inscriptions at Gujarra, Padmāvatī, Tumbavana, Eran, Bhilsa, Sanchi, Bharhut, Ujjain, Maheshwar and other sites testify to the prominence of this route.)
H. Lüders. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. II, Part II. *Bharhut Inscriptions*. Revised by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale. Ootacamund, 1963, pp. 6–10 and ff.
G. Bühler. 'Votive Inscriptions from the Stūpas at Sānchi.' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 115 f.; 'Further Votive Inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpas', *EI* II, pp. 407–408. (Geographical names of towns and villages as the homes of the donors.)
H. Lüders. *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*. Nos. 168–653.

20. A. Cunningham. *The Stupa of Bharhut: A Bhuddist Monument* with an introduction by Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala. Varanasi, 1962 (reprint), p. i, 1–3.

21. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. 48.
Sutta Nipāta (*SBE*. X), verses 976–977. M. N. Deshpande, 'The Rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan.' *Ancient India*. No. 15 (1959), p. 68.
S. B. Deo. *Excavations at Bhokardan*. Nagpur, 1974, pp. 3–4 and figure 1.

22. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. 51–61; *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax, an Account of the Overland Trade Route Between the Levant and India in the First Century* B.C. Trans. and Ed. by Wilfred H. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914, pp. 195 ff.
Ptolemy. *Geography*. VII.1.4–16; McCrindle. *Ancient India*, pp. 38 ff.
J. Burgess. *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions. A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV, London, 1883, pp. 3 ff.
Mahābhārata. 3.58.22.
V. S. Agrawala. *Presidential Address, All India Oriental Conference*. 22nd Session. Gauhati, 1965, p. 14.
F. E. Pargiter. 'The Geography of Rāma's Exile,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1894), pp. 231–264.
R. N. Saletore. *Early Indian Economic History*, Bombay, 1971, pp. 253–257.
Dipak Ranjan Das. *Economic History of the Deccan*. Delhi, 1969, pp. 216 ff.

23. Pliny. *Natural History*. VII.17.(23); Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 243.
Kanakasabhai, V. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. Tinnevelly, 1956, p. 5.

24. *Milindapañha*. 359; Horner, *Milinda's Questions*. Vol. II, p. 222.

25–26. Strabo. *Geography*. XI.c.viii.9; Pliny. *Natural History*, VI.c.21.
McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 16–22; Schaff, *Parthia Stations*; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. 1–36; Schoff, *The Periplus: Text and Notes*, pp. 52 ff.
Instead of listing various other classical and Iranian sources I note the following works and citations to the sources therein:
Sir W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith. *Hellenistic Civilization*. 3rd Ed., London, 1952, pp. 239–267.
E. H. Warmington. *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*. 2nd Ed., London, 1974, pp. 6 ff.
M. P. Charlesworth. *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 58 ff.
G. L. Adhya. *Early Indian Economics*. New York, 1966, pp. 101–151.
R. E. M. Wheeler. *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. Harmondworth, 1955, pp. 141 ff.
Roman Economic and Social History. Ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton, Princeton, 1951.
S. A. Mathesan. *Persia: An Archaeological Guide*, London, 1972.

27–29. Strabo. *Geography*. XI.c.viii.9; McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 18 and fn. 15.
P. C. Bagchi: 'Cultural and Colonial Expansion: Central Asia, China & the Far East.' *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II. *The Mauryas and Sātavāhanas*. Ed. K. A. Nilakant Sastri, Bombay, 1957, pp. 764–776; Bagchi, *India and China*, Bombay, 1950, pp. 11–18.
R. C. Majumdar (Ed.). *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, pp. 634–658.
C. L. Adhya. *Early Indian Economics*, pp. 152–164.
C. G. F. Simkin. *The Traditional Trade of Asia*, London, 1968, pp. 19–23.
A. L. Basham (Ed.). *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*. Leiden, 1968 (especially contributions of S. P. Tolstov and E. Zürcher).
M. A. Stein. *On Ancient Caravan Tracks Past the Pamirs*, Calcutta, 1932.
M. A. Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, 2 Vols. Oxford, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 13 ff.
M. A. Stein. *Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkistan*, London, 1901.
M. A. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, London, 1933, pp. 78 ff.

M. A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 4 Vols., Oxford, 1928.
M. A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Northwestern India and South-eastern Iran*, London, 1937.
M. A. Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, London, 1904, pp. 12 ff.
M. A. Stein, *A Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkistan*, London, 1901.
M. A. Stein, *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, Calcutta, 1899.

30. Ptolemy, *Geography*, I.13, VII.1; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 64.
McCrindle. *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 30.
F. Hirth, 'The Story of Chang K'ien . . .' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII (1917), pp. 89–152.
Simkin, *The Traditional Trade of Asia*, pp. 21–22.
P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 17.
Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, pp. 163–164.
See also, Zhang Xing Land (ed.), *Zhong Xi jiaotung Shiliao huibian (A Collection of Materials on the History of Chinese and Western Contacts)*, Vol. VI, Beijing (1977), for Chinese sources on trade routes to Szechuan via Burma and Yunnan and/or Assam. However, Mr. Chen Quian's suggestions of an etymological connection between the Sanskrit *Kauśeya* and early phonics of Szechuan in his article, 'Chuan Dian Mian Yin gudas qukao' (A Preliminary Investigation of Ancient Routes between Szechuan, Burma and India), in *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, Vol. I (1981), pp. 160–180, seem far-fetched. I thankfully acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Sucheta Mazumdar for bringing these publications to my attention and translating relevant Chinese texts for me.

31. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 60, 63. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 242 ff; 259 ff.
Ptolemy, *Geography*, VII.2.2, 5, 11, 29; VII.3.1–5.
Milindapañha, 359; Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. II, p. 222.
P. Wheatly, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961.
Bagchi in *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 771–776.
Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 634–658.
Adhya. *Early Indian Economics*, pp. 164–176.
B. Srivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 107 ff.
H. Cakraborti, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 62 ff.
G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909.

32. *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, 2.4.4–8; 7.12.17–28.
Periplus Maris Erythraei, 51, 60, 64.
Mahābhārata, 3.61.106 ff.; 3.62.9 ff.
Mahāniddesa, Ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, London, 1916–17, pp. 415.
Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, Introd. p. 9; 137–138.
V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*. 2nd Ed. Varanasi, 1963, pp. 242–244.
B. Srivastava. *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, pp. 138 ff.

33. *Mahābhārata*, 3.16.106 ff.; 3.62.9 ff.

34. Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, Varanasi, 1969 (reprint), Plates XV, XX.
N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1967, pp. 82–113.

35. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 64.51.

36. *Milindapañha*, 331; Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, pp. 171–172. (enumerates as many as seventy-five occupations of which about sixty were connected with various types of crafts.)
Mahāvastu, III. 442–443 provides a list of thirty-three kinds of *śreṇīs* (guilds of industrial manufacturers), forty-six types of *śilpāyatanas* (artisans and craftsmen), and twenty-one classes of *gāndharvikas* (musicians and players on various instruments).
R. G. Basak. A Study of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*. Calcutta, 1960, pp. 37–41.
R. S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 74–78.

37. H. Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions. Epigraphia Indica*, X, nos. 29, 53–54, 95.
H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, nos. 1, 27, 74, 81, 92; Lüders, *List*, nos. 85, 100; 37, 68, 76.
G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *Epigraphia Indica*, II (1894), Insc. no. XXX, p. 207; S. Konow, 'Mathura Inscriptions of the Year 28,' *EI*, XXI (1931/32), no. 10, pp. 55 ff.

38. Lüders, *List*, nos. 24, 41; 30. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, no. 172.

39. N. P Joshi, *Mathurā Kī Mūrtikalā*, p. 56.

40. *Milindapañha*, 331; Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 173. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, nos. 125, 687, 869, 288, 291.
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 369–70; 407. (Sanchi Buddhist Inscriptions: Geographical Names: Madhuvana.)

41. N. Datta. *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta, 1977 (reprint), pp. 135, 141, 144.

42. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 48; Schoff, *Parthian Stations*, pp. 187–189.

43. *The Periplus: Text and Notes*, p. 64; pp. 268–271.

44. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 22 ff.
B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I: *Kanishka I and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 63 ff.

45. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, nos. 40, 18, 13, 31, 61–62, 69.
Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. 34 ff.

46. N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Kī Mūrtikalā*, p. 55.
J. Przyluski, *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts*. Trans. D. K. Biswas, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 13 ff.

47. A. S. Altekar, 'Nandsa Yūpa Inscriptions,' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII (1956), 252 ff.
Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, nos. 6–7.
48. G. Bühler, 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sānchi Stupas,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1894), p. 87 ff.
B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in the Kushāṇa History*, pp. 25 ff.
49. *Milindapañha*. 359; Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. II, p. 222.
50. S. P. Tolstov, 'Documents From the Toparak-Kala Palace'; A. L. Basham (ed.) *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, pp. 306–308.
John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 168–169.
51. O. W. Walters, *Early Indonesian Commerce, a Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya*, New York, 1967, p. 60.
B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, pp. 37 ff.
52. Adhya, *Early Indian Economy*, p. 166.

7. Growth of Mathurā and Its Society (Up to the End of the Kuṣāṇa Age)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Approachable through land routes and a navigable river (Yamunā) and situated in fairly hospitable surroundings, the locality of Mathurā (now in the Mathurā district, U.P.) was from an early age a natural and convenient area for human settlement.[1] Archaeological excavations have indicated development of a township from a village around Ambarish Ṭīlā (situated near the Yamunā and in the northern part of the present city). The beginning of a rural settlement around Ambarish Ṭīlā is now archaeologically datable to a period ranging from *c.* 6th century B.C. to the closing decades of the 4th century B.C.[2] Interestingly enough, the middle level of the early phases of settlement at Sonkh (near Mathurā) has been dated to *c.* 600 B.C.,[3] though the commencement of that habitation may be hypothetically pushed back to about 800 B.C.[4] Thus human settlement following some developed pattern of culture began in the area concerned probably in or by *c.* 6th century B.C. Urbanization of Mathurā began, as the available archaeological data indicate, in the age ranging from the late 4th century B.C. to *c.* 200 B.C.[5]

This inference is not in full agreement with the reference in Pāṇini's grammar (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*) to the term *Māthura*, denoting a person residing in (or owing loyalty to) a place called Mathurā.[6] Pāṇini's evidence suggests that by his time (6th–4th century B.C.) the name of Mathurā had become familiar to an outsider like him and was expected to be known to at least some of the prospective students of his grammar. So Mathurā might have been a well-known locality, if not one of the principal towns, of the land known to him.

Mathurā, as recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, was the city of the Yādavas (or the Yadu family)[7] and the (supposed) place of birth of (Vāsudeva) Kṛṣṇa,[8] who (according to tradition) became the chief of the *saṅgha* formed by the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis (and also some associate tribes?).[9] A few Purāṇas appear to consider the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis as two of the branches of the Sātvatas,[10] who formed one of the septs into which the Yādavas or the Yadu tribe had been divided.[11] If the epic and Purāṇic statements echo a genuine historical tradition, we may identify the Yadus with the homonymous tribe of the Ṛg Vedic fame,[12] which had originally come from a distant territory to the land known to the Ṛg Vedic authors,[13] and we may assume that some time after the 'battle of ten kings,' in which the Yadus were defeated,[14] they or at least one of their septs (formed by the Sātvatas or Satvats?) moved towards the east[15] with the expansion of Brahmanical culture in that direction.[16] In fact, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[17] locates a habitat of the Sātvatas beyond (i.e., to the east or south-east of) the Kuru-Pañchāla area.[18] The territory of the Kurus incorporated *inter alia* the Delhi area[19] and that of the Pañchālas included Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doab.[20] So this habitat of the Sātvatas could well have incorporated the area of Mathurā. Pāṇini's references[21] to *Māthura*, *Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi saṅgha*, *Vāsudeva-vargya* (i.e., a member of the society or the party of Vāsudeva) and *Vāsudevaka* (i.e., a worshipper or a follower of Vāsudeva) may be interpreted, in the light of the epic and Purāṇic traditions, as pointing to Mathurā as a stronghold of the *saṅgha* of the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis, and to Vāsudeva (= Kṛṣṇa) as a famous personality or (a legendary?) hero of that *saṅgha*. It appears that before or by the time of Pāṇini (6th century

B.C.–4th century B.C.) Mathurā had become well-known as a place associated with the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis and with the cult of Vāsudeva. And if archaeology cannot at present date the initial phase of human settlement (following a somewhat developed pattern of culture) in Mathurā much beyond *c.* 600 B.C., the credit for founding that settlement may be given to, among others, the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis.[22] The feasibility of such a hypothesis is not much diminished by suggesting an earlier date for Pāṇini or by pointing out that new archaeological data may push back the initial phase of settlement (following a somewhat developed pattern of culture) in the Mathurā area to a remoter age.

The population of Mathurā during the early phases of such a settlement consisted apparently of autochthons and tribal people hailing from the north-west and including the ruling clans of the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis (belonging to the Sātvata sept of the Yadu tribe). The society, politically controlled (for a certain period) by the Andhaka–Vṛṣṇi *saṅgha*, might have experienced Brahmanical culture. The cult of Vāsudeva might have become popular.

The country around Mathurā (Madhurā) developed into one of the sixteen great kingdoms (*Soḷasa Mahājanapadas*) mentioned in Buddhist literature.[23] The kingdom was called Śūrasena, and its ruler during and shortly after the period of the Buddha was one Avantiputta.[24] It appears from the tradition recorded in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* that in the area of Madhurā the ground was uneven and dusty. The locality was infested with fierce dogs. There were 'bestial' yakkhas (Yakṣas). Alms were hardly obtainable from people.[25] According to a commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, a naked yakkhini even tried to allure the Buddha once when he entered Madhurā (Mathurā) and was on his way 'to the inner city'.

Society was perhaps broadly divided into four castes (Brāhmaṇa, Khattiya, Vessa and Sudda) and the Brāhmaṇas were traditionally considered to belong to the best caste.[26] No doubt, Buddhism, which was basically against the caste system, was given a great boost in Mathurā with the conversion of Avantiputta by Mahā Kaccāna, a disciple of the Buddha sometime after the Master's death. Mahā Kaccāna himself denounced the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas over others and claimed that a Brāhmaṇa ascetic should receive no more homage than an ascetic of any other caste. It is, however, doubtful as to how far such attempts were able to loosen the traditional barriers in the society imposed by the caste system. On the other hand, the dialogue between Avantiputta and Mahā Kaccāna in Mathurā, as recorded in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, points to a more influencing factor. Mahā Kaccāna was noted to have admitted that 'wealth, paddy, silver and gold' conferred prosperity on members of all castes.[27] It appears that possession of wealth gained apparently through *inter alia* agricultural and industrial (and trading) activities began to be reckoned as one of the factors determining the social position of residents of the territory concerned. Its direct and also indirect connection with different parts of the subcontinent made it a profitable area for traders and also exposed it to outside cultural influences. From the point of view of the religious life of the people, Mathurā became a meeting point of Brahmanical cults (imported mainly from the 'west'), Buddhism (imported from the 'east') and the Yakṣa and a few other cults (bearing *inter alia* traits evolved locally).

B

Mathurā's tie with the east was strengthened with the probable incorporation of the Śūrasena territory in the domain of the Nandas and then in the empire of the Mauryas. Mathurā, with its wealth-conscious residents and natural trading facilities (see above), now found itself, along with several other emporia, under central authorities capable to offer security to a vast area which was necessary for unhindered movement of traders and trading articles and consequent growth of commerce. That the available opportunities were exploited to augment the general prosperity of at least a class of people in Mathurā is suggested by various data. The *Arthaśāstra* cited *Māthura* (i.e., belonging to or produced in Mathurā) as the name of one of the seven best varieties of cotton (garments),[28] and thereby indicated the existence of a prosperous textile industry in the area concerned.[29]

The evidence of the earliest mud-fortification of Mathurā, datable to a period ranging from the closing decades of the 4th century B.C. to *c.* 200 B.C.,[30] suggests that by the end of the age of the Nandas or during the Maurya period the locality was considered important enough to be fortified obviously for ensuring protection to its wealth and residents. This period also marked a stage of expansion of settlement in a large part of the fortified area,[31] necessitated apparently by inflow of fortune-seekers and clamour of well-to-do citizens for residences in better areas as well as by a natural growth of the city's population. At Sonkh a large variety of ground plans (including a circular one) for mud-built houses, detected at the Maurya levels (36 to 32),[32] may allude to varied tastes of the builders and/or their financiers. Thus even by the present archaeological

reckoning Mathurā was greatly urbanized by the end of the period concerned.[33]

The gradual expansion of Mathurā and the relevance of the territory and its inhabitants to contemporary Indian society is attested by the evidence of Megasthenes, the Seleucid envoy to the court of the Mauryas. One of the passages of his *Indika*, quoted by Arrian, states that 'Herakles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe' which 'possess two large cities, Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisobora and through whose territory flows a navigable river called Iobares'[34] (Yamunā). Megasthenes also narrated interesting legends about this Herakles,[35] identifiable perhaps with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.[36]

All these data indicate a society interested in urban expansion and building activities and deeply devoted to the cult of Herakles (= Kṛṣṇa). Buddhism and other cults, introduced in earlier periods, might have also continued to exist.

C

The period and even historicity of the rule of the Śuṅgas, the successors of the Mauryas on the throne of Magadha, in the area in question are not certain. On the reading and nature of interpretation of a part of the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* depends the hypothesis of the Yavana (Indo-Greek) rule in Mathurā in the 2nd century B.C.[37] Numismatic evidence (particularly the evidence of coin-types) does not indicate the presence of early Indo-Greek kings in the locality. Nevertheless, the statement of Patañjali (*c.* 2nd century B.C.) referring to the Yavana invasion of *inter alia* Sāketa (as having taken place in 'recent past')[38] may suggest Yavana activities (in *c.* 2nd century B.C.) in Madhyadeśa, which included Mathurā (a locality with which later Jaina tradition associates the Yavanas). Thus in the age of political turmoil in North India, following the disintegration of the Maurya empire, Yavana elements could have been introduced into the population of Mathurā.[39]

The political uncertainty fortunately did not disturb the position of Mathurā in Indian society and economy. Mathurā attracted the notice of Patañjali apparently as an important city.[40] People (or at least the affluent section of the population) began to have better house building facilities with the beginning of the use of mud-bricks (as revealed by the houses of level 29 at Sonkh and also by the evidence available from period III at Mathurā).[41] The residents of Mathurā became known as 'more cultured' than those of Śaṅkāsya and Pāṭaliputra (*Sāṅkāśyakebhyaśca Pāṭaliputrakebkhaśca Māthurā abhirūpatarā iti*).[42] Garments used by them attracted notice of even outsiders. Patañjali mentioned a particular type of garment (*śāṭaka*) used in Mathurā.[43] His reference to the currency of Kārṣāpaṇa (coins) in Mathurā[44] vouches for brisk trading activities in the city. Trade might have encouraged movement of people and ideas. Such a supposition at least partly explains the appearance of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa on coins of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles (whose territory included at least a part of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent) and the setting up of a Garuḍa column (in honour) of Devadeva Vāsudeva by Heliodora (Heliodorus), a Yona (Yavana) envoy from Takṣaśilā (Taxila) sent by (the Indo-Greek) king Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas) to the court of Kāsīputra (Kāśīputra) Bhāgabhadra. It appears that the Vāsudeva cult, especially associated with Mathurā, attracted foreign elements in Indian population.

Another religion, which by this time could have become well-known to the people of Mathurā, was Jainism. This religion, which reached Mathurā from the east, was destined to make a great impression on the society of Mathurā in a slightly later period.

Religious cults and trade, two important features of society, continued to flourish under the local rulers of Mathurā (bearing *-Mitra* and *Datta* ending names). The patronage of the cult of Vāsudeva by the local rulers of Mathurā is suggested by a dedication made at a local site (known as Mora) associated with it by Yaśamatā, a daughter of Bṛhatsvātimitra and the consort of a king (of Mathurā).[45] Jainism, as indicated by a few of the early donative inscriptions palaeographically datable to about this period, attracted a number of residents of Mathurā.[46] The famous Jaina stūpa at Mathurā (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā), mentioned in an inscription of the year 79 as the one 'built by the gods', might have its beginning in this or in the following period.[47] Images and shrines, associated with other cults (like Yakṣa, Nāga, etc.),[48] might have also been installed during this age by apparently affluent members of the society.

Constructional activities were, however, not restricted to the religious sphere alone. Excavations at Sonkh (level 27) and Mathurā betray great building activities in baked bricks.[49] At Sonkh, houses consisting of two or three rooms and built on various groundplans were often divided into groups. Houses of each group were adjusted to one another according to availability of space and were connected with one another by enclosing walls. Such enclosed plots of land with buildings erected on them followed one another in a row bordered on two sides by streets.[50]

Emergence of new elements in popular terracotta art

of Mathurā[51] was perhaps partly due to increased communications with other parts of the country. Communication with the north-west and west, through *inter alia* trade, is indicated by the discovery of Mitra coins (of Mathurā) during excavations at several places including Rairh (near Jaipur), Purana Qila and Rupar. The fact that coins of each of the rulers called Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra are noted to have been recovered at Sonkh from the level (or levels) assigned to his period and not from any other level should suggest circulation of coins of each of these kings mainly during his reign. This would indicate regular minting of coin for its use as a medium of exchange by the people of Mathurā. The connected commercial and other economic activities brought prosperity to the people (or to a section of it) as suggested by the substantial nature of structure and abundance of finds at certain levels (27 and 26) at Sonkh attributed to the age of Sūryamitra.

Rich traders of the age with money comparatively freely available to them could have patronized religion. Sometimes they thought of the deities they worshipped as following their vocations. An interesting example comes from the Kauśāmbī area, which, like Mathurā, was probably a part of Madhyadeśa. A stone inscription, found near Kosam, records a religious donation made by a *gṛhapati* after invoking Sārthavāha Māṇibhadra.[52] Here the Yakṣa divinity Māṇibhadra was looked upon as a caravan leader or merchant.

The material power of the merchants, traditionally belonging to the Vaiśya caste, and the influence in the society of anti-caste religious faiths (like Jainism and Buddhism) should have loosened the barrier and stringency of caste system. Nevertheless, as it appears from the *Manu-smṛti* (200 B.C.–A.D. 200), the Brāhmaṇas of the Śūrasena country[53] and the physically well-built warriors of that area[54] continued to be held in high esteem.

The society in Mathurā and nearby areas was, on the whole, not isolated from other parts of the subcontinent. It was in communication with other areas and was composed of local and outside ethnic elements. The society was traditionally based on caste, but with a difference caused by influence of cults harbouring anti-caste attitude and the likely tendency for the determination of the social or socio-economic position of the people on the basis of the possession of wealth and material power.

D

Further heterogenous elements were introduced into the society of the region concerned with the extension of the Scytho-Parthian rule to Mathurā during the last decades of the 1st century B.C. or in the beginning of the 1st century A.D.[55] The Scytho-Parthians now constituted the ruling class and as such formed the most powerful section of the society. Mathurā, as a part of the Scytho-Parthian dominions of North-western India, became further exposed to influences from the west. As indicated by the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions, referring to a number of Śaka rulers (of different parts of the subcontinent) and to certain donations in Guhāvihāra in honour of *inter alia* all Sak(r)astana (Sakastan),[56] Mathurā became a cultural centre, and not only a political metropolis, of the Scytho-Parthians in the subcontinent. Mathurā, as it were, became a part of the north-west.

This change in the political or politico-cultural setup, however, did not disturb the religious movements (like Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanical and other cults) which had already become popular in Mathurā. Dedications including consecration of religious shrines (belonging to various orders and having varied groundplans and elevations) were made by persons belonging to different strata of the society.[57] Women were allowed to take part (at least to a limited extent) in religious activities. Certain inscriptions refer to religious acts performed by female lay-disciples (*śrāvikās*).[58] Female pupils (*śiśinis* or *aṁtevāsinīs*) are mentioned in a number of Jaina records.[59] Even courtesans were allowed to make religious donations. An instance of 'establishing' a shrine of Arhat Vardhamāna, a hall of homage (*āyāgasabhā*), a cistern and a stone slab in an Arhat temple (*āyatana*) by a courtesan (*gaṇikā*), who was a daughter of another courtesan and also a lay-disciple of certain ascetics (*śamana-sāvikā*), may indicate that sometimes a courtesan possessed wealth and also some social position.[60]

References to different near relations of the donors along with the latters' names in donative records may perhaps allude to the existence of joint family system[61] (see also below). Polygamy was perhaps practised.[62] Certain instances indicate retaining of their paternal *gotras* by women even after marriage,[63] though the general norm could have been otherwise. Divine protection was probably sought for the children of the family. At least the Jainas worshipped Lord Naigameṣa, who was probably considered as possessing *inter alia* the power of 'granting son'.[64]

All these data indicate, in general, continuity of a society based broadly on Indian norms in the Scytho-Parthian age. In fact, the Scytho-Parthians themselves became great patrons of Indian religion and culture.

They patronized, as suggested by the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions, the Buddhist sects of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas,[65] who were destined to be responsible for spreading Buddhism in Central Asia.[66] The chief queen of Rajula, in association with few others, made religious donations (including granting of land to Guhāvihāra).[67] Some female relatives of Kṣaharāta Ghaṭāka erected a stūpa.[68] The Śaka ruler Śoḍāsa appointed a Brāhmaṇa official.[69] During the Scytho-Parthian regime Sanskrit began to be used at least occasionally for writing epigraphic records.[70] On the other hand, the local Prakrit dialect (or at least the so-called 'mixed' dialect used in epigraphs),[71] began to absorb words of non-Indian origin.[72] Local people accepted an era of north-western origin, which had been imported in the Mathurā area probably by the Scytho-Parthians.[73] Regional art, as revealed by archaeological remains, began to betray traces of outside (including non-Indian) influences.[74]

Caste system still furnished a basis for social division. As indicated in the *Manu-smṛti*, the Śakas and the Pahlavas as well as the Yavanas were gradually accepted as men of Kṣatriya origin, though degraded to the status of Vṛṣala (Śūdra)[75].

Two inscriptions of the time of the Śaka ruler Śoḍāsa himself refer to a Brāhmaṇa of Śegrava (Śaigrava) gotra.[76] But the very fact that this Brāhmaṇa acted as a gañjavara (treasurer) under Śoḍāsa shows that a member of a caste did not necessarily follow a profession traditionally assigned to it. Donative inscriptions indicate various types of vocations followed by people.[77]

Increase of population in the Mathurā area is suggested by structural remains unearthed at levels 23 and 24 at Sonkh, datable to the Kṣatrapa age. Houses, rooms of which were arranged around an inner courtyard, were irregularly placed, and (as a result) the streets became more crooked than in the previous period.[78] One of the possible reasons for the irregular arrangement of houses might have been want of enough space due to increase of demand on land by the growing population. Another interesting architectural feature was the use (in the oldest phase of habitation at level 23) of stone in the projected sections of buildings at street-corners, probably to ensure protection against damages by vehicles.[79] The evidence may allude to increase in volume of traffic and so of movement of people and materials. A few stone slabs and architraves, datable to about the first half of the 1st century A.D., display representations of gateways, railings and storied buildings[80] (made of bricks, stone, wood and tiles?). Houses of this type were apparently enjoyed by the richer section of the society. The poor probably occupied circular mud-huts, well-known in the rural area around Mathurā,[81] or tenements made of mud and other perishable materials. All these data may betray, if considered together, growing complexities in the socio-economic structure of the area concerned.

One of the reasons for the growing complexities is the emergence of Mathurā as an important trading centre for internal and also external (Indo-Roman) trade.[82] It began to serve as a halting station for merchants and those traveling by caravans carrying goods from Central Asia (including the area now in Afghanistan) and north Indian localities to Indian ports.[83] It would have been, therefore, natural for fortune-seekers from rural areas to migrate to Mathurā, and for Mathurā to have a populous and complex society. The *Milinda-pañha*, datable to *c.* 1st century A.D.,[84] aptly included Madhura (Mathurā) in its list of notable cities.[85]

E

The importance of Mathurā was further enhanced after its annexation to the multiracial Kuṣāṇa empire with its chief seat of authority in Bactria. Mathurā became an integral part of an international empire and its chief metropolis in the east.

Population of the area in and around Mathurā probably increased. 'The seven levels (22–16) belonging to the Kuṣāṇa time' at Sonkh 'show more or less densely built up area of houses. Occasionally there is a working area without building or an open space joined by several streets and lanes'.[86] 'The ground-plan of Level 16 shows the most developed and also the most systematic layout.[87] At Mathurā, remains of residential houses made of mud and baked bricks of diverse sizes have been unearthed. Sometimes these were raised on platforms. Some of these had floors made of compact mud, gravel and bricks. Tile was a common roofing material. Use of stone might have been mainly confined to religious establishments'.[88]

At Mathurā fortification was 'revived, enlarged and repaired'. 'An inner mud enclosure of fortification of much smaller size was also built inside the walled town'.[89] We may imagine that the administrative headquarters and/or residences of the most powerful section of the society (including administrators of the locality and their families) were situated within this fortified inner town.

A rough idea about the general outward appearances of the town of Mathurā and of the elevations of its imposing buildings may be formed by a study of carvings on some stone slabs, pillars and architraves,

found in the Mathurā area and datable approximately to the Kuṣāṇa age. The sculptors concerned could have been reasonably influenced by the plans and elevations of the local buildings while depicting urban scenes in sculptural panels.

One of the carvings displays the gates and gate-towers of the fortified city and the roofs of some high buildings inside the city-wall.[90] The inner fortification of the city, mentioned above, is perhaps represented on a slab, which displays a fortified area with an apsidal temple inside it and which does not give the impression of enclosing a vast area.[91] Roofs of dwelling houses (made of stone, brick, wood, and tiles?) are generally shown in carvings as barrel-vaulted with gabled ends. Several of such buildings seem to have been multi-storied (often consisting of three floors), with ornate lattice-windows and a verandah on each floor.[92] A bas-relief on a high slab shows a roofed stairway leading to one such verandah or balcony.[93] A stately gate-way with towers and balconies, as shown in another panel on the same slab, could have formed a necessary part of the outer enclosure of a building.[94]

The imposing mansions were inhabited apparently by the richer section of the society. The less affluent section probably occupied humbler dwellings (made of mud, wood, bamboo and other perishable materials), remains of the types of which have been unearthed at excavated levels dated to earlier periods.[95]

The religious establishments included stūpas, vihāras, storied shrines for the *bodhi* tree, and temples (built on various plans such as circular, apsidal, etc.).[96] Apsidal temples had vaulted roof with a gabled-end.[97]

Traceable ruins of fortification indicate that Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa age was a fairly large city, at least by ancient or mediaeval standards. It was ruled by local administrators, including the representatives of the Central authorities.

The administrators, their families and followers were included in the powerful section of the society. They were often of foreign origin, as indicated by donative inscriptions mentioning high officials (of the ranks of Viśvasika, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, etc.) bearing non-Indian (Scythic, Iranian, etc.) names.[98]

Apart from maintaining law and order in the region concerned, the administrative officials or at least a few of them were also probably responsible for looking after the dynastic sanctuary at Māṭ, established by a temple-keeper (*bakanapati*) probably in the days of Vima Kadphises and renovated by a great general (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) in the period of Huviṣka.[99] Icons of the emperors were worshipped here.[100] A few pillar inscriptions from the Jamalpur mound record gifts of Viśvasika Vakamihira and his son Horamurṇḍaga and the wish that by the pious gift(s) 'let the sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) be unshaken'.[101] It appears that the cult of the emperor and of the empire known in other parts of the Kuṣāṇa empire,[102] were extended to Mathurā. As in the Roman empire, these cults served as bonds of union among subject peoples of diverse ethnic and social origins. The society of Mathurā was apparently expected to accept these cults.

These were, however, not preached at the expense of other faiths. In Mathurā, Buddhism (with its different sects like the Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika, etc.), Jainism (monks and nuns of which were divided into various *gaṇas, kulas, śākhās* and *sambhogas*), Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and various cults (including the Nāga and Yakṣa cults) flourished and Vedic rites were freely practised.[103] Jaina lay devotees were free to make religious gifts and dedication, often at the request of religious preceptors.[104] Followers of other creeds also had no difficulty in performing pious acts. Sometimes Buddhist monks were able to collect enough money to finance the making of icons or erection of religious shrines.[105] All these indicate that citizens of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā enjoyed freedom in their religious life. In fact, the Kuṣāṇa rulers are well-known for their eclectic attitude towards religion. Brahmanical icons have been found in the dynastic sanctuary at Māṭ, where, according to a record of the period of Huviṣka, Brāhmaṇas were 'regular guests'.[106] A vihāra, built perhaps upon the remains of (or at least in the vicinity of) a Nāga shrine, was named after Devaputra Huviṣka.[107] The Mathurā inscription of the year 28 refers to endowments created by a scion of the Saruka family (i.e. a member of the Scythian tribe called Saraucae), who was also a *bakanapati* (temple-keeper) for feeding Brāhmaṇas and for supplying succour to the needy people.[108]

The Imperial Kuṣāṇas, whose interest lay in accumulating wealth through *inter alia* levying taxes on articles of commerce,[109] naturally should not have wilfully disturbed the social and religious inclinations of the people. For the same reason they would have encouraged trading activities. Unplanned and uncontrolled development of industry and trade in a climate favourable to their growth at national and international levels[110] could have naturally betrayed tendencies to concentrate wealth, acquired through these channels of activities, in the hands of a comparatively small number of people of the society, including big industrialists, traders and rich landlords (engaged in agricultural productions). As in other parts of the Kuṣāṇa empire, so also in Mathurā they as well as the local administrators and representatives of the Central

government, their families, counsellors and assistants and army generals (stationed in the area concerned) should have formed the privileged class of Mathurā. Birth, (marriage), power and wealth seem to have been the most important criteria for becoming a member of this class.[111]

Mathurā epigraphs, referring to high officials (of the ranks of Kṣatrapa, Viśvasika, Balādhika, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, etc.) as donors or as members of the latters' families, do indicate the posting or presence of such government servants or of the inmates of their household in the locality in question. Similarly, the presence of influential trading communities in the Mathurā district are indicated by several factors. Several persons connected with various types of trade have been mentioned in a number of donative inscriptions of Buddhist and Jaina affiliations found in the area concerned.[112] Vihāras named after different trading communities (like the Prāvārika-vihāra, Suvaṇakāra-vihāra, Kaṣṭikīya-vihāra, etc.)[113] should suggest that such monasteries were founded or supported by the guilds of traders. Involvement of the mercantile people in the management of the Buddhist *saṅgha* is alluded to by a record referring to *vyavahārīs* as *saṅghaprakṛtas* (commissioners or officials of the *saṅgha*).[114] Sometimes the guilds acted as banks giving interest on deposits for financing *inter alia* religious or socio-religious activities of the depositors. An inscription of the time of Huviṣka speaks of creation of a perpetual endowment (or of two perpetual endowments?) by depositing money with two-guilds, one of which belonged to flour-makers (*samitakāraśreṇī*). It appears that the trading community (or at least the richer section of it) had money and power to control or influence religious or socio-religious as well as economic activities.

Ordinary free men followed different vocations. These can be broadly divided into three categories: religious, administrative and lay (including commercial). Sometimes they were affluent enough to make handsome religious gifts.[115] Among such donors were women, who apparently enjoyed some social position.[116] Jaina donors included female lay worshippers (*śrāvikās*) and pupils (*śiśinis*) of religious preceptors.[117] Buddhist and Jaina nuns apparently commanded respect among lay devotees.[118]

Polygamy was in vogue.[119] An inscription refers to the donation given by the daughter-in-law of an iron-monger (*lohavaṇiya*) and a daughter of a jeweler (*maṇikāra*).[120] This indicates marriage between members of families following different professions. A perusal of a number of inscriptions, recording the names of father-in-law, father, son, daughter and sometimes grandchild of donor (often a lady), would indicate prevalence of the system of joint-family (consisting of grandparents, their sons, daughters and daughters-in-law, and their grandchildren).

Dresses and ornaments worn by people, as shown in sculptures of the period, betray varieties of taste. Not only Indian garments, but also dresses of foreign origin were used. Several pieces of sculpture also give us some idea of different hair treatments. They also allude to the love of ladies for adorning themselves with ornaments and perfumes.

Ordinary free men wanted to enjoy life. At least some of them could afford, as shown in sculptured panels, to travel in carriages drawn by bullocks and horses.[121] Their territory was traditionally known to be 'rich in food'.[122] They played musical instruments,[123] and loved to be entertained. Epigraphic records refer to dancers and actors.[124] A few panels of sculpture depict scenes of merry-making and drinking.[125] The aesthetic sense of artists and their patrons was often not against presenting female figures in a sensuous manner. Courtesans (*gaṇikās*) were indeed a part of the society.[126] A few of them were rich enough to make handsome religious donations.

These free people and the wealthy class, including traders, patronized religion and art, the handmaid of religion.[127] Their patronage apparently helped financially the great development of the Mathurā school of sculpture during the period. The discoveries of objects of art of Mathurā in areas far outside Mathurā indicate demand in different parts of the empire for objects of art produced by the relevant school. The people of Mathurā, exposed to outside (including non-Indian) influences and enjoying freedom of religion as subjects of liberal Kuṣāṇa rulers of a vast multiracial empire, witnessed syncretic tendencies in religious movements and growth of iconic concepts. Outside influences (including presence of foreigners) in the society of Mathurā enriched the regional Prakrit dialect (or at least the so-called 'mixed' dialect or epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit used in epigraphs) with words of non-Indian origin.[128] Wealthy and free foreigners might have continued to use their own languages, though a local dialect, understood by the people of Mathurā, was used by the official or semi-official records at Māṭ. Though Prakrit might have been used by wealthy as well as common Indians of Mathurā, Sanskrit language and learning were certainly known.[129]

The local people became accustomed to the use of the era reckoned from the period of Kaniṣka I. But the old local custom of stating the specific date according

to seasonal month remained much more popular than the system of furnishing it according to solar month, which was well-known in *inter alia* the Gandhāra area of the Kuṣāṇa empire. It appears that though the people of Mathurā used an imperial era as subjects of the empire concerned, they did not altogether discard a regional usage for dating records.

The powerful and wealthy class could have employed ordinary poor men as hired labourers and slaves. About the latter, the epigraphs of Mathurā are almost silent. But their employment in that city for performing various types of menial work (like doing household works, attending to or nursing the masters or mistresses, driving carriages, etc.) is indicated by several Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa age displaying men and women engaged in such jobs.[130] Again, the presence of ordinary poor people in a contemporary Indian society may be inferred from a study of literary sources datable to this age. The *Aṅgavijjā*, which knew traditional four castes (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) and several mixed castes, also divided the people broadly into two classes, viz. *Ajja* and *Pessa*.[131] The Ajja (Ārya) class included (a number of ?) Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas and also Śūdras. The other class, called Pessa, included dāsas (slaves).[132] The Chinese translation of the *Assalāyana-Sutta* referred to the society of the Yüeh-chih territory (i.e. the Kuṣāṇa empire) as consisting of masters (or employers) and slaves (or employees).[133] In Mathurā, a part of the Kuṣāṇa empire, rich Śūdras could thus have attained the status of 'master', while poor and powerless, even if theoretically free, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas could have been reduced to the status of 'servant'.

Such a socio-economic situation would cut or loosen the barrier of caste system. The attitude of people belonging to religious faiths professing anti-caste principles, would also militate against the adherents to caste system. No doubt, the system continued at least among the followers of Brahmanical cults. We have a clear example of a Brāhmaṇa performing a Vedic rite,[134] and an instance of four Kṣatriya brothers installing an image of Kārtikeya in their own temple.[135] Brāhmaṇas were still held in some respect by the high officials of the land.[136] But the tendency to consider the possession of wealth as key to material prosperity for people of all castes, which had been known to the local society from an earlier age (see above), now became manifest. It sapped here, as also in other areas, the traditional economic foundation of the caste system and helped the growth of another type of social order, based on wealth and material power.

In the process of accumulating wealth in the hands of at least a class of people in Mathurā, the Indo-Roman trade might have played a significant role. At least such a hypothesis is in conformity with Ptolemy's knowledge of a special characteristic of that city. His informants included traders, who participated in Indo-Roman trade.[137] He aptly described Modoura as 'the city of the gods'.[138] It was not only a place where various cults flourished. It was also a centre whence faiths and ideas (secular as well as religious) radiated to different distant areas. Buddha images, produced by the Mathurā school, have been found in Gandhāra. Objects of Mathurā art have been discovered at Begram and Delberdzhin Tepe. On the other hand, the origin of a few traits of Mathurā art (and iconography) may be traced (through Taxila) to West (or Central) Asia. Again, use of double moulds and stamped pottery in Mathurā might have been due to external inspiration. Terracotta figures with non-Indian features, head-dresses and costumes, found in Mathurā and in other north Indian localities, would indicate how the people of the areas concerned reacted to the appearance of foreigners. Epigraphic data and panels of sculpture clearly indicate that people from the western part of the empire visited Mathurā. There were movements of people, ideas and trade between far-flung regions of the empire in which Mathurā participated.

These account for the phenomenal rise of Mathurā by some time of the Kuṣāṇa age, as indicated by a statement of the *Lalitavistara*, which is considered to have been in existence in the 1st or 2nd century A.D.[139] This treatise refers to the city of Mathurā, 'which is prosperous, and large and beneficial, and (a place where) alms are easily obtainable and which is abounding in men' (*iyaṁ Mathurā nagarī ṛddhā cha sphītā ca kṣemā ca subhikṣā cākīrṇa bahujanamanuṣyā ca*).

This pre-eminent position of Mathurā and its society was greatly impaired with the loss of two major factors which had contributed to the prosperity of at least a class of people of that city. These were the vast multi-racial Kuṣāṇa empire, governed by rulers of catholic taste, and the international trade, in which the empire (including Mathurā) participated. Their decline should have affected the material fortune of Mathurā and flow of ideas into the city from the 'west'. A comparison between the known sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa age and of the Gupta period unearthed in the Mathurā area indicates a decline in the number of products and also in the quantum of non-Indian influence on the local art and iconography. The lessening in the number of local finds may allude to depletion in the rank of local patrons of art (including traders) in the Post-Kuṣāṇa age. However, the school of Mathurā art continued to

flourish as there were demands for their products from outside. Mathurā also maintained its position as a great religious centre. It could have still served as an emporium for internal trade.

F

It appears that from the initial phase of the development of Mathurā, outside elements played a part in the growth of its society. It gradually became an important centre of trade and industry. Wealth and material power were considered powerful factors for determining a person's social or socio-economic position. Mathurā was also a centre of socio-religious activities. These features, noticeable from pre-Kuṣāṇa periods in the regional town of Mathurā, became all the more accentuated with its transformation into an important city of a vast empire. As barriers to thoughts were lowered in that microcosm of the ancient period due to freedom of movement in a large territory and consequent growth of commerce, even geographically and ethnically unrelated groups found themselves in a position to influence one another. One such group was formed by the people of Mathurā. Their contribution enriched the mosaic of oriental culture.

NOTES

1. The locality of Mathurā has been referred to in various sources as Madhura, Madhurā, Madhuvana, Madhuravana, Madhupurī, Methora, etc.
2. The period is represented by the use of the Painted Grey Ware and also, perhaps in the later phase of occupation, by the Black Polished Pottery. Discoveries of mud floors indicate that people used to live in mud-built huts. Terracotta objects recovered from phase IB of Period I in Mathurā include fairly well executed figures of two animals and a bird. Such figures are reported also from Period I at Sahet-Mahet (Śrāvastī) and Kosam (Kauśāmbī). B. K. Thapar (editor), *Indian Archaeology—1974–75, A Review*, New Delhi (cited below as *IAAR*), 1979, pp. 31–32; *IAAR*, 1974–75, p. 49; M. C. Joshi and C. Margabandhu 'Some Terracottas from Excavations at Mathura—A Study', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (cited below as *JISOA*), N.S., Vol. VIII (1977) p. 16.
3. H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh—A Preliminary Report', *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1976, p. 71. The early levels (40–37) at Sonkh have yielded Painted Grey Ware and Black and Red Ware. Several post-holds and reed-impressions in 'mud-pieces' indicate that dwelling houses were constructed of easily perishable materials (see, pp. 71–72 and fig. 10).
4. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 75. It may be added here that some palaeolithic tools and copper celts have been collected from the Govardhan ridge and a few copper celts have been discovered at Sahabad in the Mathurā district (R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum and Art*, Mathura, 1976, pp. 20–21). These surface finds, however, may at best indicate occasional presence of palaeolithic or chalcolithic man in the Mathurā area and cannot be taken as definite evidence of a regular palaeolithic or chalcolithic settlement.
5. *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 15–16.
6. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 3, 89; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 35 and 431. See also Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 2, 82.
7. *Mahābhārata*, II, 14, 44.
8. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 340, 12954.
9. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 84, 25; VI, 59, 2606.
10. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 13, 1; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96, 1–2.
11. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. 43–44; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95, 47–48.
12. *Ṛg Veda* (cited below as RV), I, 36, 18; 54, 6; 174, 9; VIII, 4, 7; 7, 18; 9, 14; 10, 5; 45, 27; etc.; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Vedic Age, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 2nd impression, London, 1952 (cited below as *VA*), p. 247.
13. *RV*, I, 36, 18; VI, 45, 1; VI, 20, 12.
14. *RV*, VII, 18; 33, 8, *VA*, pp. 245 f.
15. The *Ṛg Veda* itself (IV, 30, 17–18) perhaps indicates such a movement. See also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, reprint, Delhi, etc., 1958, p. 185.
16. *VA*, p. 257; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, p. 421.
17. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14, 3.
18. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, Calcutta, 1950 (cited below as *PHAI*), p. 139.
19. *PHAI*, p. 133.
20. *PHAI*, p. 134.
21. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VI, 3, 90; IV, 2, 34; IV, 3, 131; IV, 3, 98.
22. An epic legend attributes to the epic hero Śatrughna the credit of founding a city in Madhuvana (*Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 21; see also the *Varāha Purāṇa*, XII, 13 and Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa* 15, 28). The *Rāmāyaṇa* story seems to indicate that Madhuvana was the residence of Madhu's son Lavaṇa, who was later ousted by Śatrughna. Hence the epic story may at best be interpreted as suggesting founding of a new city in the area where a settlement could already have been in existence. Again, certain traditional sources call the Yādavas as Madhavas or descendants of Madhu, and so perhaps tend to link them with the area connected with the name *Madhu* (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95, 45; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX, 23, 30;

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, III, 63, 186). This inference may further be stretched to indicate the Yādavas, among whom were the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95, 45), as the original or early settlers of the Mathurā area, which had been associated with the name *Madhu*.

23. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, 70, 17; *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (edited) by R. Morris), pt. I, London, 1885, p 213. For an epic account of the Mahājanapadas, see *PHAI*, p. 151.
24. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (cited below as *DPPN*), Vol. I, reprint, London, 1960, p. 195.
25. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, CCXX, 1–2; *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (edited by E. Hardy), pt. III, London, 1896, p. 256.
26. *Majjhima Nikāya*, IV, 4 (84); *Majjhima Nikāya* (edited by R. Chalmers and published by the Pali Text Society, London), Vol. II, London, 1898, pp. 83–90.
27. *Majjhima Nikāya* (edited by R. Chalmers), Vol. II, p. 84.
28. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 11.
29. According to an archaeological report published in *IAAR*, 1954–55 (A. Ghosh, editor, *IAAR*, 1954–55, New Delhi, 1955, p. 15), the sub-period ending about the 2nd century A.D. saw 'a vigorous building activity in baked bricks, (and) three phases of copper-smith's furnace and workshop, with several moulds, copper coins and beads of shell, glass and crystal'. It is not certain whether this evidence of manufacturing copper products can be dated to the Mauryan age. The evidence of the use of baked bricks in the period concerned may date it to a post-Mauryan age.
30. *IAAR*, 1974–75, p. 49; *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 18.
31. *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 18.
32. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 72.
33. Mr. M. C. Joshi has informed us that a massive mud-wall (*Dhul-kot*), looking like a longish crescent, was built during the age. The Yamunā was to its east. There was perhaps a moat by the side of the defence wall. M. C. Joshi thinks that the similarity between this fortification and that of ancient Śrāvastī seems to suggest that these were probably built on some kind of elementary planning (K. K. Sinha, *Excavations at Sravasti—1959*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 10 and fig. 1).
34. Arrian, *Indika*, VIII, 8, 5. Methora can be confidently identified with Mathurā. Identification of Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura ?) is not certain. Iobares may perhaps be identified with the Yamunā, on the bank of which is Mathurā. Pliny clearly stated that the river Iobares (Yamunā) 'flows between the towns of Methora and Carisobora'.
35. Arrian, *Indika*, VIII, 4–IX, 12.
36. J. N. Banerjea *et al.*, 'Religious Movements', *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II.—*The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas 325* B.C.–A.D. *300*, (edited by K. A., Nilakanta Sastri), Calcutta, etc., 1957, p. 383. A. Dhalquist has tried, though rather unsuccessfully, to identify this Herakles with Indra (*Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, reprint, Delhi, 1977, pp. 116 f). The cult of Indra could, however, have been known to the people of Mathurā. It may be added that a few verses of the *Ṛg Veda* allude to favour shown by Indra to the Yadu and Turvasa (tribes) (I, 174, 9; VI, 20, 12; VI, 30, 17; etc.).
37. B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and Its Society, The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 146, n. 55.
38. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, II, 2, 111; Vol. II, pp. 118–119.
39. Human figures in terracotta, found at Sonkh and dated to the Maurya age, bear long face and thin mouth. On the other hand, terracotta figures of the so-called Śuṅga phase, discovered at Sonkh, have more rounded face with broad cheek (H. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 79). We do not know whether these changes reflect introduction of a new ethnic type into the local population in Mathurā.
40. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, II, 4, 7; V, 3, 57; B. N. Puri, *India During the Age of Patañjali*, Bombay, 1957, p. 86.
41. H. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 72, Mr. M. C. Joshi of the Archaeological Survey of India has informed us that structural remains of Period III (*c.* 200 B.C. to about the end of the 1st century B.C.), 'mostly available only on plan, were built of both mud and baked and unbaked bricks. The early levels of Period III showed structural activity in mud medium represented by mud platform and rammed floors, in some cases finished with a layer of *surkhi*. It was only in the middle and upper levels of this period that baked bricks were popularly used in construction. Some of the large houses had brick-paved courtyards. The people also used lime plaster as indicated by (the remains of a) floor. Tiles were used for roofing purposes. Ring-wells also continued to form a part of residential complexes. The terracotta figurines, which became much more refined owing to employment of 'full' single mould, were also perhaps used for decorating houses, as suggested by holes on some of them'. (See also *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 23.)

    According to a report on one of the excavations in Mathurā, a sub-period ending in about the 2nd century B.C. saw a vigorous building activity in baked bricks. Remains of walls, ring-wells and drains have been found. This sub-period has also yielded three phases of a coppersmith's furnace and workshop, several moulds, copper coins, beads of glass, shell and crystal, and terracotta figures (with one of the sides produced usually from moulds) *IAAR*, 1954–55, pp. 15–16.
42. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, V, 3, 57.
43. *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1, 16; see also *ibid.*, V, 3, 55, which contains a reference to (a variety of) *paṭa* (woven cloth ?) called Māthura.
44. *Mahābhāṣya*.
45. H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K. L. Janert), Göttingen, 1960 (cited below as *MI*) p. 155. Inscribed bricks, found at Ganeshra, allude to a meritorious work (the nature of which is uncertain) caused to be done by Rohadeva, the Kohaḍa (?), the minister of Gomita (Gomitra) (see, pp. 158–160).

46. G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura'. *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta and Delhi) (cited below as *EI*), Vol. II (1892), p. 200, no. V; p. 200, no. VIII; p. 207, no. XXX; etc. Among the donors referred to in such records were the wife of a dancer, wife of a Kālavāḍa of Mathurā and the son of a member of a mercantile community.
47. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 204, no. XX; V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and Antiquities of Mathurā*, reprint, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 1 f.
48. *MI*, p. 178; R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 29. The upper phase of the apsidal temple no. 2 at Sonkh was dedicated to the Nāga cult (Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 96). So, though the religious affiliation of the same shrine, or of another shrine at the same site, in the earlier phase, datable to the period of *Sūryamitra*, is not clearly known (Härtel, 'Sonkh', pp. 94–95), the site could have been associated with the same cult in the age of the Mitras.
49. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 72; *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 23; *IAAR*, 1954–55, p. 151. The period III in Mathurā (from *c.* 200 B.C. to about the end of the 1st century B.C.) marked the last phase of the use of Northern Black Polished Ware. Besides, a few new ceramic forms came into vogue (*JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 23; *IAAR*, 1954–55, p. 51).
50. Härtel, 'Sonkh', pp. 72–73.
51. *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 23.
52. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I *From the Sixth Century* B.C. *to the Sixth Century* A.D., 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965 (cited below as *SI*), pp. 97–98.
53. *Manu-smṛti*, I, 19.
54. *Manu-smṛti*, VII, 193. The *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 101, 5, refers to the people around Mathurā as 'well-skilled in fighting with bare arms'. This treatise speaks several times of the power of the Śūrasenas (VIII, 8, 37; VIII, 47, 16–7, etc.).
55. B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A study of Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 172–73.
56. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, (cited below as *CII*), Vol. II, Calcutta, 1929, pt. I, p. 48.
57. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 194; G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā', *EI*, Vol. I (1892), p. 396, no. xxxiii; H. Lüders, '*A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, From the Earliest Times to About* A.D. 400 *with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*', (*EI*, Vol. X, Appendix) Calcutta, 1912 (cited below as Lüders, *List*), nos. 93–95 and 102; *MI*, pp. 154–155; etc. For examples, we can refer to the Buddhist Guhā-vihāra, the circular shrine of the Bhāgavata cult at Mora, the apsidal temple (no. 1) at Sonkh (dedicated in an earlier age) and the Jaina stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (the general appearance of which is indicated by its representation on certain dedicatory stone slabs; for an example, see R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, fig. 187). Lüders, *List*, nos. 97, 99, 107, etc.; *MI*, p. 154.
58. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199, nos. I and III.
59. *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 199, 201, 206, etc.
60. Lüders, *List*, no. 102. The mother was described as *Ādā gaṇikā* and the daughter as *Nādā gaṇikā*. Probably the terms *ādā* and *nādā* indicated their rank in their professional hierarchy and society (see also J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum of Mathura*, reprint, Delhi, 1971 (cited below as *AMM*), pp. 185 f).
61. Lüders, *List*, nos. 112, 122, etc.
62. An inscription refers to the donor as the *dharmapatnī* of a particular person (Lüders, *List*, no. 122). Bühler translated the word concerned as 'first wife'. But here it may only mean 'lawful wife'. An epigraphic evidence has been considered to allude to *pratiloma* marriage (A. K. Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism (up to 1000* A.D.), Calcutta, 1978, p. 51).
63. An inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa refers to his *gaṁjavara* called *Mūlavasu* as belonging to the Śegrava (Śaigrava) gotra. It calls his wife as Kauśīki Pakshakā, and thereby indicates that she belonged to the Kauśika gotra (see also *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199).
64. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200, no. VI; pp. 315–317. He was to be pacified because he was also capable of seizing children and afflicting them with disease.
65. *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 48.
66. S. K. Chatterjee (editor), *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, 1978, Vol. V, pp. 705 f.
67. See above no. 64.
68. *MI*, p. 158.
69. *MI*, p. 99.
70. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200, no. VII; *MI*, pp. 154–155; H. Lüders, 'Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity', *EI*, Vol. XXIV (1937/38), pp. 194 f. Several records including the Mora well inscription referring to five heroes of the Vṛṣṇis and the inscription of Vasu mentioning the *mahāsthāna* of Lord Vāsudeva surely betray influence of Sanskrit.
71. G. Bühler, 'New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura', *EI*, Vol. I (1892), p. 373. 'The language of these inscriptions shows the mixed dialect, consisting partly of Prakrit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms'.
72. For an example, we can refer to the word *gaṁjavara* or *gāṁjavara* (Persian *ganjwar*) appearing in two inscriptions of the time of Śoḍāsa (*MI*, p. 100).
73. G. Bühler, 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpas', *EI*, Vol. II (1894), p. 99, no. 11; B. N. Mukherjee, 'An Interesting Kharoshṭhi Inscription', *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (1977–78), Vol. XI, pp. 391. This era was originally known as the Azes Era.
74. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāna Coins of the Land of the Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1979, p. 74.
75. *Manu-smṛti*, X, 43–44; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of the Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (cited below as *AIU*), Bombay, 1951, p. 266. For a discussion on the evidence of Indianization of certain foreign peoples including the Śakas, see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas—A Study in Their History and Coinage*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 53 f.

76. *MI*, p. 99. The second inscription has been found recently.
77. For an example, we can refer to an inscription, palaeographically datable to c. early 1st century A.D., which mentions the gift of the wife of one kālavāḍa (wine distiller), an inhabitant of Mathurā (*EI*, Vol. II, p. 200). Inscriptions of the age concerned recording valuable gifts should indicate that the donors or the persons on whom the latter were dependent must have followed highly remunerative professions (*EI*, Vol. II, p. 199; *MI*, pp. 154–155; etc.). The gateway and railing (of the temple) erected at Mora during the rule of Śoḍāsa were surely the result of work of several persons including an architect and a mason.
78. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 74.
79. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 75.
80. V.A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XIV and XII; R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, fig. 23; etc.
81. R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, fig. 22. At Sonkh mud built houses can be detected at levels 36 and 35, dated to pre-Maurya and early Maurya age (Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 72). Mud built houses, therefore, could well have become the dwelling houses for the poor in the subsequent ages when stone and brick began to be used for construction.
82. B. N. Mukherjee, *Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970 (cited below as *EFKH*). Appendix III; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 24, 101; XII, 41, 84; *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses*, secs. 47 and 63. See also Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 47–50. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) also speaks of Madhuvana (Mathurā). It gives the impression that Madhuvana was an important town and perhaps an emporium in the age of the composition of the section of the epic in question (VII, 19–21).
83. See above n. 82.
84. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. I, Oxford, 1890, pp. xxv f.; J. Hastings (editor), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, 3rd impression, New York, 1953, p. 631.
85. *Milindapañha*, V, 4; T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Questions*, pt. II, Oxford, 1894, p. 211.
86. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 75.
87. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 76.
88. *JISOA*, N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 25; *IAAR*, 1973–74; p. 50. See also below n. 96. Valuable information on building activities in Kuṣāṇa Mathurā has been received from Mr. M. C. Joshi. The popular building materials were baked brick and mud. 'The principal ceramic products consisted of red wares of ordinary and fine classes'. These and terracotta figures have varieties in form and design. 'The pottery types were represented by sprinklers, incense-burners, basins, bowls, spouted jars and pots with plain and decorated exterior showing painted and stamped designs'. The technique of employing double moulds, for producing several images and toys, probably betrays foreign inspiration.
89. *JISOA*, N.S. Vol. VIII, p. 17. According to M. C. Joshi, the inner fortification possibly had semi-circular bastions and a moat on at least its western or north-western side. Its remains have been located in the northern area of the Kaṭrā mound. Mr. Joshi thinks that the inner fortification had roughly a quadrilateral shape. (The data have been collected from a paper presented by Mr. M. C. Joshi at the seminar on Mathurā in New Delhi in 1980).
90. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā* [also cited below as *SM*] (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV), Paris, 1930, pl. XXIII, no. a.
91. Vogel, *Sculpture*, pl. XXIII.
92. Vogel, *Sculpture*, pl. XXIII, nos. a and c.
93. *AMM*, pl. XX.
94. *AMM* 'Chaitya' windows and pillars with capitals (bearing features betraying outside influences) can be noticed in panels depicting buildings or parts of them.
95. Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 72.
96. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XVII, no. 2; Härtel, 'Sonkh', p. 76; *SM*, pl. XIV; *MI*, p. 68; etc. The shrine at Mora, which continued to flourish in the Kuṣāṇa period, was circular in plan. There were also tiered structures with a stūpa or semi-circular element (a rudimentary shrine) at top. (See also Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, fig. 23.)
97. See above n. 96.
98. *MI*, pp. 67, 92–93, 139, 158, etc.; *SI*, pp. 151–152. In the list of local officials of the rural area around Mathurā we may include Grāmika.
99. *MI*, pp. 135 and 140.
100. B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, Vol. I, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, p. 101, n. 110–111.
101. *MI*, pp. 92–93.
102. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire* (in press) (referred to below as *RFKE*), epilogue. The cult of the empire and that of the emperor were known in the contemporary Roman empire.
103. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 382 f.; *MI*, pp. 62, 64, 65, 70, 126, 140, 148, 154, 174, etc.; R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum* pp. 48 and 49; N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Mathura, 1967, Appendix I and fig. 34; see also A. K. Chatterjee, *Jainism*, pp. 68 f.
104. Lüders, *List*, nos. 19 f.
105. *SI*, p. 136; *MI*, pp. 189 and 192.
106. *MI*, p. 140.
107. *MI*, pp. 62–63.
108. *SI*, pp. 151–152.
109. *EFKH*, Chs. I–III; *RFKE*, epilogue; B. N. Mukherjee, *Presidential Address*, Section I, Indian History Congress, 42nd Session, Bodh Gaya, 1981, p. 16.
110. *EFKH*, Chs. I–III; *RFKE*, epilogue; B. N. Mukherjee, *Presidential Address*, Section I, Indian History Congress, 42nd Session, Bodh Gaya, 1981, p. 16.
111. *RFKE*, epilogue; B. N. Mukherjee, *Presidential Address*, Section I, Indian History Congress, 42nd Session, Bodh Gaya, 1981, p. 6.
112. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 382, 384, 386, 395; etc.
113. *MI*, pp. 110, 133 and 191.

114. *MI*, pp. 101–102; see also pp. 83–85.
115. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 390; *MI*, pp. 56, 117, 170, 183, etc.
116. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 381 f.
117. Lüders, *List*, nos. 19 f.
118. Lüders, *List*, nos. 16 f.; *SI*, pp. 136–137.
119. *MI*, Vol. I, p. 387; Vol. II, p. 209.
120. *MI*, p. 383, no. iv.
121. V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XX–XXI.
122. *Mahābhārata*, IV, 1, 11.
123. V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XVIII.
124. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 390, no. XVIII; Lüders, *List*, no. 100; etc.
125. *AMM*, pl. XII; V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XXVIII, J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, figs. 47 and 47a; S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* (1st edition), Calcutta, 1957, fig. 58. If the word *Kālavaḍā* or *Kālavāṭa*, appearing before names of certain persons in epigraphs (*MI*, pp. 49 and 154), means 'a wine distiller', then distilling might have flourished as an industry.
126. The *Divyāvadāna*, which probably attained its present form in the early centuries of the Christian age, refers in a story to a rich courtesan of Mathurā (Ch. XXVI). However, the story might have been based on an earlier legend. But since we have the evidence of the presence of rich courtesans in Mathurā in the Kṣatrapa age (Lüders, *List*, no. 102), they could have been present there also in the Kuṣāṇa age. In fact, the reference in an epigraph to a mother and also to her daughter as courtesans should indicate that courtesanship was sometimes treated as a hereditary profession.
127. R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, pp. 85 f.
128. For example, we can refer to the words *bakanapati*, *horamur(u)ṇḍa*, etc. (*MI*, pp. 92 and 135). For the language of the people of Mathurā, see above, n. 39.
129. *MI*, p. 124.
130. V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XVIII, XIX, XXIII, etc.
131. Muni Punyavijaya (editor), *Aṅgavijja*, Varanasi, 1957, Ch. 9, secs. 40–46; pp. 101–103; Ch. 57; p. 218.
132. Muni Punyavijaya, *Aṅgavijja*.
133. J. Brough, 'Comments on the IIIrd Century Shan-shan and the history of Buddhism', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 589.
134. *MI*, p. 126.
135. R. C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 57.
136. *MI*, p. 140; *SI*, pp. 151–152.
137. Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, I, 17.
138. Ptolemy, *Geographike*, VII, 1, 49.
139. P. L. Vaidya (editor), *Lalitavistara*, Mithila, 1958, p. XII.
140. *Lalitavistara* Ch. 2; p. 15. The *Divyāvadāna*, which seems to have attained its present form in the early centuries of the Christian era (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 285), speaks of rich traders (*śreṣṭhīs*) of Mathurā in a story based on an earlier legend about Upagupta (see, p. 288; *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. XXVI; see also above n. 166).

8. Foreign Elements in Indian Culture Introduced during the Scythian Period with Special Reference to Mathurā

J. E. van LOHUIZEN-de LEEUW

After the arrival of the Vedic Aryans no great nomadic invasions seem to have occurred during the long period that followed in which a process of mutual assimilation between the newcomers and the indigenous population took place. However, towards the end of the 1st millennium B.C. a new era of turbulence throughout the great plains of Central Asia started which ultimately also effected India, resulting as it did in several consecutive waves of foreigners entering the subcontinent from the north-west.

On the whole it is often quite difficult to distinguish the various ethnic groups such as Parthians, Śakas or Scythians, Kuṣānas and Tuṣāras or Tokharians which all invaded India during this period. If a particular tribe moved on into the territory of other people and the intruders were successful, then they would either chase the original owners out, starting a chain of reactions resulting in an avalanche which would make itself felt far beyond the limits of the initial move—or, if the original inhabitants stayed on, the newcomers would gradually absorb them into their own tribal system. This amalgamation in which certain ethnic groups often lost their identity, creates serious problems when trying to distinguish the various tribes, the more so as some of them in the course of their being absorbed occasionally even changed their language to that of the conquerors so that linguistic arguments can be dangerous in an attempt to identify a particular ethnic group.

In view of all this it is obvious that it is extremely difficult to assign a particular foreign element which was introduced into India during this era of nomadic incursions, to a specific tribe or people. Usually the most we can say is, that the element in question entered the subcontinent in the course of this great period of invasions. Often even this is impossible, for some foreign influences are met with for the first time just before, during or soon after the arrival of the Scythians but they may well have been introduced much earlier, as we have no means of proving their previous absence.

All the ethnic groups which settled down in India during the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era, passed through Bactria which lay within the reach of Iranian, Hellenistic and later on Roman influences from further west. Consequently, these tribes were to a certain extent responsible for the diffusion of elements belonging to these cultures. However, here again there exists a wide margin of uncertainty, for how can we decide which aspects were introduced by these nomads, and which by travellers such as Western traders or itinerant Indian monks returning home? That commerce played a very important part in the spreading of foreign influences in India is proved by the many excavated objects which were obviously brought directly from Iran, Egypt or the Mediterranean area.[1] In this connection another warning note should be sounded for many of these items are merely foreign imports and though a few of them may have exercised some influence, on the whole they should not be interpreted as evidence of changes in Indian culture.

Another point to keep in mind is, that it is much more likely that Hellenistic elements, for instance in architecture and sculpture, were brought along by travelling artisans—one of whom was Saint Thomas—than by the nomadic intruders themselves. However,

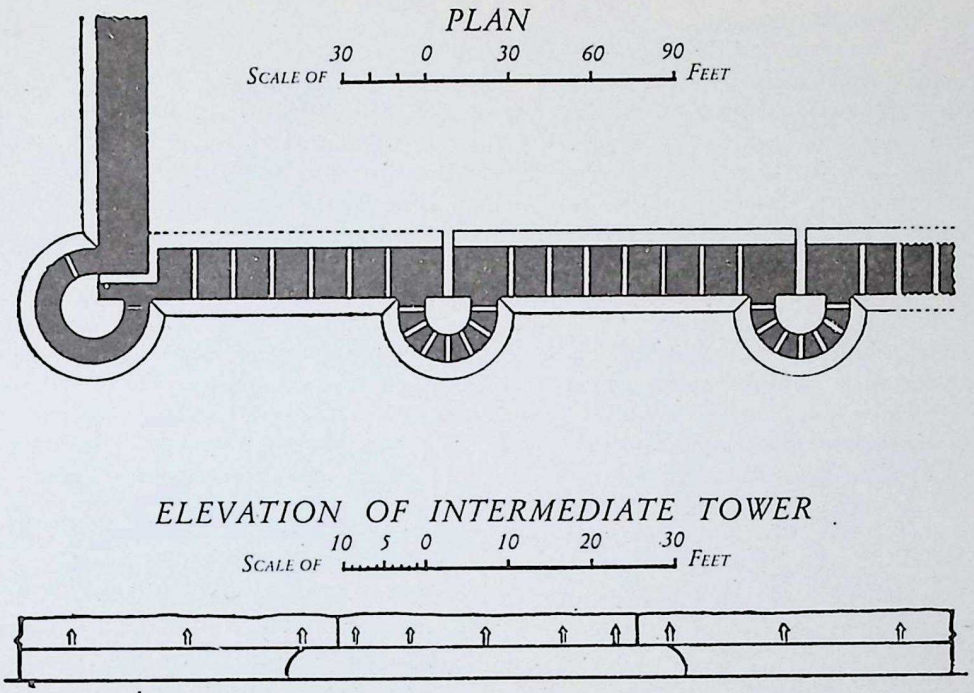


Fig. 8.1 Sirsukh, fortifications (copyright R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*).

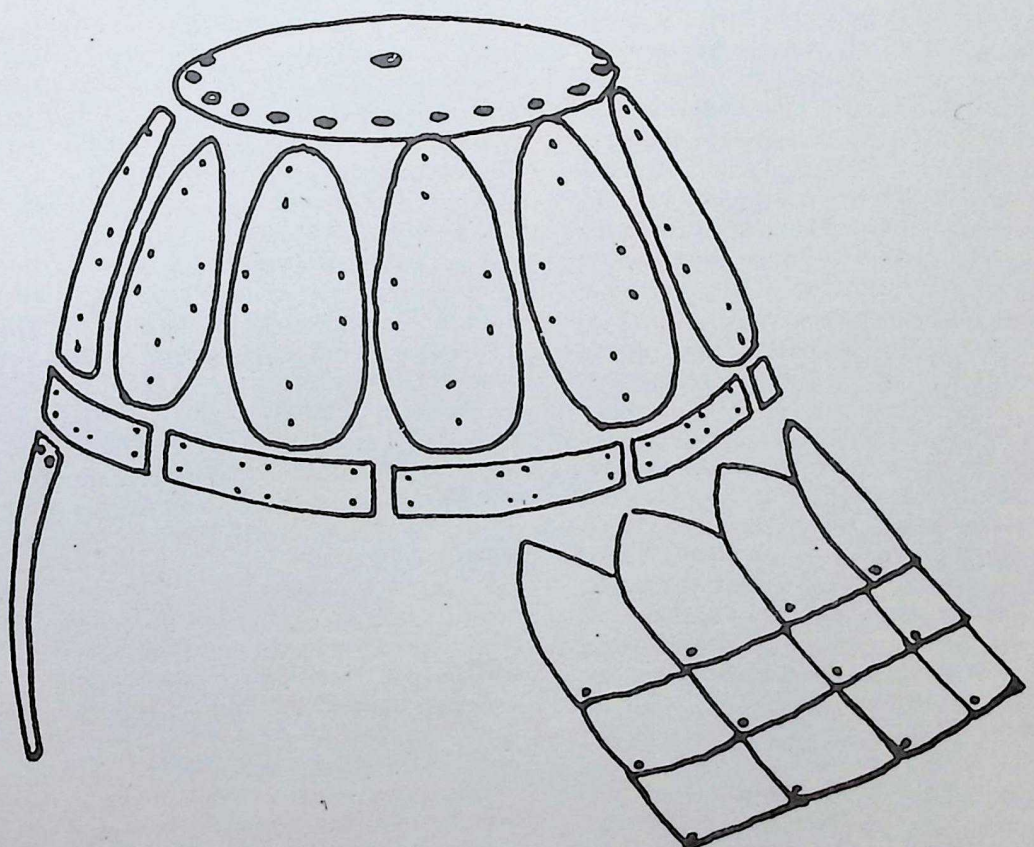


Fig. 8.2 Shaikhan Dheri, reconstruction of an excavated helmet (copyright F. R. Allchin, *Journ. Royal As. Soc.*, 1970).

the latter were undoubtedly also partly responsible for the introduction of some cultural elements from Iran and the Romano-Hellenistic West, for during their stay in Afghanistan they had started to admire and subsequently adopted certain aspects of the Hellenized cultures of Parthia and Bactria which were considerably more refined than that of their own. By the time they reached the subcontinent these elements had become part and parcel of their own cultural pattern, which now in turn influenced India. This development is an excellent illustration of the fact that nomads often act as cultural go-between.

As a result of the nomadic invasions Indian culture was suddenly confronted with a host of alien elements. This caused a considerable disintegration of the old social patterns in North India which was accompanied by the breaking up of some of the fetters of traditionalism and by a general liberalization of conduct.[2] The more direct results were manifold, for, due to the Pax Kuṣāṇa, close relations were established between the two great centres of cultural activity during this period—Gandhāra in the North-West and Mathurā in the Doab.[3] Thus, the Hellenistic and Parthian elements incorporated in the art and architecture of Gandhāra around the beginning of the Christian era as a result of the Scythian invasions, were in turn to some extent passed on to the workshops of Mathurā. We shall not, however, discuss the foreign influences in the art of Mathurā in great detail as this has often been done in the past by various scholars including myself.[4] In passing we merely mention the famous Hercules and the Nemean lion as an example of borrowed subject matter;[5] the garland carried by putti—which were changed into grown-up men[6]—illustrates an adopted motif (Pl. 8.I.A) and the Corinthian capital can be mentioned as an example of a borrowed architectural design.[7]

However, the imported cultural elements were by no means confined to sculpture, architecture or even the minor arts and crafts, as is often tacitly assumed. True, it is in these aspects that foreign influences are most obvious due to subject matter, motif, design, method of decoration[8] or even new trends in sculpture such as portrait images and the typical hieratic frontality[9] which are all elements introduced during this period. Other branches of human activities such as writing, music, dance, the theatre,[10] religion, iconography, sciences such as astronomy,[11] mathematics[12] or medicine,[13] systems of administration and government, coinage, customs, clothes, jewellery, furniture, food and pottery or even aspects of warfare should, however, not be overlooked in spite of the fact that in many cases it is often difficult or even impossible to assess the extent of the foreign influences due to lack of evidence or tangible remains.

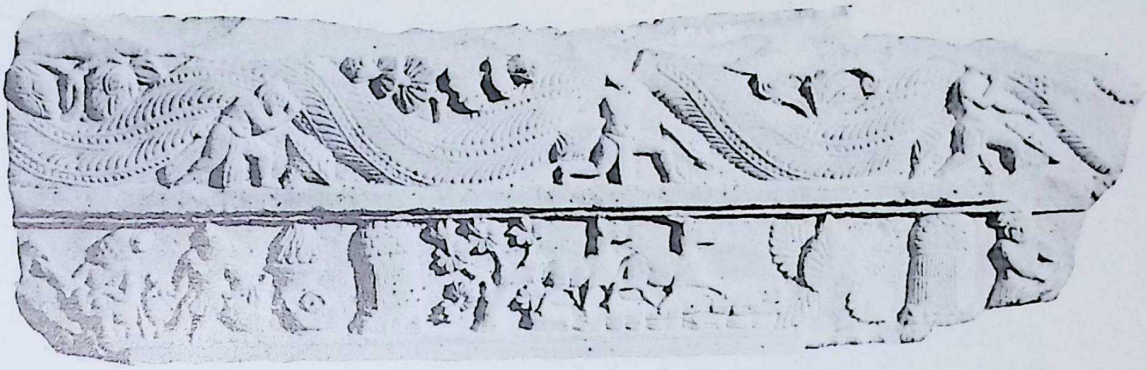
Among these it is probably in coinage more than in any other of the enumerated elements that Hellenistic influences are apparent. Already the Indo-Greek rulers of Bactria and Gandhāra issued coins which copied Western examples in design and legend. However, under the Kuṣāṇas even the size and weight, for instance of the gold dinār, were equated to Roman currency,[14] a modification which influenced North Indian coinage right down to mediaeval times.

The system of government also underwent changes during the period of the nomadic invasions. Already the Śakas who preceded the Kuṣāṇas, introduced a political administration based on the kṣatrapa system which they copied from the Parthians and which almost certainly implied a type of feudalism.[15] This, as well as the titles of the various administrative and political officers including those of the army, remained part of Indian culture for a considerable time.

With regard to warfare there are clear indications that military architecture and dress underwent a strong impact from the West after the Scythian nomads entered India. In fact, there is every reason to believe that the martial tribes were more interested in these particular aspects of Hellenistic culture than in any other. As an example of a new type of military architecture we mention the ground-plan of the fortifications of Sirsukh (Fig. 8.1) which according to Sir John Marshall was a feature introduced during the Kuṣāṇa period.[16]

That some details of military costume such as coats of mail and helmets were adopted by the Scythians from the West is illustrated by many representations, though all from Afghanistan or Gandhāra and none, as far as I know, from Mathurā. One of these reliefs (Pl. 8.I.B) shows two soldiers holding spears and dressed in coats of mail of a type which the descendents of the Scythians in Central Asia continued to wear right down to the 7th century and even later.[17] While the soldier on the left has an Indian turban on his head, the warrior on the right wears a foreign helmet. That several kinds of helmets were introduced during this period is proved by the reconstruction of a helmet (Fig. 8.2) excavated at Shaikhan Dheri[18] as well as by the Kuṣāṇa coins which depict the Scythian rulers with various types of helmets,[19] some of which are strongly reminiscent of the Parthian or Sasanian helmet in the British Museum, London.[20]

With regard to more scholarly activities we should in the first place mention the art of writing. Of the two scripts known in ancient India, Kharoṣṭhī was imported



Pl. 8.I.A Mathurā, sculpture showing an adapted Hellenistic motif (copyright van Lohuizen).

Pl. 8.I.B Gandhāra, relief showing soldiers wearing Western military costume (copyright P. M. Lad, *The Way of the Buddha*).

Pl. 8.I.C Mathurā, stambha showing a Scythian man (copyright J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*).

the latter were undoubtedly also partly responsible for the introduction of some cultural elements from Iran and the Romano-Hellenistic West, for during their stay in Afghanistan they had started to admire and subsequently adopted certain aspects of the Hellenized cultures of Parthia and Bactria which were considerably more refined than that of their own. By the time they reached the subcontinent these elements had become part and parcel of their own cultural pattern, which now in turn influenced India. This development is an excellent illustration of the fact that nomads often act as cultural go-between.

As a result of the nomadic invasions Indian culture was suddenly confronted with a host of alien elements. This caused a considerable disintegration of the old social patterns in North India which was accompanied by the breaking up of some of the fetters of traditionalism and by a general liberalization of conduct.[2] The more direct results were manifold, for, due to the Pax Kuṣāṇa, close relations were established between the two great centres of cultural activity during this period—Gandhāra in the North–West and Mathurā in the Doab.[3] Thus, the Hellenistic and Parthian elements incorporated in the art and architecture of Gandhāra around the beginning of the Christian era as a result of the Scythian invasions, were in turn to some extent passed on to the workshops of Mathurā. We shall not, however, discuss the foreign influences in the art of Mathurā in great detail as this has often been done in the past by various scholars including myself.[4] In passing we merely mention the famous Hercules and the Nemean lion as an example of borrowed subject matter;[5] the garland carried by putti—which were changed into grown-up men[6]—illustrates an adopted motif (Pl. 8.I.A) and the Corinthian capital can be mentioned as an example of a borrowed architectural design.[7]

However, the imported cultural elements were by no means confined to sculpture, architecture or even the minor arts and crafts, as is often tacitly assumed. True, it is in these aspects that foreign influences are most obvious due to subject matter, motif, design, method of decoration[8] or even new trends in sculpture such as portrait images and the typical hieratic frontality[9] which are all elements introduced during this period. Other branches of human activities such as writing, music, dance, the theatre,[10] religion, iconography, sciences such as astronomy,[11] mathematics[12] or medicine,[13] systems of administration and government, coinage, customs, clothes, jewellery, furniture, food and pottery or even aspects of warfare should, however, not be overlooked in spite of the fact that in many cases it is often difficult or even impossible to assess the extent of the foreign influences due to lack of evidence or tangible remains.

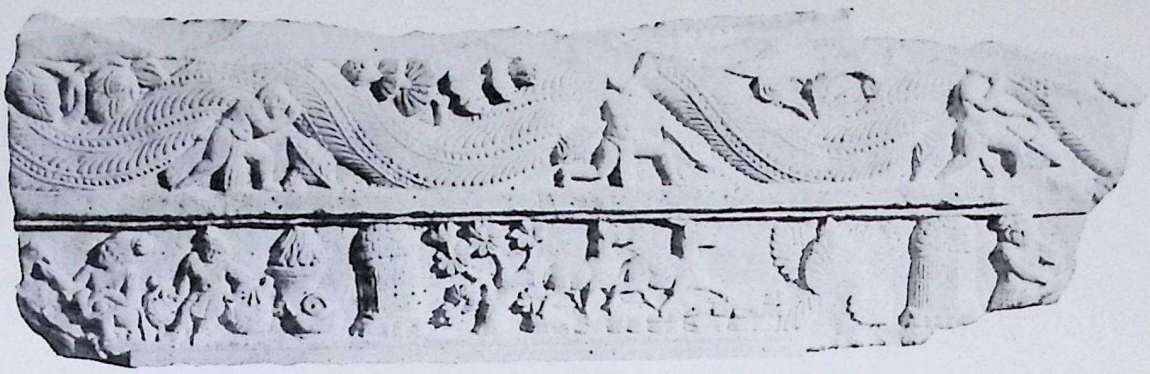
Among these it is probably in coinage more than in any other of the enumerated elements that Hellenistic influences are apparent. Already the Indo-Greek rulers of Bactria and Gandhāra issued coins which copied Western examples in design and legend. However, under the Kuṣāṇas even the size and weight, for instance of the gold dinār, were equated to Roman currency,[14] a modification which influenced North Indian coinage right down to mediaeval times.

The system of government also underwent changes during the period of the nomadic invasions. Already the Śakas who preceded the Kuṣāṇas, introduced a political administration based on the kṣatrapa system which they copied from the Parthians and which almost certainly implied a type of feudalism.[15] This, as well as the titles of the various administrative and political officers including those of the army, remained part of Indian culture for a considerable time.

With regard to warfare there are clear indications that military architecture and dress underwent a strong impact from the West after the Scythian nomads entered India. In fact, there is every reason to believe that the martial tribes were more interested in these particular aspects of Hellenistic culture than in any other. As an example of a new type of military architecture we mention the ground-plan of the fortifications of Sirsukh (Fig. 8.1) which according to Sir John Marshall was a feature introduced during the Kuṣāṇa period.[16]

That some details of military costume such as coats of mail and helmets were adopted by the Scythians from the West is illustrated by many representations, though all from Afghanistan or Gandhāra and none, as far as I know, from Mathurā. One of these reliefs (Pl. 8.I.B) shows two soldiers holding spears and dressed in coats of mail of a type which the descendents of the Scythians in Central Asia continued to wear right down to the 7th century and even later.[17] While the soldier on the left has an Indian turban on his head, the warrior on the right wears a foreign helmet. That several kinds of helmets were introduced during this period is proved by the reconstruction of a helmet (Fig. 8.2) excavated at Shaikhan Dheri[18] as well as by the Kuṣāṇa coins which depict the Scythian rulers with various types of helmets,[19] some of which are strongly reminiscent of the Parthian or Sasanian helmet in the British Museum, London.[20]

With regard to more scholarly activities we should in the first place mention the art of writing. Of the two scripts known in ancient India, Kharoṣṭhī was imported



Pl. 8.I.A Mathurā, sculpture showing an adapted Hellenistic motif (copyright van Lohuizen).

Pl. 8.I.B Gandhāra, relief showing soldiers wearing Western military costume (copyright P. M. Lad, *The Way of the Buddha*).

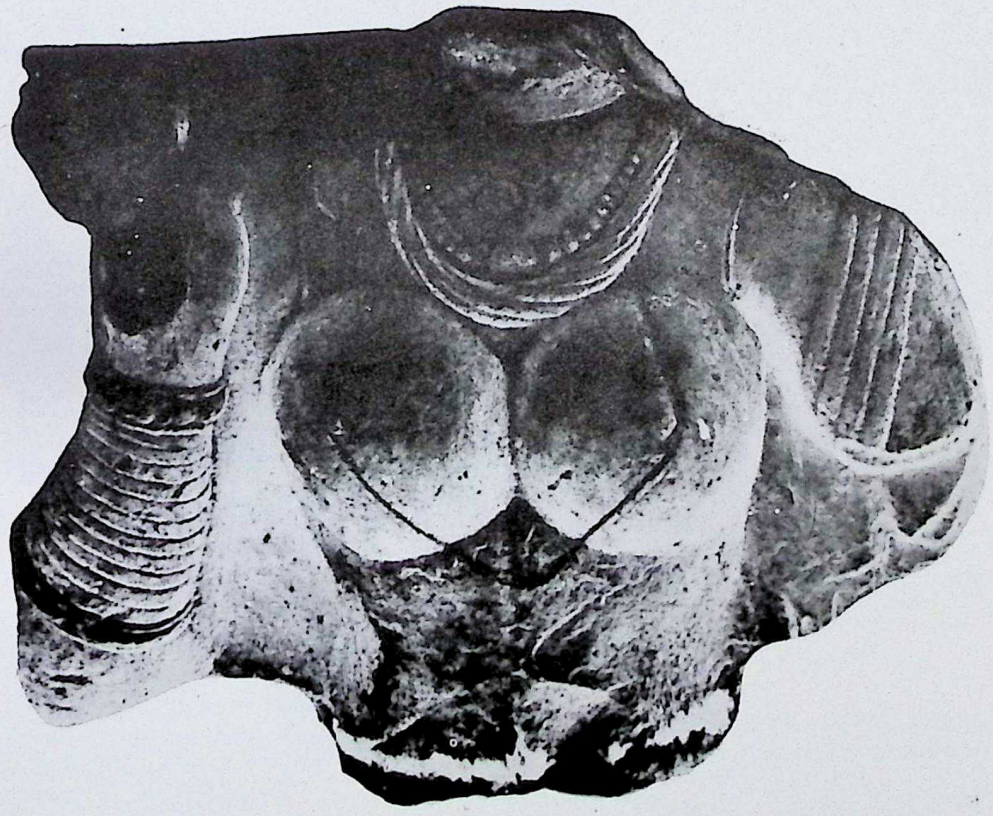
Pl. 8.I.C Mathurā, stambha showing a Scythian man (copyright J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*).

Pl. 8.II.A Mathurā, stambha showing a Scythian man (copyright J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*).

Pl. 8.II.B Mathurā, stambha showing a Scythian lady holding a lamp (copyright State Museum, Lucknow).

Pl. 8.III.A Pali Khera, Mathurā. Bacchanalian scene (copyright van Lohuizen).

Pl. 8.III.B Nathu, sculpture showing female figure wearing a combination of Indian and Scythian clothes (copyright J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*).



Pl. 8.IV.A Bayana, gold coin of Samudragupta (copyright National Museum, New Delhi).

Pl. 8.IV.B Taxila, head of Indra (copyright I. Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*).

Pl. 8.V.A Bhārhut, stambha showing a deity wearing foreign costume (copyright L. Bachhofer, *Die frühindische Plastik*).

Pl. 8.V.B Mathurā, rear view of a Scythian head (copyright J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*).

Pl. 8.VI Hatra, royal figure (copyright J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*).

from the West. It was used for a considerable time in North–West India but eventually died out. As for various branches of knowledge, it was at one time believed that several sciences were influenced by Hellenism. However, this can only be proved for astronomy[21] and in all other cases the matter remains undecided or is even highly questionable.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the arrival of the newcomers affected the religious life of North India, for after their conversion to Buddhism which appealed to them on account of its liberal, all-embracing, non-exclusive character, their rulers furthered this belief by actively supporting the organization of the Church and by building or restoring monasteries and stūpas. Actual remains of such royal foundations were discovered among others in Mathurā and Peshawar.[22]

It is normally assumed that the sudden popularity of the Bodhisattva doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially the concept of Maitreya, was largely the result of foreign influences during the Kuṣāṇa period.[23] However, though Buddhism was obviously encouraged by the Scythians more than any other Indian religion, there is no doubt whatsoever that they also promoted the fire cult as well as the worship of Skanda-Kārttikeya, the God of War,[24] a deity who must have appealed to these warring tribes.[25] The revival of the worship of Sūrya, the Sun God, was also due to their active support, but we shall return to the solar cult further on. In general it can be stated that the Kusānas were very liberal with regard to religious matters. This is particularly clear from the fact that more than thirty different deities appear on their coins. Some of these are Hellenistic, others Indian—either Buddhist or Hindu—while the majority are Iranian,[26] together suggesting a cosmopolitan and syncretistic atmosphere. Thus, existing Indian cults were stimulated and new ones introduced.

Summing up, we can therefore say that, with regard to various aspects of higher civilization, such as those mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the role of the nomadic tribes was mainly that of middlemen passing on to Indian culture certain elements which they had picked up elsewhere, or that of promoters of particular aspects of Indian civilization which especially appealed to them. Their own contribution to the culture of the subcontinent was restricted to those social elements in which they differed or excelled and which they did not change in spite of cultural pressure from their new surroundings.

Among these we should mention in the first place the habit of wearing tailored and sewn clothes such as trousers and skirts, as well as various kinds of upper garments such as riding coats, shirts, tunics, jackets, gowns, bodices and blouses. In addition, the last mentioned group of clothes had sleeves—usually long, occasionally short. Although the needle was known to the Aryans and was used for embroidery, the information regarding Vedic clothes does not warrant the conclusions that tailored and sewn garments were normally worn by the Aryan tribes.[27] Such clothes were only used by foreigners as well as soldiers and hunters, obviously for practical reasons.[28]

The male Scythians depicted in the art of Mathurā and Gandhāra are dressed in trousers (Pl. 8.I.C) which often have one or two straight, vertical lines of buttons on the front.[29] This ornamentation seems to have been common also in other parts of the nomadic world for many sculptures from Hatra show a similar decoration.[30] A tunic with long sleeves was held together by a belt around the waist and on their head they had a pointed cap. Over the tunic which was occasionally embroidered[31] or decorated with small metal plaques,[32] they frequently wore a thick riding coat with long sleeves,[33] which often had a conspicuous collar (Pl. 8.II.A).[34] This collar eventually developed into broad lapels in Afghanistan[35] and Central Asia.[36] Finally, riding boots which were usually made of thick felt[37] but sometimes of leather[38] completed the nomadic outfit.

Turning now to the costume of the Scythian women, this seems originally to have been a long, thick, woolen garment with sleeves (Pl. 8.II.B).[39] Occasionally the material was embroidered all over while lines of beads or buttons ran along the length of the sleeves and around the wrists.[40] In some representations ladies are shown wearing merely a skirt while the upper part of the body is bare, a habit undoubtedly adopted only in the hot Indian climate.[41] In many sculptures from Mathurā[42] and Gandhāra[43] the Scythian women are dressed in a long flowing gown over which they wear a tunic with long sleeves reminiscent of Hellenistic clothes (Pl. 8.III.A).[44] A thin scarf thrown over the shoulders and then falling down from the elbows or draped elegantly across the body, is often added.[45] In the colder climate of Gandhāra this scarf sometimes covered a large part of the body and was arranged like a sārī.[46] In Central Asia this combination of a long gown with a sleeved tunic over it remained popular till at least the 7th century if not even later.[47] In the course of time women started to wear a combination of Indian and Scythian clothes (Pl. 8.III.B). It consisted of the normal Indian garment held up by a mekhalā or girdle and a Scythian jacket with long sleeves often decorated with the well-known lines of buttons. On their heads the ladies usually had a sort of wreath (Pls. 8.II.B-8.III.B), a

fashion probably copied from the Hellenistic West.

All these different kinds of tailored garments, footwear and headgear are in complete contrast with the normal—not cut and sewn but draped--Indian clothes, bare feet and turban, such as we meet in countless sculptures and reliefs from the earliest times onwards. It is therefore obvious that the Scythian invaders introduced completely new types of costume for both men and women.

These new clothes, made of thick material, were meant to protect the body against the cold climate of Central Asia but they were totally unsuitable in the hot plains of North India. Soon the heavy coats, felt boots and caps as well as the long warm gowns and the jackets with long sleeves were discarded altogether while the types of dress which remained in fashion started to be made of very thin material. An ivory fragment of an Indian throne excavated by the French at Begram in Afghanistan shows a lady wearing a Scythian tunic, but already the material is clearly very delicate while the sleeves are short.[48] Eventually, the tunic became a flimsy bodice resembling the colī of Rajput ladies. It was held up by two narrow shoulder straps and cut out deep in front (Pl. 8.III.C).

The material of men's clothes also became very thin but tailored shirts and trousers remained fashionable and were even worn by the Gupta emperors, as we can see on their coinage. On the gold coin,[49] reproduced as Pl. 8.IV.A, Samudragupta is depicted with a shirt and trousers which, moreover, clearly show the same rows of buttons on the front so popular among the Scythians.[50] In the murals of Ajanta and Bagh many figures wear trousers, sleeved shirts and blouses, boots and caps.[51] All this proves that by then cut and sewn clothes had been fully adopted in North India and the Deccan. While thick garments went out of fashion rapidly in the plains, heavy coats, tunics and shirts, as well as long skirts and gowns, jackets, bodices and blouses remained popular in North–West India and parts of Rajasthan until the present day, partly because the climate in these regions can be bitterly cold in winter and partly because the inhabitants of these areas are more closely descended from the Scythian tribes and the subsequent Hephthalite invaders wearing a similar costume, than is the population of the rest of India.

Before concluding our discussion of clothes we should add that the use of felt and the art of making this material which were long standing traditions in Central Asia, were also introduced in India by the pastoral nomads entering the subcontinent during this period.[52]

Turning now from garments to headgear it should be remembered that in early Indian art important male figures are always shown with a fine turban. Caps and diadems or crowns made of precious metal were unknown. However, during the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era new types of royal or divine headdress came into fashion. One of these can best be described as a crown in the shape of a round basket with a flat bottom and almost straight sides, turned upside down (Pl. 8.IV.B). This headgear is almost certainly of Iranian origin.[53] In Central Asia it remained fashionable in exactly the same shape for many centuries[54] but in Mathurā where it was the normal headdress of Indra, Viṣṇu and Sūrya,[55] it soon became a high cylinder and developed into a sort of mitre with a flat top.[56] In our opinion it is this type of crown which eventually became the kirīṭamukuta, frequently depicted in later Indian art.

Another new type of headgear for important persons is a band around the head which in later times was adorned with jewels.[57] This diadem probably developed from the fillet worn by Parthian rulers. Its earliest occurrence in India is found on a sthamba from Bharhut (Pl. 8.V.A), where it is worn by a deity who seems to be of Iranian or Scythian stock judging by his boots and tailored jacket with long sleeves. The Kuṣāṇa emperors are often depicted on their coins with this royal fillet tied round the rim of their helmets.[58] It seems that it was sometimes even worn with the pointed Scythian cap, for in some reliefs the ends of the fillet—which was tied into a knot at the back of the head—can be seen hanging onto the shoulders.[59]

Whereas the cylindrical crown with a flat top which developed into the kirīṭamukuṭa and the fillet which became a diadem adorned with jewels, were both incorporated in Indian culture, the Scythian cap went out of fashion for obvious climatic reasons. The tall, pointed shape of these caps[60] indicates that the material was fairly thick and they were therefore, almost certainly made of felt (Pl. 8.I.C). Occasionally the top was folded over.[61] Some had rows of beads or pearls along the rim and the vertical seam on the front,[62] while others were embroidered all over or decorated with small metal plaques.[63] The magnificent cap of a Scythian head in the Mathurā Museum clearly shows these lines of pearls along the rim and the seam on the front[64] as well as the embroidery on the rest of the material (Pl. 8.V.B). In addition, there are on the back inside each embroidered diamond, large pearls hanging from numerous small tassels.

Rosenfield describes these pointed caps as helmets,[65]

implying that they were made of metal. He also calls them crowns[66] adding that they were probably the prototype of the kirīṭamukuṭa, well-known in later Indian art.[67] According to him there exist no exact parallels of these 'high ceremonial crowns' anywhere in the Near East and the nearest cognate he can trace is a type of crown worn by female figures discovered at such sites as Hatra and Edessa.[68] Consequently, he suggests that this tall headdress may have developed spontaneously among the Kuṣāṇas. However, as the sculptural representations of some of these caps clearly imitate a decoration with embroidery and pearls or small metal plaques which had to be sewn on, we neither believe that they were made of metal, nor that they served as helmets. They could only be called 'crowns' in as much as these elaborate headdresses were probably reserved for royalty and perhaps also the highest nobility, but in any case it would be better to avoid the description 'crown' altogether, as this word implies that they were made of precious metal, which is almost certainly not the case. In the same way it should now be clear that these pointed caps could not have been the prototype of the kirīṭamukuṭa which had a flat top and was later on always made of precious metal. As already mentioned it is far more likely that this type of crown developed from a headdress introduced from Iran during the Kuṣāṇa period (Pl. 8.IV.B).

The suggestion that the nearest cognate of the tall, pointed Scythian headgear is a type of crown worn by female figures from Hatra and Edessa, should also be questioned. A very obvious and close parallel of the beautiful cap embroidered with diamonds and with pearls hanging from tassels (Pl. 8.V.B) can be found in a sculpture of a male figure discovered at Hatra (Pl. 8.VI). The tall pointed headgear worn by this royal person shows not only the pearl border along the rim and on either side of the seam on the front but it is also embroidered in exactly the same way with diamonds from which small tassels are dangling. This extremely close parallel proves in addition that there is no reason to assume that this tall headdress developed spontaneously among the Kuṣāṇas. On the contrary, in the same way as the lines of buttons on the trousers were common among the Parthians and Scythians from Hatra to Mathurā, the beautifully embroidered cap in the Mathurā Museum is simply an elaborate version of the normal pointed cap known throughout the Scythian world from the Black Sea and the Near East to the plains of North India.

In connection with the topic of clothes we should like to draw attention to the fact that male and female musicians and dancers are often represented in Gupta art with trousers, pointed caps and sleeved upper garments such as shirts, jackets and blouses.[69] That Scythian music and dance became popular in North India and the Deccan is supported by names of such melodies as Śaka Rāga, Śaka Tilaka, Śaka Miśrita and many others.[70] Moreover, Agrawala pointed out that the bagpipe and the short hand drum depicted in the terracottas from Ahichhatra were probably introduced by the foreigners,[71] while Altekar was probably right in believing that certain dances performed by the present descendants of the nomadic invaders are related to those represented in the famous dancing scenes at Bagh.[72] These arguments go to prove that Indian music and dance were influenced by the Scythians.

Apart from all this, some forms of Indian jewellery also go back to Scythian ornaments. The most obvious example is the torque-shaped necklace often represented in sculptures from Mathurā and Gandhāra[73] and still popular among certain tribes in North–West India and Rajasthan. The vogue for heavily encrusted jewellery on the other hand, was the result of Parthian influences.[74]

An object which was almost certainly introduced by the nomadic invaders is the stirrup, the earliest representations of which can be found at Bhaja where it occurs twice,[75] Mathurā,[76] and Sanchi, where there are four examples in all on the railing of stūpa II.[77] It does not, however, occur at Bharhut which probably implies that it began to be used in India only in the 1st century B.C. when the foreign invasions had started. Being a piece of equestrian equipment, it seems quite reasonable to assume that the stirrup was brought along by the nomads entering the subcontinent around this time.

Another foreign element which became popular due to the Scythians is the throne in the shape of a high chair, often supported by lions.[78] In the early Indian schools of art, thrones are normally represented as low, flat, altar-like seats;[79] chairs are extremely rare and clearly 'foreign'.[80] In the course of the last century B.C. they are, however, encountered more often and with the arrival of the Kuṣāṇas the throne in the shape of a chair with a high back and arms or seats supported by lions became an accepted royal appurtenance. One of the best known examples occurs in the sculpture representing King Vima Kadphises.[81] This type of throne clearly owes its shape and decoration to Iranian influences passed on by the Scythians but it fitted well into the Indian concept of the lion as a symbol of royalty which of course already existed in the subcontinent. The indigenous, low, altar-like seat was, however, not completely abolished during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas and continued to be used side by side with the newly introduced type of throne.[82] Towards the beginning of

the Gupta period arms supported by lions started to disappear again,[83] though the royal and cosmic symbols by way of various animals, especially the lion, continued to be part of the decoration and, in fact, even increased in importance.

In its turn the appearance of the high-backed chair resulted in a new element in Indian iconography. For, the normal way of taking place on such thrones is to sit down in the so-called 'European' attitude, i.e. with both legs hanging down from the seat. This posture, the *pralambapādāsana*, was a typical royal attitude in Iran and further west, but it was hardly, if ever, depicted in the early Indian schools of art. However, from Kuṣāṇa times onwards it suddenly became fairly common, though exclusively in representations of royal or divine figures.[84]

Other new elements in Indian iconography closely connected with the arrival of the Kuṣāṇas are the halo,[85] the appearance of Sun and Moon on either side of royal or divine figures[86] and the representation of flames emerging from the shoulders.[87] All these elements were symbols of glory and formed part and parcel of the Scythian concept of divine kingship to which we shall revert further on, but what the original source of the flaming shoulders was, remains a debated point.

The nomadic invasions further influenced Indian iconography in that several deities such as Pañcika and Hārītī, who were partly Iranian in origin but became extremely popular in Buddhism, were depicted wearing Scythian garments and sitting in the 'European' attitude.[88] The iconography of Sūrya is another case of obvious Scythian influence and nomadic boots as well as a tailored coat with sleeves[89] remain his characteristics for more than a thousand years throughout the length and breadth of North India.

We have already mentioned that the newcomers supported certain Indian religions such as Buddhism and promoted the fire cult as well as the worship of Skanda-Kārttikeya. Again, certain elements in the complex figure of Kṛṣṇa and the legends about this divine hero seem to have a Scythian background such as the Rāslīla dance and his close connection with the pastoral tribe of the Ābhīras,[90] who are descendants of the nomadic invaders. In this connection it is interesting to note that several representations of the Kṛṣṇa legend include figures wearing tailored clothes,[91] though this may merely be due to the fact that these had meanwhile become fashionable among Indians. The revival of the solar cult which had already been encouraged before the arrival of the Scythians by influences from Iran, is also due to support by the newcomers who immediately started to patronize this religious movement. This remained a tradition among their descendants, for the number of Sūrya temples in northern and especially western India—from Kashmir in the north to Sind and Rajasthan in the south—are countless. The reason why the Kuṣāṇas promoted worship of the Sun God was not only because it was part and parcel of their own cultural heritage, but also because it fitted well into the concept of divine kingship which from now on became a typical aspect of Indian culture.

Such solar symbols as a halo or flaming shoulders which we meet in many representations of the Kuṣāṇa emperors, show that these rulers considered themselves—clearly for political reasons—to be the embodiment of superhuman powers on earth. Other indications of their belief in royal deification are that they are sometimes depicted seated on rocks or clouds,[92] their divine epithets such as Devaputra, i.e. Son of God,[93] used in contemporary inscriptions, the apocryphal legends of their supernatural powers and the fact that their statues were worshipped—together with images of various deities—in devakulas or dynastic shrines[94] such as those at Māṭ,[95] Gokarneshvara[96] and Surkh Kotal.[97] These royal ancestor temples of the Kuṣāṇas have their counterpart in the Parthian building discovered at Shami.[98] Deification of rulers and the practice of erecting shrines in which the divine ancestors were worshipped, were customary in Central Asia where similar temples have been discovered at Koy-Krylgan Kala dating from the 4th century B.C.,[99] Staraya Nisa attributed to the 2nd century B.C.[100] and Toprak-Kala founded in the 1st century A.D.[101] In view of all this it is clear that the custom of worshipping ancestors was introduced by the Kuṣāṇas and there are indications that it continued to exist till at least the Gupta period.[102]

This brings us to a few other funerary practices of the Scythians which were incorporated in Indian culture. One of these was the custom of erecting stambhas as memorials to the deceased[103] which remained a tradition until fairly recent times especially in Rajasthan, Gujarat and the Deccan. Another was possibly satī, which also continued to be practised till almost the present day.[104] As for the other Indian customs which may go back to the Scythians, it has been suggested that the system of cross-cousin marriage in the Deccan was introduced by the Śaka-Brāhmaṇas.[105]

With regard to food habits[106] it need hardly be mentioned that the nomadic tribes were non-vegetarians. The authors of the classical Sanskrit texts consequently looked down upon their descendants who had settled in Sind and Punjab.[107] Another reason for despising the inhabitants of these parts of India was their pre-

dilection for garlic, onions and wheat.[108] According to Vāgbhaṭa who lived in the 7th or 8th century and was himself a native of Sind, this habit of eating a lot of onions was the reason why the Śakas had such rosy cheeks.[109] Whereas onions and garlic were therefore brought to India by the Scythians, the introduction of many other species of vegetables, fruits, nuts and spices in the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era[110] can only be considered an indirect result of the nomadic invasions as it was due to the effects of the Pax Kuṣāṇa which promoted international contacts and commerce.

Closely connected with food habits are such objects as cooking vessels and therefore, more in general also the shape and decoration of all sorts of pottery. Certain types were imported but remained 'foreign' such as the carinated goblets of silver standing on a tiny foot which were excavated at Taxila[111] or the beakers with handles connecting the rim with the minute foot, two of which are depicted in a Bacchanalian scene from Mathurā (Pl. 8.III.A). Other types, for instance the flat-based drinking bowl or the wide-mouthed jar with thick walls and beater-marks on the body, became quite popular.[112] Again, the decoration of all sorts of pottery with stamped designs developed into a hall-mark of the Scythian period and the following centuries.

In the process of adaptation of all these new cultural elements discussed above, the town of Mathurā played an all-important role, not only because it was the main centre of Kuṣāṇa administration and government in this part of India but even more because it was the great cross-road where elements belonging to different cultures met and mingled due to the commercial activities of the city. Here rich merchants and their wives acquired valuable foreign objects and commissioned countless religious works of art which kept the sculptors of Mathurā more than busy. As a result of this, the town became a centre of many new artistic developments both in style and in iconography. It was undoubtedly for this reason that the rest of North India looked to Mathurā for inspiration. The long list of sites—including several in Gandhāra—where images or objects made in the workshops of this town were discovered,[113] illustrates the prestige which the artists of Mathurā enjoyed.[114] It is this cultural superiority which explains why it is hard, if not even impossible, to trace influences on the art of Mathurā from other parts of India.

Summing up, the role of the Scythian and Parthian tribes was mostly that of middlemen passing on Iranian, Hellenistic and later on Roman elements to their newly acquired territories. Their own contribution to Indian culture was rather limited, for by the time they entered the subcontinent, India had already enjoyed a very high degree of civilization for over half a millennium and therefore was far superior in many respects. However, a number of concepts, cultural elements and customs introduced by the Scythians were incorporated in Indian civilization, some for only a short period, others for good.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era trade had already passed through its early phases of development and was entering a new era in which world-wide contacts between both ends of the Eurasian continent were established. The Kuṣāṇas were not slow in realizing the advantage of their own geographical situation in between the Hellenized and Roman West, the Chinese East and the Indian South. They quickly grasped this opportunity and fully utilized this powerful geographical location as is obvious from the rich material excavated by the French at Begram. Once they had understood the importance of trade, they encouraged it by protecting the great caravan routes with their mighty armies. It is in this respect that the Scythians played a most important, though indirect role in the development of Indian culture. For many of the foreign influences which entered the subcontinent in the early centuries of the Christian era and which greatly influenced Indian civilization, were brought along more by traveling merchants, artisans and monks than by the Scythians themselves.

As long as the Kuṣāṇa empire controlled the highways through Afghanistan and Central Asia, international trade—and with it cultural contacts—flourished. However, the moment the great empire broke up, the unruly tribes of Central Asia resumed their raiding life and international travel once more became a hazard. Although North-West India no longer formed part of an enormous empire after the eclipse of the great Kuṣāṇa dynasty, it continued to prosper as is obvious from the many rich monasteries, the ruins of which still dot the country.

Towards the middle of the 5th century India was once more invaded, this time by the Hephthalites or White Huns from Central Asia. These tribes terrorized North–West India, Punjab, Rajasthan and Sind until the death of their second ruler Mihiragula at last brought an end to the senseless slaughter and depredations. As a result of this ordeal, the flourishing Buddhist culture of Gandhāra was wiped out almost

completely and in any case never recovered from these ruthless devastations. However, many of the foreign elements which the Scythians had introduced or promoted, had already been incorporated to a certain extent in Indian culture and were passed on by Mathurā to the rest of the subcontinent, some of them lingering on down to the present day.

NOTES

1. For examples of such imports in India and Afghanistan see, M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954, frontispiece and pls. XXV–XXVII, XXXV–XXXVIII.
2. B. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State and Indian Society—A Study in Post-Mauryan Polity and Society*, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 184–214; S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Śakas in India*, Santiniketan, 1955, p. 80.
3. For the exchanges between both centers, see J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathurā: their cultural Relationship,' *Aspects of Indian Culture*, ed. by P. Pal, Leiden, 1972, pp. 27–43.
4. A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra—Étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*, 2 Vols., Paris–Hanoi, 1905–1951; Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce—Des influences classiques dans la civilisation de l'Inde*, Paris, 1926, pp. 3–70; G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1937; J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period—An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century* B.C. *to the 3rd Century* A.D., Leiden, 1949; B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushāṇas*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 187–212; J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathurā,' 1972. For a recent study of the subject, see, L. Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style—A Study of contributory Influences*, thesis submitted at the University of Cambridge, unpublished, 1982.
5. Indian Museum, Calcutta, no. M.17, see J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, in *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV, Paris–Bruxelles, 1930, pl. XLVIIb.
6. Govt. Museum, Mathurā, no. I.4.
7. Govt. Museum, Mathurā, no. H.7, see Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. LIIIc.
8. Combaz, *L'Inde*, chapters I–III.
9. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, chapters VI–IX.
10. This is a controversial point which we shall not discuss, see Goblet d'Alviella, *l'Inde doit*, pp. 97–101; R. C. Majumdar, 'India and the Western World,' *The Age of Imperial Unity*, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1953, p. 628; Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas*, p. 113.
11. Goblet d'Alviella, *l'Inde doit*, pp. 74–81; Majumdar, 'India and the Western World,' p. 628; Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas*, p. 80; U. P. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements in Ancient Indian Society—2nd Century* BC *to 7th Century* AD, Delhi, 1979, p. 168; Satya Shrava, *The Śakas in India*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 117.
12. Western influence in Indian mathematics is rather unlikely in spite of what Goblet d'Alviella brings forward, *l'Inde doit*, pp. 81–89, so we shall not discuss it.
13. This is also a debated point, see Goblet d'Alviella, *l'Inde doit*, pp. 72–74 and Majumdar, 'India and the Western World,' p. 628.
14. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State*, pp. 134–135.
15. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 167–169; Satya Shrava, *The Śakas*, p. 113.
16. J. Marshall, *Taxila—An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 Vols., Cambridge, 1951. Vol. I, *Structural Remains*, p. 218.
17. See for instance, A. von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 7 Vols., Berlin, 1922–1933, Vol. I, *Die Plastik*, pl. 28.
18. F. R. Allchin, 'A Piece of Ṣcale Armour from Shaikhān Dherī, Chārsada (Shaikhān Dherī Studies, 1),' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1970, no. 2, pp. 113–120.
19. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 67, fig. 6.
20. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 135.
21. See note 11.
22. The stūpa and monastery founded by the wife of Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula at Mathurā and the Shah-ji-ki-dheri stūpa built by Kaniṣka at Peshawar.
23. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 227–235.
24. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 144–146; Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas*, pp. 94–95.
25. Although Jainism flourished in Mathurā among the local population during the rule of the Scythians, there are hardly any indications that they supported this religion. One of these is an inscription mentioning a number of foreign names, discussed by Puri, *India*, p. 152; see also Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas*, pp. 95–96.
26. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 72.
27. For Vedic clothes see P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age (A History of Aryan Expansion in India)*, 2nd ed., Lucknow, 1971, pp. 246–247; M. Chandra, *Costumes Textiles Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 5–10.
28. Chandra, *Costumes*, pp. 9 and 88.

29. For these buttons see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 20, 38–39, 56, 62–63, 67, 69, 77, 92.
30. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 137, 139, 143, 146.
31. Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. IIb or Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 3d, 5, 43, 119–120a. For example from Hatra see pls. 136–138.
32. Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. IIa or Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 1b, 39. For an example from Hatra see pl. 136.
33. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 2, 23, 93–94, 98a, 108, 119–121.
34. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 23, 121.
35. See for instance, J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, in *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, tome III, Paris, 1933, pl. XXVIII.
36. See for instance, M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, pl. on p. 80.
37. For instance Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 1–2, 45, 60a.
38. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 59 center, 63, 68; M. Bussagli, *Arte del Gandhāra*, Forma e Colore, Vol. 20, Milano, 1965, pls. 20, 28.
39. State Museum, Lucknow, no. B.84.
40. This is more clearly visible in the detail of this sculpture published in M. Hallade, *The Gandhāra Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*, London, 1968, pl. 154.
41. State Museum, Lucknow, no. B.86. For a drawing of this sculpture see Chandra, *Costumes*, fig. 78 after p. 47. For a reproduction see M. Chandra, 'The History of Indian Costume from the 1st Century A.D. to the Beginning of the 4th Century,' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII (1940), pp. 185–224, fig. 78 on p. 213.
42. See for instance, Govt. Museum, Mathurā, no. F.27 reproduced in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Viśvakarmā: Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft*, chosen by, London, 1914, pl. 71A, left.
43. See for instance, I. Lyons and H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, pl. 310.
44. Govt. Museum, Mathurā, no. C.2.
45. For an example from Mathurā see Indian Museum, Calcutta, no. M.1 reproduced in Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. XLVIIa. For an example from Gandhāra see, Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art*, pl. 401.
46. For examples see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 36, 50, 98a.
47. For an example see *Mission Pelliot*, Vol. I, *Toumchouq*, ed. by L. Hambis, Paris, 1961, pls. LXVII, fig. 169 and LXX, fig. 172.
48. J. and J. R. Hackin, *Recherches Archéologiques à Begram—chantier No. 2 (1937)*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, tome IX, 2 Vols., Paris, 1939, Vol. 2, pl. LVI, fig. 162.
49. National Museum, New Delhi, no. 51.50/8.
50. These buttons are not a decoration of the boots, as Altekar believed, but of the trousers, as is obvious from an image in the Peshawar Museum. no. 1769/(17) reproduced by Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 63. The buttons or beads are in this case clearly fixed on the trousers which are tucked into the boots; see A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, p. CLIV.
51. Chandra, *Costumes*, 1973, after p. 102 figs. 29–30, 48–55, 58–61, 67–70, 79–84, 87–88, 90–93, 102–104, 106–114, 131–133, 135–136, 138–145, 147–148, 150–153, 159–160, 162, 164–165a. For their description see pp. 79–97.
52. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, p. 63.
53. Compare for example, the headdress in a terracotta fragment discovered at Persepolis or that in a sculpture from Nimrud Dagh which both have exactly the same shape as the crown in our Plate 8.IV.B, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 131, 151.
54. See *Mission Pelliot*, Vol. I, pl. LIV, fig. 132.
55. P. Pal, 'A Kushān Indra and some related Sculptures,' *Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. XXV, no. 2 (summer 1979), pp. 212–226.
56. E. Waldschmidt, *Nepal—Kunst aus dem Konigreich im Himalaia*, Essen, 1967, pl. III.
57. See for instance V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1930, pl. 49.
58. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 67, fig. 6, nos. 1, 3–7.
59. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 77.
60. See for instance, Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 73.
61. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 17 and J. H. Marshall, 'Excavations at Bhīṭā,' *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1911–1912), pp. 29–94, pl. XXXI, nos. 11–12.
62. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pls. 4, 14–15, 73, 157.
63. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 77 and Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. IVc.
64. Govt. Museum, Mathurā, no. 2122, published in *5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien*, Essen, 1959, p. 360, no. 103; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 16.
65. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 149, 178, 225 and the captions of pls. 14–16, 73.
66. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 149, 189 (the reference to pl. 78 should read: 77).
67. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 189.
68. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 141.
69. V. S. Agrawala, 'Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.,' *Ancient India*, no. 4, 1947–1948, pp. 104–179, esp. pp. 124–125, pl. XXXVIIa; Chandra, *Costumes*, 1973, after p. 102 figs. 79–84, 159–160, 162, 164–165a.
70. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, p. 154.
71. Agrawala, 'Ahichchhatrā,' p. 124.
72. A. S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age (Circa 200–500 A.D.)*. Delhi, 1960, p. 467.
73. For Mathurā see Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. XXXIIIb; for Gandhāra see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pl. 95.
74. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 619.
75. E. H. Johnston, 'Two Buddhist scenes at Bhaja,' *Journal*

of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. VII (1939), pp. 1–7, pl. opposite p. 4; V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples—A chronological study*, London, 1972, pl. 14.

76. Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. VIIIb, left.
77. J. Marshall, A. Foucher and N. G. Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, 3 Vols. [Calcutta, 1940], Vol. III, pls. LXXXII, fig. 40b; LXXXIX, fig. 81b; XC, figs. 82a and 84l.
78. For a detailed study of the throne in Indian art see, J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1949.
79. See for instance, B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, 3 Vols., Calcutta, 1934–1937, book III, *Aspects of Life and Art*, pl. XXXVI, figs. 30–31.
80. Two rearing, winged lions of polished sandstone excavated at Kumrahar near Patna are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, nos. 5582–5583. See N. J. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, part I, *Early Indian Schools*, Delhi, 1937, p. 73, pl. XIc. They would seem to be supports which once formed part of a royal throne. Although they date from the Mauryan period, they should be considered 'foreign' in view of their obvious Achaemenian style, see S. Piggott, Throne-fragments from Pāṭaliputra, Appendix to R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Iran and India in Pre-Islamic Times: a Lecture', *Ancient India*, no. 4, July 1947–Jan. 1948, pp. 85–103, esp. pp. 101–103. The other three examples of early chairs occur at Bhārhut, see Gobert, *op. cit.*, pls. 27, figs. 1–2; 48, fig. 1.
81. Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. II.
82. Vogel, *La sculpture*, pl. LVIa.
83. Auboyer, *Le trône*, pp. 41, 43.
84. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 186–188.
85. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 197–198.
86. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State*, p. 69.
87. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 197-201.
88. For instance, Hallade, *Gandhāra Style*, pl. 70.
89. S. B. Singh, *Brahmanical Icons in Northern India (A Study of Images of five principal Deities from Earliest Times to circa 1200* A.D.), New Delhi, 1977, p. 122.
90. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, p. 157.
91. M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 70, Delhi, 1952, pls. XVIIIb, XIXa; H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State, Oxford*, 1950, pl. 3.
92. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 201–202.
93. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State*, pp. 67–68.
94. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State*, pp. 69–71.
95. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 140–142.
96. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 142–143.
97. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 154–162.
98. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 163–164.
99. G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, Leiden–Köln, 1970, pp. 94–95.
100. Frumkin, *Archaeology*, p. 145.
101. Frumkin, *Archaeology*, pp. 96–97.
102. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, p. 140.
103. R. Jamindar, 'Some Observations on the Kṣatrapa Epigraphs from Kaccha,' *Museum and Picture Gallery, Vadodara, Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXVI (1976–1977), pp. 92–107; Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 164–165.
104. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 162–164; Satya Shrava, *The Śakas*, p. 111.
105. Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas*, p. 90.
106. See Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India (from Earliest Times to c. 1200* A.D.), Delhi, 1961, pp. 132–167.
107. Chattopadhyay, *Kushāṇa State*, p. 200; Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 82, 83.
108. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 93–94, 96; Satya Shrava, *The Śakas*, pp. 15–16, 18, 116.
109. Satya Shrava, *The Śakas*, p. 18.
110. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, pp. 89–99.
111. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, *Minor Antiquities*, p. 162, Vol. III, *Plates*, pls. 187, 5a and b; 188, 5a and b.
112. N. R. Ray, 'Painting and Other Arts', *The Age of Imperial Unity*, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1953, p. 538.
113. For this list see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathurā,' 1972, p. 39, to which Charsada should now be added.
114. In view of the fact that we now know that even Gandhāra imported sculptures from Mathurā and that the earliest Buddha images in the North-West were copies of those made in the Doab, it is clear that Mathurā already enjoyed this prestige at a very early date, see J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image', *South Asian Archaeology—1979*, ed. by H. Härtel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 377–400.

PART III

RELIGIOUS SECTS

9. Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna

JOHN C. HUNTINGTON

Virtually all of our knowledge of early Mahāyāna Buddhism is based on the study of the texts of the movement, such as studies of the teachings of the *sūtras*, text-critical analysis, hermenutical studies, and so on. The majority of these studies must be based on the literature of the Chinese canon which contains documented and authentic early translations from Sanskrit and other, mostly Western Asian, languages. There are several acknowledged difficulties with this. Not all texts were translated into Chinese and of those that were, not all have come down to the modern era. Further, many of the texts were translated long after the time of their final formulation (e.g. the *Āgamas* which were not known in Chinese until late in the fourth century are considered to be the precedent for the Pali *Nikāyas*, themselves considered among the earliest strata of Buddhist literature). There is also much debate on several important texts which are possibly 'creations' written especially for either the Chinese or some Inner Asian Buddhist community. These determinations are usually based, in part, on the fact that neither Sanskrit nor Tibetan versions are extant and that there is no evidence of the text surviving elsewhere, in other forms, than in East Asian canons.

Given these and other obvious shortcomings of the method of relying only on the texts, it is surprising that there has not been a search for other methods of examining early Mahāyāna in India. However, to my knowledge, there has been very little effort in this direction in a serious Buddhological sense. It is the purpose of this brief paper to exemplify the exploration of certain Mahāyāna issues by alternate methods, relying on evidence in epigraphs and sculptural remains.[1]

Two notes of caution must be given, however. First, a surviving sculpture, out of context or with its context only partially known, must be seen as 'suggesting' that certain concepts existed rather than 'proving' that they existed albeit the suggestion may be rather strong. Second, the details of an iconographic tradition, especially in terms of the communicative content of an image are usually highly specific and often part of an oral tradition rather than any text. Accordingly, it must be kept in mind that we may only deal with broad generalities and overall principles rather than the narrow specifics of the teachings.

However, even with these shortcomings, it must be recognized that these documents are properly attested, authentically early, primary evidence—the actual physical remains left by the very people who were the practitioners (and the patrons of the practitioners) of the early forms of Mahāyāna. Further, it must be pointed out that the simple existence of either a stone sculpture or an epigraph is an axiomatic demonstration that the communicative content of it was in fact part of the practice and that, for the given time, place and individuals involved, it demonstrated what the community believed Buddhism to be. Conversely, it must also be acknowledged that just because a particular concept is found represented in Mathurā sculpture, this does not mean that it was universal in Buddhism at that time. Indeed, in text-critical analyses, evidence is beginning to demonstrate that there were co-existent text families, each with widely differing versions of the same text.[2] It was not until later, and possibly never in India, that the great compilations, concordances and editions of divergent versions took place. So it would

have been for sculptural representations as well. Thus, the corpus of objects from each site will have to be evaluated as to their content.

Another very important point to keep in mind is that stone is never the beginning of an image tradition. The making of stone sculpture was vastly more expensive than paintings or wood carvings. This is not because there was any particular commodity value placed on it but simply that it was far more labor-intensive and used up costly iron tools at a much greater rate than wood carving. Thus, it must be assumed that the teachings demonstrated by any particular iconographic form found in stone images had become established over a sufficient period of time to draw the attention of the wealthy patron who was attracted by their efficacy and good reputation. Further, it is quite evident that the Mathurā school of sculpture contains virtually nothing but fully developed image conventions. In spite of some examples of crude carving, there is a sureness of form and stable iconographic vocabulary that demonstrates with great certainty that the experimentation with various conventions had been carried out before any stone was ever carved in the name of Buddhism. Thus we are examining 'the first surviving' examples rather than 'the *first* images'.

Epigraphic evidence is, of course, textual in nature and can be of inestimable value. One need only mention in passing the recent discovery of the pedestal base with the dedication of an image of Amitābha (Pl. 9.I), to demonstrate the point. First, the inscription documents the presence of a concern for Amitābha as a monolithic image. This strongly suggests the presence of the Sukhāvatī cult. Although the article announcing the discovery and reading of the inscription associated it with the so-called Dhyāna or Jina Buddha form of Amitābha the separate dedication of a single image as an object of devotion is completely out of keeping with any known pañcajina practice. However it is ubiquitous in the Sukhāvatī cults and I think that it can only be seen in this light.[3] The find spot at Govindnagar and the date of the 26th year of Huviṣka provide an important new perspective on the cult of Amitābha which by this very epigraph is attested to in early India. Those who wish to see the cult as a non-Indian development or a movement that never was very popular in India will need to explain the implications of this image. Indeed this image, coupled with the recent identification of the Mohammed Nari stele, now in the Lahore Museum, as a representation of Amitāyus' Sukhāvatī[4] now establishes the Indic basis for the better known East Asian versions. I can only hope that a concerted effort will be made to discover the figure that belongs to this very important pedestal.

The inscription on the pedestal, besides stating that the image is that of Amitābha, contains several advanced features of the cult. The last line of the inscription (please see Dr. Sharma's article for this) reads in translation 'Whatever roots of merit are in this devotion [of setting up the image] may it be for listening to the highest Buddha knowledge.' The accumulation of roots of merit, *kuśalamula*, and the hearing of the highest Buddha knowledge, *anuttarabuddhajñāna*, are features of the later forms of the cults as evidenced by the Wei, T'ang and Sanskrit versions of the so called 'Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*. Yet this image was dedicated at a time when many would say that the cult was in its early formative stage! Thus, cut into stone in the approximate year 136±20, are words of the key concepts of the later versions of the text. Even the most ruthless 'conservative' in terms of chronology will have to allow a considerable time for these ideas to work their way into what is known of the early cult. The formative stage has to be pushed back in time at least one hundred or more (in my opinion many more) years.[5] Regardless of any other considerations, this pedestal with its very informative epigraph stands as a key document in the history of Sukhāvatī cult Buddhism.

Other Mathurā sculpture demonstrates even more historical information about the Sukhāvatī cult. Even before the discovery of the pedestal of the Amitābha image, related images were not totally lacking from Mathurā. Images of Avalokiteśvara are known which have the well-known headdress or turban ornament of an image of a Buddha seated and displaying *dhyāna-mudrā* (Pl. 9.II). It is conceivable that this is from a formative description in the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*, specifically the tenth meditation wherein the Buddha instructs Vaidehī on the visualization of Avalokiteśvara's crown and then states, 'in which crown there is a transformed [*Nirmāṇa Kāya*] Buddha standing, twenty-five *yojanas* high.'[6] However, it must be noted that the image is described as standing, not seated. Yet, whenever we find early Indian images of Avalokiteśvara which display the image in the headdress, the figure of the Buddha is seated. The other major texts that have come down to us (i.e. the 'larger' *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (LSV), the 'smaller' *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (SSV), and the Sanskrit version of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*), do not mention this feature, so common on images of Avalokiteśvara throughout Asia. It must be assumed that the particular teachings regarding the convention of the seated image of a Buddha in the crown of Avalokiteśvara had been solidly established prior to

Pl. 9.I Inscribed pedestal of an image of Amitābha from Govindnagar, 136±20 C.E., Mathurā Museum, JCH photo.

Pl. 9.II Head of Avalokiteśvara, Mathurā, ca. early 3rd century, Mathurā Museum, John M. Rosenfield photo (enhancement and reprocessing by JCH).

Pl. 9.III Buddha with Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi, Ahicchatrā, early 2nd century, National Museum, New Delhi, JCH photo.

Pl. 9.IV Stūpa from Jamālpur mound, Mathurā, early 2nd century C.E., Mathurā Museum, JCH photo.

the Mathurā images and thus prior to any known image of the Bodhisattva. I say this because there is no evidence of any experimentation with any other convention. Further, the convention was established outside of any presently known textual tradition.

The implication for the history of the cult is very clear. One of the key conventions in depicting the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was fully formulated at least as early as the second century of the Christian era. This demonstrates that the complex relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha, one of the latest developments of the Sukhāvatī cult, was fully established by this time when it was cut into stone. Even the most guarded estimate for the duration of the developmental period would have to allow at least a century, placing the latest possible date for the formulation of the convention at about the beginning of the Christian era. This in turn pushes the earlier phases of the cult (i.e. Sukhāvatī as a goal without either Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara present, Sukhāvatī with only Amitābha present and the early stages of Sukhāvatī with both Avalokitésvara and Amitābha present) into much earlier time frames.

Now for those scholars who see the development of the Sukhāvatī literature as first or even second century of the Christian era, the question is clear—just what preceded these texts if the Amitābha–Avalokiteśvara relationship was already established by that time? Or, are those texts actually earlier, perhaps much earlier in some core ideas, than is presently thought? These questions are particularly pertinent to the SSV. It is generally assumed that it is the earliest extant version (although in my opinion it is probably a summary of a longer and even earlier version) yet it does not mention the two Bodhisattvas of Sukhāvatī. Does it reflect a period prior to the incorporation of the two Bodhisattvas into the textual tradition? For the sake of this discussion, let us assume that the SSV actually is an earlier stage in the development of Sukhāvatī literature and that the LSV (which in fact probably developed parallel to the SSV but in another text family or tradition) demonstrates a later thinking about the relationship of the two Bodhisattvas to Amitābha. Even so, they are mentioned only in passing. It is not until the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, in which the whole Sukhāvatī cult is a foregone conclusion, that Amitābha's relationship to Avalokiteśvara is expounded in some detail and that the description of the Bodhisattva is fully formed. (The *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*'s expansive visualization of the Bodhisattvas would seem to date to a post-formative period of yet another alternate tradition.) Allowing an arbitrary period of fifty years (probably a conservative estimate) for one text to develop in response to another, this would place the SSV into the middle of the second century of the pre-Christian era and the germinal or core idea of the whole cult even earlier. We then have to look to the very early layers of Buddhism for the ultimate source of the Sukhāvatī cult.

The development in Sukhāvatī presented briefly above is of course tremendously over-simplified. Even from a simple perusal of the texts themselves, it is certain that there is a vastly more complex history to the development of Sukhāvatī literature than the single line of development seemingly suggested here. However, the principle of what I am trying to illustrate is served exactly. If we find early stone images with particular iconographic concepts, two time factors absolutely *must* be taken into account: first, the time for the convention to develop morphologically to be carved into stone; second, the time for the concept to develop in the first place. To put it bluntly, it is neither useful or particularly significant to say that if there is a stone image of such-and-such that the concept underlying it had originated 'by that time'. The statement is, obviously, true. How could it be otherwise? It is patently clear that no image could be made before the concept behind it existed. However, such statements, considered 'conservative' or 'safe' by the academic community, do not even address the real issue and, in my opinion, are a genuine disservice to the very discipline they are intended to further.

Witness the 'great debate' between Alfred Foucher and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, each with their respective followers, over the 'origin' of the Buddha image. Neither one took seriously into account that there had to have been an image tradition in wood, or other less permanent materials than stone. Such a tradition is the only way to account for the art-historically obvious long developmental period that had to pre-date any known stone images. Recent work by a number of scholars[7] has pointed in the direction of much earlier images and a detailed examination of the literary evidence strongly suggests images from the time of the Buddha or, at the latest, very shortly thereafter.[8] In addition, two images have come to light which further suggest an early image tradition. One was originally published by Cunningham in 1880[9]; the second, on a small Chinese urn or jar, is dated to the equivalent of 36 B.C.[10] The 'Cunningham Buddha' was discovered by him at Sāṅkaśya, an early, very important site of Buddhist devotional pilgrimages; given the well-established relative chronology of the roundel format in early Buddhist art, one would have

to suggest a second or even late third century of the pre-Christian era date for the steatite image. However the image is clearly a secondary, probably ex-voto, version of a major image already in existence at the time of the carving of the steatite. The Chinese urn carries a truly astonishing date. The earliest other reference to Buddhists in China cites monks in the capital in 67 of the Christian era. While it is a foregone conclusion that Buddhist monks had been there before that date (they are quite taken for granted in the reference), the image is dated more than one hundred years prior to that reference. The implications are that Buddhism came to China much earlier than had been previously documented, and, more importantly, from the standpoint of this paper, those who came to China to teach Buddhism, presumably from the Śaka-Parthian realms in Bactria and the Iranian plateau, carried with them the already-developed convention of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. The ramifications of this are complex indeed. However, for the purposes of this discussion it must be assumed that the image convention was carried to China by 'Westerners' presumably Śaka-Parthians who in turn learned it from the Bodhgaya area where the Maravijaya took place. How long this may have taken one can only speculate, but the point remains—there is an image in China *before there are any stone images from Mathurā*! In short, these two images make the whole debate about the 'origin of the Buddha's image' between Foucher and Coomaraswamy, and now joined at this conference by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, a moot point. The Chinese image indicates that it took fifty to one hundred years for the convention to develop in India. Yet based on literary evidence, displaying *bhūmisparśa mudrā* (and not one of the four positions, i.e. standing, walking, seated with *abhaya mudrā*, or reclining, held to be the usual traditional poses of the Buddha), is a secondary tradition. Accordingly, it has to be estimated that by around Maurya times, the basic format of the major image tradition was formulated. Moreover, there is every possibility, based on the literary evidence,[11] of even much earlier images. The real problem of the Mathurā images is not the 'origin' of the image but why and exactly when carved stone images were begun? However, because of this somewhat senseless debate (Foucher, in his later years admitted that his view was aimed at assuaging his French, Neo-Classicist patrons for whom classical Greece was the center of the ancient world, and at offending the sensibilities of the Indians), most scholars labor under the false assumption that there was something called a 'pre-iconic' (or worse, aniconic) period in Indian art, and that any text mentioning images is, axiomatically, late or suffers from 'additions' by the 'iconists.' This debate has very unrealistically colored the study of the early history of Mahāyāna. Because early Mahāyāna literature contains numerous references to images and image visualizations, and because there is the so-called prediction of a period of five hundred years of the pure transmission of the Dharma, the approximate end of which (*ca.* 20 of the pre-Christian era) coincidentally coincides with the beginning of the use of monolithic stone for images, the whole development of Mahāyāna, with its emphatic image tradition, has been forced into the Christian era with the earliest developments more or less suggested to have been in the first century of the pre-Christian era. This creates the very awkward situation of numerous texts, concepts, teaching traditions and a very widely divergent range of ideas (i.e. *śraddhā* or 'faith', Buddhism of the so-called 'Pure-Land' type and the *Prajñāpāramitā/Daśabhūmika* of the *Bodhisattvamārga* Buddhism), all being developed in a concentrated period. However, speaking from having read the complete body of 'Pure-Land' sūtras, I must insist on a long development from the early Maitreya and early Sukhāvatī texts to the *Akṣobhyavyūhas* to the later Maitreya and Sukhāvatī texts. These texts in some of their later forms were being translated into Chinese in the second and third century. This is simply too short a period unless one postulates blatant, overt, outright fakery of *sūtra*—a postulation I cannot accept, given the already extant, authentic, literary traditions of India. These images place the whole image tradition into a completely new time frame, wherein Mathurā figures only slightly. In effect, Foucher, Coomaraswamy and now van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's arguments, which have ignored both existing evidence and the literary tradition, have formed a block to the real understanding of early Mahāyāna. Cleared of this intellectual debris, the study of the early formative period may begin in earnest.

Another image, this time of the Mathurā school rather than from Mathurā proper, is one of the two stelae of Buddhas flanked by Bodhisattvas from Ahicchatra (Pl. 9.III). On stylistic grounds it has been dated to the second century, yet it shows a feature held by most Buddhologists to be later than that—the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi stands to the right of the Buddha. The whole issue of the complex representations of Vajrapāṇi is a subject more fit for a monograph than a brief communication of this sort, but he and his companion, Padmapāṇi, illustrate the point of this article precisely: the sculpture antedates any known direct textual reference to, Vajrapāṇi by

approximately three hundred years! It is not until the sixth-century translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese that there is any reference to Vajrapāṇi.[12] Quasi-Herculean though he may be, the figures of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi (who may or may not be a hypostasis of Avalokiteśvara at this time) are a clear representation of the well-known *karuṇā-prajñā*, the coefficients of *Bodhi* so universal in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Indeed, it is the exact Vajrapāṇi-Padmapāṇi formulation that is found at Ajaṇṭā, Aurangabad and Ellora as well as many other of the western caves. The presence of diagramatic *maṇḍalas*, images of Tārā and Mahāmayurī, and many other elements show that there was a strong presence of esoteric Buddhism in the western caves.[13] Further, both the maṇḍalas of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* use the two Bodhisattvas to flank the central Buddha. Thus, I think it is very possible that the Ahicchatra image demonstrates the presence of some form of esoteric Buddhism in the second century.

For many, such a statement will be an anathema. It undermines the foundations of much thinking about the history of Buddhism in which profound esotericism is said to 'emerge' in the seventh and eighth centuries, and further, following my previous arguments, by being in stone it virtually demands even earlier precedents. However, recent scholarship on the date for the 'emergence' of esotericism has begun to find gaping holes in the assumptions on which the seventh century date is based. Further, it is becoming clear that there is evidence of early esotericism, especially Tantra. Although this cannot be fully developed in this context, let me cite a few examples. The argument for the seventh century date seems to have been first advanced by Toganoo Shōun in his *Himitsu bukkyō-shi* (*History of Esoteric Buddhism*). In it he reasons that if Fa-hsien (fifth century), Hui-shen (sixth century) and Hsüang-tsang (first half of the seventh century) did not mention the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* but I-ching (second half of the seventh century) does, the text was therefore written in the mid-seventh century.[14]

Tidy as it sounds, there are several errors of omission in this history, not the least of which is the fact that an Indian by the name of Puṇyodaya had arrived in China in 655 and tried to introduce Tantric Buddhist texts but was prevented from doing so by none other than Hsüan-tsang who was only interested in the Idealistic school. It must therefore be reasoned that if Hsüan-tsang was disinterested in Tantric texts in China he must not have even been looking for them in India!

However, there is much more conclusive evidence about the history of Tantric literature in South Asia. Toganoo completely ignored the issue of the relative chronology of the relevant texts. The *Amoghapaśa-sūtra*, which mentions the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* frequently and thereby must be subsequent to it, was known in Loyang no later than 693. This same text is also held to have been the model for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*. Now, Subhākarasiṁha brought the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and a set of drawings, the *Gobushinkan*, the *maṇḍalas*, deities and ritual gestures for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha*, with him to China in 716. This would force the creation of the three *sūtras* into a span of about fifty years or less. However, by this time the teachings from these three *sūtras* had spread at least as far as a region encompassing Kashmir, Nālandā, Śrī Lanka and the Konkan—virtually all of the Indian subcontinent. This would seem to be a very unrealistically short period of time for any doctrine to have spread so widely, even among specialists.

The whole issue is made even more complex by the fact that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* has been dated to the fourth century on the basis of both literary analyses[15] and iconographic analyses[16]. Both studies arrived at the same conclusion completely independently—that the fourth century was the latest possible date for the final form of the text. Since the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is generally believed to be later than the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (although I personally prefer to see them as manifestations of alternate traditions with the GST of about the same time as the STTG)[17] then the date for a fairly fully developed *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* has to fall in the third century at the latest. One must conclude that the Chinese pilgrims were not looking for esoteric Buddhism, or simply because it was esoteric, did not become aware of it. In fact, this latter view corresponds exactly with the traditional history of esoteric Buddhism which states that it was transmitted in secret for seven hundred years from the time that the Tantras were first revealed, i.e. the first century of the pre-Christian era.

Thus, the Ahicchatra image suggesting the possibility of esoteric Buddhism in the second century, only one century prior to the time the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (itself a very advanced and complicated text), would have been formulated, must, I am afraid, be taken seriously and so must the implications the image presents. However, one cannot presume to make more than a generalized statement that 1) the main image of one aspect of esoteric Buddhism exists; 2) the concept of *prajñā* and *karuṇā* as the coefficients of *bodhi* were

demonstrably present, and 3) the concept of at least three of the five *kulas*, i.e. *Buddha*, *Padma* and *Vajra*, were present. Even within these limitations, the image challenges us to examine a dramatic new perspective and stands as a major document in the history of Buddhism.

As a final example, I would like to discuss the implications of the small *stūpa* thought to be from Jamālpur mound (Pl. 9.IV). It is only the drum and dome or *aṇḍa* and there would have been a basement of some sort and a sculpted *harmikā* of which only fragmentary traces remain. What is of interest, is that on the drum are four images of the Buddha seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana* and displaying *abhayamudrā*. Between the four Buddhas are arcaded niches, indicating either a structure to be seen on the full scale versions or where less important figures may have been painted. In general, there are several conventions for placing images of the Buddha on the *stūpa* drum or on the drum and *aṇḍa* juncture. These are: 1) a single Buddha, indicating the nature of the core or heart of the *stūpa*; 2) a strongly emphasized single Buddha, indicating the core or heart of the *stūpa* with the rest of the drum filled with directional Buddhas, sometimes attended by Bodhisattvas. The number of the latter varies but it is usually on the order of six, eight, or occasionally ten; 3) the life scenes of the Buddha. (This category has tremendous range of variation in morphology but is always identifiable by specific elements in the iconography.) 4) the manifestation of the *pañcajina*, one at each of the cardinal points with the fifth, usually implied, in the center.

The complex compounding of this imagery, as developed in the *pañcajina* theory wherein the Jinas are each aspects of Śākyamuni's life, knowledge, ministry, and teachings, is what most scholars are familiar with, but I do not believe that this is at issue here, although I suppose that it is not impossible. First of all, the images on the Jamālpur *stūpa* are obviously not of the single Buddha in the core convention, nor are they representations of the life scenes for there is no differentiation between the images. It seems unlikely that they are the more generalized concept of the directional Buddhas as there is no emanating principal Buddha such as seen at Ajaṇṭā 19 and the like. We shall however return to this point. If they are, as I suggest, the outer four of the five *Jinas*, then they stand as a very important document in the history of Buddhism.

Generally, it is believed that the *pañcajñana* aspect of *bodhi*, which the *pañcajina* represent in the *maṇḍala*, was first expounded by Āryāsanga and Vasubandhu in their great exposition of their teacher, Maitreyanātha's teachings in the *Mahāyānasūtrālankara*. The brothers are usually said to have lived in the fourth century, although some would offer an even later date. Their teacher, Maitreyanātha, is, at best, a shadowy figure in Buddhist history. Most often he is seen as being of the late third to early fourth century on the justification that he was the *direct* teacher of the brothers. First of all, this may not be the case. Maitreyanātha could just as well be an earlier teacher whose verse explanation of Mahāyāna teachings was recorded by Vasubandhu as taught by another intermediate teacher. This phenomenon of being the 'disciple' of a long deceased teacher is well known in later times. Secondly, with all due respect to several friends who see Āryāsanga as the 'originator' of the *pañcajñana* theory, it must be pointed out that the nature of the commentarial text itself counter-indicates any 'origination' whatsoever. The *Mahāyānasūtrālankara* is expressly an explanation of the technical side of Buddhist practice as taught at that time following the principles of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. Indeed I must venture that there is no way of dating the origin of any specific element of the teachings as expounded in the text.

It must be further noted that the placing of the *Guhyasamāja* into the fourth century, as noted above, forces the development of the *pañcajina* and their respective *jñāna* into an earlier time frame. A second century sculpture is certainly not too early.

But what of the *stūpa* itself? What does the icon in question tell us? First of all it is well known that in addition to being a representation of the achievement of the historical Buddha and commemoration to his material remains, the *stūpa* is also symbolic of the path of attainment. Though differing widely in the various sects as to the specific details, the same overall meaning is always there. Thus images on the drum of the *stūpa* are, at some level, connected with the enlightenment of the Buddha and function in demonstrating it or some aspect of it to the initiated observer.

The Buddhas on the drum are all identical, insofar as examination of them in the present state of preservation of the *stūpa* will reveal. At least all made the same gesture and are in the same posture. The only thing we can never know is if they were painted, and if so what the colors were. Their sameness does suggest that they may well be the same Buddha, simply repeated four times. This exactly corresponds to the nature of the Jinas; there is no thought that they are separate and distinct Buddhas. On the contrary, they are, by definition, all Śākyamuni and all Vairocana, for each is but one of the *jñāna* necessary for full enlightenment, the

ultimate Dharmadhatujñāna of Vairocana. In the initiations, each of the Jinas symbolically offers his *jñāna* to the practitioner, generally in the form of water used in the *abhiṣeka*.

But what if they are the directional Buddhas? This is both a very interesting detail and almost a moot point. If they are (and I note parenthetically that it is obvious the Jinas are directional as well), they function in the *sūtras* by coming from all (or various numbers, four, six, eight or ten) directions and imparting their *jñāna* to the practitioner. Thus, even if they are the 'directional Buddhas' the function is the same, and their place on a *stūpa* demonstrates the presence of such initiations and attendant practices in the context of second century Mathurā Buddhism. Further, since they are four in number, with presumably another conceptually in the core of the *stūpa*, it must be argued that at least the fundamentals of the *pañcajina-pañcajñāna* system were in place and being practiced at the monastery at Jamālpur mound.

The three examples that I have presented here are only a small fragment of the whole picture of early Buddhism, both at Mathurā and at virtually every other early site. There are second century cults of various specific Bodhisattvas, some of the *karuṇā* side, and others of the *prajñā* side, Hārītī as Prajñāpāramitā, 'Rain-inviting-*sūtras*' offered to Nāga *maṇḍalas*, extensive *dhāraṇī* practices, *Aṣṭabodhisattva-maṇḍalas*, and much more. Once studied in full, not simply identified and described as to stylistic conventions, the early sculptures of Buddhism have much to tell us about the religion as it was practiced by those who directed the making of the sculpture.

Even the most severe critic of this proposed methodology must acknowledge that, with the exception of the very brief inscriptive evidence carved in stone, we have no Buddhist texts that physically date from the second century or before. However, there are attested documents of the period, literally carved in stone, and overflowing with complex and even detailed symbolic communicative forms, from the very centers where it is believed that the texts developed. It is my thesis that by a very careful analysis, by individuals who try as much as possible to remove themselves from the preconceived 'truisms' of previous scholarship, the sculptures, such as these from Mathurā will do much to inform us of the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

In closing, I would like to say that I fully realize that some scholars will have a great deal of difficulty accepting the revised chronology that the sculptures seem to suggest. This is perfectly understandable, but I must ask, if we have imagery that has remained both iconographically and iconologically stable from the fifth through the twentieth centuries is it too much to believe that the same meaning was part of similar images two to three centuries before? If this were not the case, one would have to expect some alternative readings growing out of some school that kept to a presumed 'first' or 'original' interpretation—but, so far as I have been able to determine, there are none. Avalokiteśvara is always compassion, the *stūpa* is always a means to *bodhi* and so on. I fully agree that this problem deserves greater exposition than is possible in this conference paper, but it may be added that in an extensive, pan-Asian study of Buddhist iconography, not one such conflict has come to light either in a single school of sculpture or between schools of sculpture.

Thus, while I completely understand and accept reticence to adopt these views, I do hope that I have been able to open the possibility to my readers that these sculptures are potentially the attested documentation of early Mahāyāna and deserve further study.

ADDENDA

In the seminar discussion that followed the paper, most comments centered around the problem of the origin of the Buddha image. Portions of the author's response regarding the 'Cunningham image' and the Chinese image of 36 of the pre-Christian era have been added to the body of the paper.

Professor Williams suggested that the figures on the Jamālpur stūpa might be the Buddhas of the past. In response to her very reasonable suggestion I would point out two factors: No identifiable set of the former Buddhas has ever been shown to be the directional Buddhas on a stūpa. Even if they were the former Buddhas, the point would be moot, since, in the esoteric tradition and in many Mahāyāna *sūtras* the former Buddhas come from the sky to impart their respective *jñāna* to the Bodhisattva to gird him for the battle with Māra. Thus even if they are the former Buddhas, their place on the stūpa, which is axiomatically a demonstration of the process of attaining *bodhi*, is a specific reference to the esoteric tradition of Buddha-demonstrated *jñāna* as part of the process to *bodhi*. However, since the directional aspect of the five Jinas

and their specific relationship to the stūpa as *maṇḍala* are demonstrably stable from the fourth century to the present, extrapolating back in time only two centuries seems wiser than suggesting an otherwise unknown iconographic convention as the explanation.

NOTES

1. I wish especially to acknowledge Lewis R. Lancaster for a very thoughtful comment that he made following a paper I presented on the origins of the Bodhisattva pair as karuṇā and prajñā. It is that comment, about the lateness of Chinese evidence on the subject, that led directly to this paper. Others with whom I have directly discussed these ideas and received the benefit of their knowledge are Robert A. F. Thurman, David S. Ruegg, Luis Gomez and John Reynolds. I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to each for the assistance I have received. I also wish to express my appreciation to Doris Srinivasan and to the American Institute of Indian Studies for providing the format in which these ideas may be shared.
2. Lewis R. Lancaster, 'The Editing of Buddhist Texts,' in *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization, Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on His Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Leslie S. Kawamura and Keith Scott, Emeryville 1977, pp. 145–151.
3. 'Mathura Museum Acquires a rare Buddha image,' *Northern India Patrika*, October 18, 1977, p. 8. I am also deeply indebted to Joanna G. Williams for providing me with a photograph of the pedestal and a copy of the epigraph. Since the Mathurā conference, the piece has been published by R. C. Sharma, 'New Buddhist Sculptures from Mathura,' *Lalit Kala*, Vol. 19, pp. 19 to 26. Although the article states the year is Huviṣka 20 (8), i.e. 28, at the conference, during the visit to the Mathurā museum, Dr. Sharma, in consultation with Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, amended his reading to the year 20 (6), i.e. 26 and this date is cited in the article. The citation of the year twenty in the caption to figure 18 in the Sharma article is a typographical error. Moreover, Dr. Sharma has used the date of 78 of the Christian era as the beginning of the Kushan era. I am not in agreement with this and feel that the best possible date for the beginning of the Kushan era is currently represented by 110±20 of the Christian era, i.e. the date of the piece would be 136±20 C.E.
4. John C. Huntington, 'A Gandhāran Image of Amitāyus' Sukhāvatī,' in *Annali dell 'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Vol. 40 (N.S. XXX) (1980), pp. 651–672.
5. A detailed discussion will be forthcoming in this author's *Studies in Sukhāvatī Art and Literature*, wherein the whole problem of the origin of the cult, its antecedents and early development will be examined.
6. *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller, Vol. XLIX, *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, part II, 'The Amitâyur-dhyâna-sūtra,' translated by J. Takakusu, f.p. Oxford, 1894, reprinted, Delhi, 1968, p. 182.
7. Regrettably, most of this research remains unpublished, and I do not wish to pre-empt anyone's work in progress by revealing too much of the direction of their research. One who has pointed the way is Lewis R. Lancaster with his 'An Early Mahāyāna Sermon About the Body of the Buddha and the Making of Images,' *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVI: 4, (1974), pp. 287–291.
8. My own views on this issue are contained in my 'The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and the Concept of *Buddhadarśanapuṇya*,' in *Studies in Buddhist Art And Archaeology*, (tentative title) edited by A. K. Narain, forthcoming 1981.
9. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar, in 1875–76 and 1877–78*, (Archaeological Survey of India [Reports]), Vol. XI, Calcutta 1880, pp. 86–88.
10. Anon. *Ancient Chinese Pottery: Earthenware and Funerary pottery in the National Museum of History*, Taipei, 1977, pp. 117. This is the only publication to date of this remarkable document.
11. Cf. footnote 8.
12. Lewis R. Lancaster, personal communication, February 1978.
13. For the cult of Mahāvairocana at Aurangabad, see, John C. Huntington, 'Cave Six at Aurangabad: A Tantrayāna Monument?' in *Kalādarśana: American Studies in the Art of India*, edited by Joanna G. Williams, New Delhi, etc. 1981, pp. 47–55.
14. Toganoo Shōun, *Himitsu-bukkyō-shi* (History of Esoteric Buddhism), Kyoto 1933, p. 17 (in Japanese).
15. Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, Delhi, etc., 1977, p. 99.
16. John C. Huntington, 'An Iconographic study of Swayambhūnath,' in *Art and Archaeology Papers from the 6th and 7th Wisconsin Conferences on South Asian Studies*, edited by A. K. Narain, forthcoming (1982).
17. Indeed, a detailed analysis of the text versions of the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha* suggests that the two must have had their origins in parallel traditions at just about the same time. I hope to publish the results of this analysis within the next year or so.

10. Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā

ALF HILTEBEITEL

This paper is written from the perspective of research carried out mainly on the *Mahābhārata*, and involves reflections based on that text, and on its relation to the *Harivaṁśa*. I will argue that the nature of these texts must be understood before they can be pillaged for historical information. I do not suggest that they lack such information, of course, but rather that it has been symbolically processed. One must thus clarify the symbolism of these texts before one can make out what historical information is symbolized. The main and subordinate stories in these works are myths.[1] I do not use the word 'myth,' however, in the sense that it is used by many of the authors who have written on these texts: that is, simply the opposite of history, or a fanciful embellishment thereupon.[2] Myths are obviously generated and developed in historical conditions. But rather than recording what is or what was, or for that matter what will be, they project images on to the past (or future), often of what is not, of what never was, and of what never could be: in particular a pre-Mauryan war for the sovereignty of all India.

The pertinent question, then, is: what are the conditions—historical, geographical, cultural—that would have crystallized the *Mahābhārata* and its companion texts into their present form? I doubt that it was achieved all at once, or even in a short time. The *Mahābhārata* story almost certainly has oral roots that go back to pre-Mauryan times. Aspects of the main narrative may even be survivals of Indo-European oral epic.[3] Its core geography would seem to be the early Vedic heartland of Kuru and Pāñcāla. But the story must have continually extended itself geographically over a fairly long period of time, to incorporate widening geographical horizons. Various cities and lands were given roles in the story that can only be symbolic.[4] Mathurā would seem to be one of these. There seems to be no clear indication that Mathurā was even settled prior to the seventh century B.C.—a date short of most, if not all, given for the alleged *Mahābhārata* war. Mathurā's place in the epics and *Harivaṁśa* would thus be essentially symbolic. But the point to be emphasized is that this is not true of Mathurā alone, but of the treatment of geography and cosmology as a whole, as a fundamentally symbolic map, projected onto the past.[5]

Yet it is more than just our understanding of Mathurā that is at stake. I was given the title 'Concept of Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā,' and have sought to look at Kṛṣṇa and his city together, still relying primarily on the great early texts. I do not see how I could discuss the 'concept of Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā' by basing my remarks on the inscriptional fragments and archaeological bits and pieces that have usually been used to reconstruct the early Kṛṣṇa cult. The reliance on piecemeal data by such scholars as Jaiswal, Bhandarkar, Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and others has been made in almost total evasion of what I consider the most important document of the entire period: the *Mahābhārata*. It is pointless to discuss Pāṇini's Arjuna and Vāsudeva, the five Vṛṣṇis, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and so forth, in isolation from the epic, or as if the epic was inadmissable evidence because it is treacherously undatable, probably unhistorical, or dismissably fanciful. Rather, we must attempt to integrate the development of cults with the early texts, and not just with the appearance in the latter of certain names and isolated sectarian inter-

polations (like the *Nārāyaṇīya*). More than this, we must seek out the relation between the early evidence of cults and the central narratives of the early texts, and particularly the images yielded in the latter of such things as cities, gods, and heroes.

1. KṚṢṆA AND MATHURĀ

Mathurā is at the center of the Kṛṣṇa story, but Kṛṣṇa is not in Mathurā. Upon this paradox, in its various expressions and ramifications, more than a century of scholarship has constructed for us its image of multiple Kṛṣṇas. This is not the place to account for them all. I have tried to do this for most of them elsewhere.[6] Suffice it to say that the analytical atomists continue to do their work, and that, despite determined efforts to keep the list short, the reductions to two, three, or four Kṛṣṇas are never quite identical. There is inevitable overlap, and no two scholars apply the scalpel in exactly the same way. Now, the city of Mathurā is consistently found on several of the lines of dissection. Born in Mathurā as a kṣatriya, Kṛṣṇa is taken away to Vraja to be raised as a cowherd, and returns to Mathurā as a cowherd to recover his identity as a kṣatriya. Does Mathurā then belong to 'Kṛṣṇa the cowherd,' or to 'Kṛṣṇa the kṣatriya,' or again to the 'pastoral demigod' or 'folk deity,' or to the 'divinized' kṣatriya hero? Since both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* tell of his conflicts with king Jarāsandha of Magadha, does one connect Kṛṣṇa's resultant flight from Mathurā to Dvārakā with the 'earlier' epic Kṛṣṇa (who operates entirely from Dvārakā), or with the 'later popular' Kṛṣṇa of the *Harivaṁśa* and the Vaiṣṇava purāṇas (texts in which Dvārakā stories proliferate)? And because the texts have him spend most of his youth in Vraja and most of his adulthood in Dvārakā, does this, along with the relative paucity of iconic representations of Kṛṣṇa in and around Mathurā during the period of the formation of these texts (i.e., prior to the Gupta period),[7] provide evidence that 'his association with Mathurā is but a fleeting one,' that 'it provides but an entrance and an exit,' and that a strong identification of Mathurā and its surroundings with Kṛṣṇa is but a recent sixteenth century phenomenon?[8]

The weight of this scholarly dismemberment should give us pause. But not much. The assumptions on which it has been carried off are too fragile. If I may be excused for echoing some positions of Madeleine Biardeau,[9] the matter may be stated as follows. The persistent hypothesis of Ābhīra or other 'folk, origins for a separate 'cowherd god' cycle is completely arbitrary and unconvincing. The *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* are not antithetical texts. Both can be assumed minimally to reflect oral (and perhaps also written) traditions which would have developed concurrently, at least for a while, in the pre-Gupta (including the Kuṣāṇa) period. Without presenting them in narrative form, the *Mahābhārata* is well aware of stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood as a cowherd;[10] and the *Harivaṁśa* is constructed with the *Mahābhārata* story in full view.[11] The Critical Editions of these texts are of very little use in stratifying and dissecting Kṛṣṇa's biography.[12] Certainly neither text yields the slightest convincing grounds for reconstructing originally separate identities, a 'gradual divinization' of Kṛṣṇa, or for that matter 'traces' of his 'prior humanity'—the flight from Jarāsandha notwithstanding. 'Contradictions' between the human and the divine, the kṣatriya and the cowherd, are in the minds of scholars. They are certainly not derivable from the texts or the early iconography. Indeed, to put the matter briefly, what has been persistently resisted and obscured by the various strains of atomistic scholarship is that the stories are rooted in theology, cult, and myth, that their material is presented primarily in terms of symbols, and that the image of theological unity toward which these symbols point must be understood *before* any analysis of the materials into components can be seriously attempted.

I have never been convinced by these atomizations of Kṛṣṇa, and, more generally, have never subscribed to the view that gods are made, as it were, with lego blocks. But until recently no convincing argument had been raised for the effective unity of the figure, including my own—suggested rather despairingly—that 'from the standpoint of comparative mythology, a [royal] childhood in the country is a commonplace.'[13] The situation now has changed, thanks to Biardeau. The solution is astonishingly simple, and requires accepting no more than two highly defensible arguments. First, the problem is not to find separate origins for 'contradictory' aspects of a composite Kṛṣṇa, but to understand why his essentially unitary biography is largely split in two; that is, why it is found in two texts, the earlier *Mahābhārata* and the later *Harivaṁśa*. And second, one must reconcile oneself to the fact that both texts are rooted in the same theology: Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.[14] Drawing these two arguments together, Biardeau writes: 'Everything passes as if, having given scene to an *avatāra* in the epic to have him serve the model of the ideal king (Arjuna), one must then show him such as he is himself, *avatāra* in full status, acting by himself as *avatāra* instead of effacing himself before the epic king.'[15] This perspective of course abolishes the 'contradiction' between a human Kṛṣṇa and one 'gradually divinized.' But more

than this, Biardeau is able to present a resolution to the 'contradiction' between the kṣatriya and the cowherd. The latter identity does not derive from separate pastoral origins. It is simply the kṣatriya Kṛṣṇa's bucolic disguise: 'Just as the epic has dressed the Pāṇḍavas in disguises that reveal their real character as much as they hide it, so the *Harivaṁśa* will invent for Kṛṣṇa and his brother a form of clandestinity which will symbolically unveil their true identity.'[16]

The word 'invent' may be too strong, for as Biardeau further demonstrates, the epic Kṛṣṇa is not without important associations with cows and cowherds. First there is the epic's frequent use of the name Govinda, of which the 'cow' element is incontestable. Second, when Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā removes the garments of a princess to appear before Draupadī as a servant-cowgirl (1.213.16), she subordinates herself to Draupadī as Kṛṣṇa does to Arjuna, and in doing so takes on the same *disguise* as Kṛṣṇa's. Third, Kṛṣṇa gives the Pāṇḍavas cows from Mathurā after Subhadrā's wedding with Arjuna (1.213.41–42). And fourth, while he helps the Pāṇḍavas in battle as a non-combatant, his troops—the so-called Nārāyaṇa Gopas—fight for the Kauravas. Biardeau is surely correct in seeing these 'warrior-cowherds' as a prolongation of Kṛṣṇa's own person, materializing his own omnipresence on the battlefield.[17] And most suggestive is her notice of the description of the Gopa-Nārāyaṇas as *gokule nitya-saṁvṛddhāḥ* (8.4.39), 'ever raised in Gokula,' no matter whether that term indicates an unspecified camp of cowherds, or, more specifically, the one of Kṛṣṇa's upbringing.[18] There are also other epic passages oriented in this same direction.

> As if sporting, Janārdana, soul of beings, keeps the earth, atmosphere, and heaven running. Having made the Pāṇḍavas his pretext, and as if beguiling the world, he wishes to burn your deluded sons (the Kauravas) who are disposed toward *adharma*. By his self's yoga, the Lord Keśava tirelessly keeps the Wheel of Time, the Wheel of the Universe, and the Wheel of the Yugas revolving (*kālacakraṁ jagaccakraṁ yugacakraṁ . . . parivartayate*). I tell you truly, the Lord alone is ruler of Time and Death, and of the mobile and the immobile. Yet ruling the whole universe, the great yogin Hari undertakes to perform acts like a powerless peasant (*kīnāśa iva durbalaḥ*; 5.66.10–14).

Kīnāśa, cultivator of the soil, peasant, evokes the agriculturalist more than the pastoralist, but the Indian tiller of the fields no doubt stands behind his bullock. Here too the 'disguise' theme is implicit, and the theology and cosmology, as we shall see, most informative. And one must wonder at the description of the attendance upon Kṛṣṇa as he wakes up, after the war, in one of the Pāṇḍavas' palaces at Hāstinapura:

> Then, sweet voiced practiced singers who knew the Vedic hymns and Purāṇas praised Vāsudeva, the All-Maker, Lord of Creatures. Hand clappers recited as singers sang. Conchs and various drums were sounded by thousands. And the exceedingly delightful sound of *viṇas*, cymbals, and bamboo flutes (*veṇu*), spread like laughter, was heard throughout his abode. (12.53.3–5).

What have we here if not an evocation of *pūjā* (what is an abode where God is a guest if not a temple?), a seeming forerunner of the *kīrtan* or *bhajan*, and a possible allusion to an earlier-than-expected connection between Kṛṣṇa and the flute? Add to these points the well recognized allusions to Kṛṣṇa's youth and cowherd status which remain unshakably in the Critical Edition,[19] and one must agree that, even if a full account of Kṛṣṇa's pastoral childhood cannot be assumed, the epic already appeals to a cowherd complement of this type.

The *Harivaṁśa*, then, merely brings this to completion by telling the story of Kṛṣṇa's disguise, his *līlā* or *krīḍa*, in full. He is *gopaveṣa viṣṇu*, 'Viṣṇu in the guise of a cowherd' (HV 2.25.21); he and Balarāma are *gopaveṣavibhūṣitau*, 'adorned in the guise of cowherds' (HV 2.27.40). Having seen Kṛṣṇa hold up Mount Govardhana, the bewildered cowherds ask: 'To what end do you sport among us, wretchedly in the guise of a cowherd? Like one of the Lokapālas, why do you protect the cows?'[20] To which, as Biardeau perceives, there is an answer. As a kṣatriya he disguises an identity as a protector of cows.[21] As a cowherd he disguises an identity as a kṣatriya. And when he lifts Mount Govardhana, he reveals the divine dimensions of both 'disguises,' Indra acknowledging: 'You have attained lordship of cows, thus people will extol you as Govinda' (*tvaṃ gavām indra gataḥ govinda iti lokās tvaṃ stoṣyanti*; HV 2.19.45). 'Lordship of cows' is not only a bucolic and royal title but a divine title. Indra indicates that it ranks Kṛṣṇa as paramount lord (Indra) above himself, and one cannot help but suspect that it represents for Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu an auspicious counterpart to Śiva's title of Paśupati.[22].

To put the matter briefly, then, there is no true contradiction between Kṛṣṇa the cowherd and Kṛṣṇa the kṣatriya. And the elaboration of the cowherd narrative in the *Harivaṁśa* builds upon well established epic symbols, themes, and allusions concerning Kṛṣṇa's 'cowherd' dimension. This is not to deny that later *bhakti* traditions have favored and further elaborated the cowherd dimension.[23] It is merely to argue that the early texts provide no ground for supposing that their original source was a separate pastoral 'folk' tradition.

The resolution of this perennial problem has many implications for understanding Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. Clearly, the city is no mere 'entrance and exit point.' His association with it is more than 'fleeting.' And it belongs neither to Kṛṣṇa the kṣatriya nor Kṛṣṇa the cowherd precisely because it belongs to both. Here we must turn to Mathurā's symbolic significance. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa recalls the happiness of his people at Mathurā (2.13.45), his having to 'abandon Mathurā for fear of Jarāsandha' (13.65), and his people's remembrance of the Middle Country (*smaranto madhyamaṁ deśam*; 13.59), incontestably an allusion to their experience at Mathurā. And in the *Harivaṁśa*, even more explicitly, it is asked by Janamejaya, the Kuru heir:

> To what end did the slayer of Madhu abandon Mathurā, that (zebu's) hump of the Middle Country, the sole abode of Lakṣmī, easily perceived as the horn of the earth, rich in money and grain, abounding in water, rich in Āryas, the choicest of residences?[24]

The symbolism here has certain obvious associations with Viṣṇu, suggesting that the absence is in a sense only apparent.[25] It is the sole abode of Śrī-Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's wife. If the Middle Country is a cow or bull, Mathurā—where the 'Lord of Cows' was born and from which he retains cows to bring to the Pāṇḍavas even after moving to Dvārakā—is its hump. It is the 'horn' (*śṛṅga*) of the earth, evoking the many associations of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu with the horn, including Kṛṣṇa's Śārṅga bow and the *ekaśṛṅga* with which Viṣṇu uplifts the earth as Varāha, the boar.[26] In fact, we may ask whether the term refers to Mathurā as the midpoint of the earth, or as the horn by which the earth will again—through the *Mahābhārata* war—be rescued from sinking into the ocean. And the combination of the name Madhusūdana with Mathurā points to a connection between the stories of Mathurā being founded in the forest of the asura Madhu (to be discussed further), Viṣṇu slaying another asura by that name after waking from his *yoganidrā*, his cosmic yoga-sleep,[27] and another of Kṛṣṇa's names, Mādhava.

One thus gets the impression that both texts evoke close connections between Kṛṣṇa and Mathurā, connections which have been ruptured, but not irremediably. This is, of course, less explicit in the *Mahābhārata* than the *Harivaṁśa* but even in the former text, where Kṛṣṇa remains entirely in Dvārakā, it is evident that his actions reflect the fate of Mathurā and Madhyadeśa, the Middle Country.[28] As to the *Harivaṁśa*, one cannot miss the strong ceremonial, mythical, and theological overtones with which Kṛṣṇa's three entries of Mathurā are described. When he enters Mathurā to kill Kaṁsa, it is to participate in Kaṁsa's bow festival (HV 2.27–32). And when, prior to his final departure for Dvārakā, he returns to Mathurā twice after indecisive victories over Jarāsandha, he is welcomed as a god, the first time along with Balarāma (HV 2.45), the second alone (HV 2.55.53–63), having just been given a divinely ordered *abhiṣeka* consecrating him this time as paramount among human kings (*rajendra*; HV 2.50–55). I would suggest that these 'returns' are cast in the royal imagery of temple festivals, and also events of symbolic and theological dimensions. The city of Mathurā personified comes down (*ava-tṛ*) from Heaven to honor him (HV 2.55.85). And in the words of the citizens of Mathurā as they welcome Kṛṣṇa's *last* return, just prior to his settling at Dvārakā (which is at the moment being scouted out for him by Garuḍa): 'He is Nārāyaṇa, the abode of Śrī living in the milk ocean; leaving his serpent couch he has come to Mathurā city.'[29] In fact, I would suggest that this latter verse tells us something not only about Mathurā, but about Dvārakā. Are there not echoes in all the associations of Mathurā with the term *madhu* of the connection between the *madhu* as drink (mead, honey drink, Soma, etc.) and the theme of the bestowal of sovereignty, *śrī*? Such associations are well established in India, and have Indo-European roots.[30] If, as we have seen above, Mathurā is regarded as the 'sole abode of Śrī-Lakṣmī,' does this not help to explain the necessity of Kṛṣṇa's connection with it, for it is he who bestows sovereignty on the Pāṇḍavas.[31] And as to Dvārakā, the 'City of Gates' redeemed from the ocean, is this not but an evocation of Viṣṇu on the cosmic waters, indeed, of Viṣṇu as he wakes from his cosmic sleep, grants boons, and slays Madhu and Kaiṭabha to earn the name Madhusūdana? Elsewhere I have argued for this connection already.[32] In the epic, when Kṛṣṇa wakes from his bedside at Dvārakā to begin the culmination of his earthly mission, the unburdening of the earth at Kurukṣetra, he grants boons to Arjuna (his service as charioteer) and Duryodhana (the Nārāyaṇa Gopas), and thus lays the groundwork for his 'omnipresence' during the great slaughter to come. We can thus perceive the mythical and theological necessity for Kṛṣṇa's *dual* residence at Mathurā and Dvārakā.

If the *Harivaṁśa* has introduced the entrances of Mathurā into Kṛṣṇa's biography in terms that evoke Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*, and if the *Mahābhārata*, as we have already seen, shows similar motives in various *narrative* passages, it must be noted that the epic is more restrained when it comes to highlighting Mathurā. It is Kṛṣṇa's absence that is most important there. Kṛṣṇa never *returns* to Mathurā from Dvārakā in the *Mahābhārata*,

and though he tells of the killing of Kaṁsa, there is no description of his entry into the city (see 2.13.33).[33] But the *Mahābhārata* does have its symbolic context for Mathurā, and ultimately, as we shall see, it is probably again one that evokes themes of *bhakti*. Here we must look more closely at that second nodal point (after the childhood cycle) in the connection between Kṛṣṇa and Mathurā: his flight from Jarāsandha. In this instance we are not dealing with the 'contradiction' between cowherd and kṣatriya, but with the scene which is most often regarded as the surest sign of Kṛṣṇa's humanity prior to 'divinization.'[34] That line of inquiry, however, can only lead to bafflement. How to explain the divinization of a loser, a kṣatriya who flees from battle! *There* is a contradiction! The answer must lie elsewhere.

2. THE FLIGHT FROM JARĀSANDHA

Once again Biardeau has laid the groundwork:[35] it is the Jarāsandha episode that links the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* with the Kṛṣṇa of the *Harivaṁśa*. First, the Jarāsandha episode is greatly elaborated and treated somewhat differently in the latter text, but with a clear view to its being an essential part of the *Mahābhārata* story.[36] Secondly, whereas the story of Kaṁsa culminates Kṛṣṇa's career as *avatāra* acting independently,[37] the story of Jarāsandha forms 'the mythic introduction to the entire problematic of the *Mahābhārata*,'[38] in which Kṛṣṇa subordinates himself to the Pāṇḍavas.

The slaying of Jarāsandha in the *Mahābhārata* is necessary, according to Kṛṣṇa, if Yudhiṣṭhira is to perform the Rājasūya, the consecration to royal paramountcy (*saṁrājya*). Jarāsandha is Yudhiṣṭhira's only rival for this suzerainty, and—according to the epic—he has imprisoned eighty-six kings in an 'enclosure for men' (*puruṣavraja*; 2.13.64) at Girivraja, the future Rājagṛha, in Magadha. This is being done in preparation for a sacrifice of a hundred kings to Śiva, that is, implicitly, a sacrifice of the entire *kṣatra* except for his own line, for, as Kṛṣṇa tells Yudhiṣṭhira, Jarāsandha sows dissension among the one hundred and one lineages of the Solar and Lunar dynasties (2.13.4–8).[39] Now, whatever the significance these two lines may have, it is evident that the epic regards their proper interaction and non-contention as essential for proper rule and the sustenance of dharma.[40] Yet Jarāsandha threatens the abolition of this order, and, more than this, he comes from outside Madhyadeśa, the very Middle Country which Kṛṣṇa and his people 'remember' from Dvārakā and of which Mathurā, according to the *Harivaṁśa*, is the zebu's 'hump.' We must thus remind ourselves of certain features of the symbolic geography of the *Mahābhārata*.

Although the term Madhyadeśa has considerable flexibility in the Indian tradition as a whole, the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas give a basically consistent picture.[41] It is the terrain from which the dharma is upheld: says Karṇa, 'Those who are situated away from the Himavat and apart from the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, and also Kurukṣetra ... are impure (*aśūcīn*) and beyond the pale of dharma' (*dharmabāhyān*; 8.30.10–11).[42] But those around the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab represent the opposite: 'Among the Matsyas and those of the Kuru-Pāñcāla countries, among the Naimiṣas, the Cedis, and others who are distinguished, the good (*santaḥ*) uphold the ancient dharma' (8.30.62–63). As I argued elsewhere, the *Mahābhārata* war represents a reassertion of the center over against the periphery. It is the Pāṇḍavas who come to ally themselves with the above named forces of Madhyadeśa, whereas the Kauravas ally themselves primarily with the kings from the outlying regions.[43]

Now, these oppositions are prefigured and reversed in the *saṁrājya* of Jarāsandha. In the *Mahābhārata*, Jarāsandha's allies in his attacks on Mathurā are—with the exception of Śiśupāla of Cedi, whom Kṛṣṇa will kill and replace with a Pāṇḍava ally—all from outside Madhyadeśa. And those whom he puts to flight toward the west include not only Kṛṣṇa's people from around Mathurā, but the Pāñcālas and the Matsyas, two of the Pāṇḍavas' most important allies in the upcoming war. Jarāsandha's *saṁrājya* is thus one which puts the forces of the center, the mainstay of dharma, to flight—all, that is, except the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. In the *Harivaṁśa*, in fact, Jarāsandha includes Duryodhana and his brothers among his allies (HV 2.34.20).[44] And there, when he besieges Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā and Mount Gomanta, all the great kings of the *Mahābhārata* are at his disposal, future allies of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas (who are the only ones noticeably absent) alike. Here the kings' imprisonment seems to be no more than their service to Jarāsandha; there is no mention of the impending sacrifice to Śiva, or of a majority of the *kṣatra* being retained at Girivraja.

We are now in a position to look more closely at the place of Mathurā in this scheme. Mathurā is, of course, at the heart of Madhyadeśa. Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* emphasize this strongly. Yet it is caught up in a most suggestive net of alliances. Through Kaṁsa's marriage to Jarāsandha's daughters Asti and Prāpti (2.13.30; HV 2.34.4–6), Mathurā is allied with Girivraja, the future Rājagṛha, in Magadha. More anciently, according to the *Harivaṁśa* and the

Rāmāyaṇa (HV 1.54.21–56; 2.37.28–29; 38.39–42; *Rām.* 7.52–63), the city of Mathurā was founded by Śatrughna, brother of Rāma Dāśarathī, after he slew Lavaṇa who had, till then, protected the site known as the Madhu forest after it was bestowed on him by Madhu, his father. Though Madhu is in both texts a Dānava, his son Lavaṇa is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* both Dānava and Rākṣasa: his mother (Madhu's wife) is the Rākṣasī Kumbhanīsī, and Rāvaṇa is his 'maternal aunt's brother' (see *Rām.* 6.7.7 and 7.60.14), that is, a brother of Kumbhanīsī as well. In any case, Lavaṇa is a rather close relative, a distant ally, and clearly an 'understudy of Rāvaṇa.'[45] This is a curious triangulation, and at the risk of bypassing the perennial debate on the whereabouts of Laṅkā, I would venture that in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* at least, Laṅkā refers to Śrī-Laṅkā/Ceylon, and, moreover, that among its *many* symbolic connections, the poet associates it with Buddhism.[46] I would further argue that by the time of the composition of the *Mahābhārata*, the same would be likely for Girivraja-Rājagṛha, with its *caitya* peak which Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, and Bhīma destroy—disguised as brahmans!—upon entering the city on their way to killing Jarāsandha (2.19.2, 17 and 41). Girivraja and Rājagṛha are of course prominent in the early history of both Buddhism and Jainism, and a center of early Buddhist kings—most notably Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru—whose throne supposedly descends from Jarāsandha (see e.g. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.23). And the region of Magadha is later the base of the first great Buddhist emperor, Aśoka. But most curious are the names of Jarāsandha's two daughters—Asti and Prāpti—whom he marries to Kaṁsa. It is these two women who prompt their father's revenge against Kṛṣṇa for the slaying of Kaṁsa. Unusual names for Indian girls, they both evoke prominent features of Sarvāstivādin Buddhism: Asti (*sarvam asti*, the phrase which gives the school its name) and Prāpti ('obtention,' the Sarvāstivādin 'pseudo-soul'). No other explanation for their names seems likely.

From here it is but a short step to completing this triangulation, and suggesting that Kṛṣṇa's absence from Mathurā is *symbolically* connected not only with his need to operate in the epic from Dvārakā, but with the prominence *in* Mathurā during a period of the *Mahābhārata*'s composition of both Jainism and Buddhism,[47] and again, more particularly, of its associations with Buddhism during the Kuṣāṇa period under the other great Buddhist emperor Kaniṣka.[48] Indeed, once again reinforcing the symbolic character of these stories, we see the *Harivaṁśa* quadrangulating the network of pseudo-historical forces pitched against the Aryandom of Mathurā. In that text Jarāsandha's last hope of defeating Kṛṣṇa is Kālayavana, the 'Black Greek' or 'Greek of Time.' Like a number of Jarāsandha's allies,[49] Kālayavana is a pseudo-Kṛṣṇa, the son of an Apsaras disguised as a Gopī and named Gopalī (*gopalī tvapsarās tatra gopastrīveṣadhāriṇī*; HV 2.57.14)! As he assumes power, he takes leadership over such 'barbarian' (*mleccha*) kings as the Śakas, Tukhāras, Daradas, Pahlavas, and others. 'Encircled by those *dasyus*, who were like locusts, with their varied terrible weapons and garments, he turned toward Mathurā.'[50] There can be little doubt that these new forces of opposition are imported into the story for their symbolic associations. There is no way to connect the Greeks and their northwestern 'allies' with the actual 'epic time,' the 'heroic age,' of the *Mahābhārata* or *Harivaṁśa*.[51] These sources collapse history into myth, but do so with a clear sense of a consistent symbolic geography which identifies Mathurā with the Middle Country, and its enemies, who threaten this Center from without and within, with forces that must certainly involve evocations of the great religious and historical forces—projected onto the distant heroic past—that eroded the stability of the dharma in this Middle Country.

With this in mind, I may hopefully be excused some speculations on the figure of Jarāsandha. As we have seen, the *Harivaṁśa* provides him with a new ally, Kālayavana, the 'Black Greek' or the 'Greek of Time.' Either name evokes opposition to Kṛṣṇa, who is of course 'black' and frequently identified with Time. As we have seen, 'like a peasant' Kṛṣṇa 'tirelessly keeps revolving the Wheel of Time, the Wheel of the Universe, and the Wheel of the Yugas.' The connotation 'Greek of Time' is all the more suggestive, because Kaṁsa, another ally of Jarāsandha, is said to be an incarnation of the asura Kālanemi (1.55.9 critical apparatus; HV 1.54.64–65), a former victim of Viṣṇu who terrified the gods when he appeared 'like Time' (*kālasannibham*; HV 1.46.58), stepped forth with three strides reminding them of Nārāyaṇa (*idem*, 59), and was finally dismembered by Viṣṇu with his *cakra*.[52] As Biardeau points out, Kālanemi is synonymous with Kālacakra, 'Wheel of Time.'[53] Now Jarāsandha also has a curious name and story. The name is composed of *jarā* 'old age, Time, decline,' and *sandha*, which Biardeau takes in the sense of either 'pact' or 'twilight' (as in *sandhyā*).[54] The straightforward etymology, however, which the *Mahābhārata* uses by introducing a personification of *jarā*—the rākṣasī Jarā, who unites Jarāsandha's two halves when he is born split—is 'put together by jarā,' that is, 'put together by old age, Time, or decline.' Now the Buddhist 'wheel,' the *saṁsāramaṇḍala* or *bhāvacakra*, is precisely 'put together by old age and

death.' The twelve *nidānas* are drawn into a circle that 'puts these two together' with 'ignorance': *jarā-maraṇam*, 'old age and death,' with *avidyā*. But more than this, the Buddhist *bhāvacakra* is precisely a closed circle, without periods of crisis and renewal, yugas. That is, it is a circle that does not admit the intervention of the *avatāra* who 'comes into being from yuga to yuga' (*Bhagavad Gītā* 4.8) and 'tirelessly keeps revolving the Wheel of Time, the Wheel of the Universe, *and* the Wheel of the Yugas.' Kṛṣṇa's confrontations with these wheel-evoking foes may thus represent a confrontation of cosmologies: the bhakti cosmology of Hinduism which admits ruptures of time—twilights—for the sake of the world's renewal, and images of Time without the possibility of such divine intervention, such as occur in Buddhism and Jainism.

Such remarks are admittedly highly speculative. To close with something more concrete, it is of the greatest interest that recent scholarship has found that the earliest iconic representations of Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā, probably from the Kuṣāṇa period, show him jointly with his brother Balarāma and sister Ekānaṁśā. I do not, however, think that this triad provides grounds for identifying an early kṣatriya Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa exempt from associations with a separate cowherd Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Actually, one can propose that there is a consistent triadic theological paradigm that gives shape to a variety of combinations and relations in the early Kṛṣṇaite tradition. We are not yet at a point where we can decipher the significance, or determine an historical order, of the various triads that persistently crop up in connection with Kṛṣṇa: Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Ekānaṁśā at Mathurā and Gayā; Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Subhadrā at Puri[55] and, in the *Mahābhārata* story at Dvārakā; and Kṛṣṇa-Arjuna (counterpart to Balarāma as Kṛṣṇa's inseparable companion), Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, and Kṛṣṇa-Draupadī (to whom Subhadrā subordinates herself) in the *Mahābhārata*. In this latter combination, we are dealing with three of the *Mahābhārata*'s four Kṛṣṇas, a designation by which the epic points to some of its deepest theological mysteries.[56] These triads would seem to involve a prismatic set of complementary images through which Kṛṣṇa is involved in different yet related contexts, just as today in India divinities are known through local names and shifting mythical associations. But there is no way to detach either a cowherd nor a kṣatriya component from the whole, or for that matter to identify stages in a process of 'divinization.' The iconic images and literary roles reflect the likelihood of a well diffused cult and mythology well before the pre-Gupta period, in which the variety of combinations suggests the recognition that no one grouping, or for that matter any one locale or text, was meant to exhaust the theological whole. Moreover, it is important to stress that it is never a question of an independent deity, but of one always found in theologically significant combinations, particularly these recurrent sets of triads.[57] In this connection, it is perhaps noteworthy that at Madurai, the 'Mathurā of the South' (Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā) where Kṛṣṇa was also popular at a roughly contemporary early period,[58] a fundamental triad is still the basis of the city's most prominent festival: the marriage, during the Cittirai festival, that brings together Śiva with the sister of Alagar-Viṣṇu, Mīnākṣī.[59] The significance of these and other triads, and the question of a relationship between them and the textual traditions of the epics and *Harivaṁśa*, is a matter that will reward further investigation.

NOTES

1. I avoid here the issue of distinctions between myth, legend, and epic. See Alf Hiltebeitel, *The Ritual of Battle: Krishna in the Mahābhārata*, Ithaca, 1976, pp. 28–59. 'Mythic' can serve for all three.
2. See the essays in S. N. Gupta and K. S. Ramachandran, eds., *Mahābhārata: Myth and Reality. Differing Views*, Delhi, 1976.
3. See Stig Wikander, 'Sur le fonds commun indo-iranien des épopées de la Perse et de l'Inde,' *La Nouvelle Clio*, Vol. I (1950), pp. 310–329; *idem*, 'Från Bråvalla till Kurukshetra,' *Arkhiv för Nordisk Filologi*, Vol. LXXV (1960), pp. 183–193; *idem*, 'Germanische und Indo-Iranische Eschatologie,' *Kairos*, Vol. II (1960), pp. 83–88; Alf Hiltebeitel, 'Brothers, Friends, and Charioteers: Parallel Episodes in the Irish and Indian Epics,' *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, in press.
4. For example, on Matsya and Virāṭadeśa, see Madeleine Biardeau, 'Études de mythologie hindoue [henceforth referred to as EMH] (IV), Part II. Bhakti et avatāra,' *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. LXIII (1976), pp. 166 and 208, n. 1; *idem*, 'EMH (V), Part II. Bakti et avatāra,' *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. LXV (1978), p. 189; and Hiltebeitel, 'Śiva, the Goddess, and the Disguises of the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī,' *History of Religions*, Vol. XX (1980), pp. 149–150. On Ekacakrā as projecting the 'one wheel' of the sovereignty temporarily divided between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, see Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 100.

The names Hāstinapura ('City of the Elephant') and Indraprastha ('Residence of Indra') reflect the same divided sovereignty. The image of unity would be that of Indra riding his elephant. Furthermore, the Pāṇḍavas are connected with Indra, the Kauravas with *nāgas* (snakes, elephants).

5. Compare Jacob Neusner, 'Map without Territory: Mishnah's System of Sacrifice and Sanctury,' *History of Religions*, Vol. XIX (1979), pp. 103–127, discussing the Mishnah as a symbolic map that serves to replace the lost temple. The analogy with Mathurā as Kṛṣṇa's 'lost city' (to be discussed below) is striking, especially considering the contemporaneity of the two traditions and the fundamentally similar response—even though one is ritualized and the other mythicized—to what is in fact the same historical continuum. This essay owes a debt to Neusner's stimulating article.
6. See Hiltebeitel, 'Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata: A Bibliographical Study,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. LXI (1979), pp. 65–107.
7. This is a conventional dating for the *Mahābhārata*. Datings for the *Harivaṁśa* vary widely; see Daniel H. H. Ingalls, 'The Harivaṃśa as a Mahākāvya,' in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968, pp. 381–394 (first to third century A.D.) and Charlotte Vaudeville, 'Aspects du mythe de Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla dans l'Inde ancienne,' in the same Renou Festschrift, p. 753 (eighth to tenth century). I would favor something close to the earlier dates, but the important point is the material from which the *Harivaṁśa* draws must be pre-Gupta.
8. Charlotte Vaudeville, 'Braj, Lost and Found,' *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XVIII (1976), pp. 198, 199, and *passim*.
9. For the full discussion, see Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 204–237.
10. See Sadashiva L. Katre, 'Kṛṣṇa, Gopas, Gopīs, and Rādhā,' in H. L. Hariyappa and M. M. Patkar, eds., *Professor P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1960, part 3, pp. 83–85; Bimanbehari Majumdar, *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 49–57.
11. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 217. The *Harivaṁśa* abounds in references to the forthcoming events of the *Mahābhārata*.
12. In making citations, the Critical Editions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are used, but for the *Harivaṁśa* (which needs even more to be studied as a fluid tradition) I have used the edition of the Citrashala Press. I do not suggest that certain episodes concerning Kṛṣṇa may not be later than others: see Hiltebeitel, 'The Burning of the Forest Myth,' in Bardwell L. Smith, ed., *Hinduism: New Essays in the History of Religions*, Leiden, 1976, pp. 208–224; *idem*, 'Draupadī's Garments,' *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XXII (1980), pp. 98–101; but there is nothing to indicate that one can eliminate whole 'cycles.'
13. Hiltebeitel, 'Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata,' n. 194; I allow myself to introduce this bracketed 'royal,' because with it the comparative point can still be made. See also Jan de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, London, 1963 (the pattern of 'the youth of the hero threatened'). Arguing for the unity of the Kṛṣṇa figure from different angles, see A. D. Pusalkar, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 94–96 and 109–110; Vishnu S. Sukthankar, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, Bombay, 1957, *passim* (see especially pp. 5, 94–95).
14. Atomists, of course, resist identifying Kṛṣṇa as an *avatāra* in the epic, and more particularly in the *Gītā*. There may be stages in the use of the term, and of its theological and mythological precision, but the myth in the *Mahābhārata* of the unburdening of the earth, Arjuna's references to Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* as Viṣṇu, plus the whole Nara-Nārāyaṇa theme in the epic are, in my mind, indissoluble facets of the *avatāra* theology. On the unburdening of the earth, see Hiltebeitel, 'Draupadī's Garments,' p. 103 and n. 30; on the place of the *Gītā* in the epic, see Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 114–128, and n. 21. The *avataraṇa* theme clearly pervades the *Harivaṁśa*.
15. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 218.
16. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 212; note also that Biardeau shows that both 'periods in disguise' are expressed in terms and themes of the *dīkṣā*, the 'consecration' preparatory to a sacrifice. On this latter, see Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 187–200, and Hiltebeitel, 'Śiva, the Goddess, and Disguises,' pp. 149, 159, 168–174.
17. Their main role is as part of the group of Saṁśaptakas who keep Arjuna from protecting his and Subhadrā's son Abhimanyu (i.e., Kṛṣṇa's own nephew). The implication that Kṛṣṇa thus manipulates the death of Abhimanyu is affirmed from another angle in South Indian versions of the story, in which Kṛṣṇa engineers Abhimanyu's death because the latter is a rākṣasa incarnate (oral information from Tindivanam, Tamilnadu, and from Martha Ashton concerning Karnataka).
18. This summarizes Biardeau's analysis in EMH (V), pp. 205–209. She also cites an unpublished dissertation by André Couture, 'Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, Avatāra de Viṣṇu,' Paris, 1977.
19. See above, n. 10.
20. *kimartham gopaveṣeṇa ramase 'smasu garhitam*
lokapālopamaścaiva gāstvam kiṁ parirakṣasi (HV 2.20.7).
21. Biardeau perceptively cites here the ancient Indian associations between the king and cows, and Arjuna's protection of cows in the *Virāṭaparvan*. It should be noted that Arjuna protects the cows also while in disguise, and that Bhīma (as *govikartṛ*; 4.2.7) and Sahadeva (as watcher of Virāṭa's herds) also take on disguises that involve rapports with cattle; see Hiltebeitel, 'Śiva, the Goddess, and Disguises,' pp. 168–173.
22. On the inauspicious character of this title, see Hiltebeitel, 'The Indus Valley "Proto-Śiva", Reexamined through Reflections on the Goddess, the Buffalo, and the Symbolism of *vāhanas*,' *Anthropos*, Vol. LXXIII (1978), pp. 769–770, and *idem*, 'Śiva, the Goddess, and Disguises,' pp. 173–174. One may also note that Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kaṁsa is preceded by the killings of Ariṣṭa and Keśī. This bull-horse-man sequence is most likely an echo of

the culminating three of the five *paśu* suitable for Vedic sacrifice. This may help explain why the Keśīvadha is singled out in the epic as one of the few episodes from Kṛṣṇa's childhood alluded to; see S. Sörensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1963, p. 423.

23. See Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 236–237 ('Et le Veṇugopāla?').
24. *kimartham ca parityajya mathurāṁ madhusūdanaḥ madhyadeśasya kakudaṁ dhāma lakṣmyāśca kevalam śṛṅga pṛthivyāḥ svālakṣyaṁ prabhūtadhānadhanyavat āryāḍhyajalabhūyiṣṭam adhiṣṭhānavarottamam* (HV 2.57.2–3).
25. See above, n. 5.
26. See Michel Defourny, 'Note sur le symbolisme de la corne dans le *Mahābhārata* et la mythologie brahmanique classique,' *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XVIII (1976), pp. 17–23.
27. These myths are known to both the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* and, with the exception of the lifting up of the earth (see above, n. 14), will be discussed further below.
28. See J. A. B. van Buitenen, ed. and trans., *The Mahābhārata*, I: *The Book of the Beginning*, Chicago, 1973, Introduction, pp. 8–13, perceiving Kṛṣṇa's geopolitical motives as centered on his concern for Mathurā.
29. *eṣa nārāyaṇaḥ śrīmān kṣīrārṇavaniketanaḥ nāgaparyaṅkamutsṛjya prāpto 'yam mathurāṁ purīm* (HV 2.55.60).
30. See Madeleine Biardeau, 'Comptes Rendus des Conferences,' *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, 5th Section, Religious Sciences, *Annuaire*, Vol. LXXXIII (1975), pp. 109–110; Georges Dumézil, *The Destiny of a King*, Chicago 1973, pp. 70–129; Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 143–191, 203–206, 222–228.
31. This applies in a number of senses: his roles in the marriages of Draupadī and Subhadrā, at the Rājasūya, and in the war.
32. Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 102–107. Compare now the waking scene cited earlier in this essay.
33. Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 224–225, regards the entry to kill Kaṁsa in the *Harivaṁśa* as modelled on that of Girivraja in the *Mahābhārata*.
34. See Christian Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, Osnabrück 1968, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 758 and 823; Adolf Holzmann, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, Kiel 1892–1895, Vol. II, pp. 48–49; Edward Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, New York 1969, pp. 215–216; Walter Ruben, *Krishna: Konkordanz und Kommentar der Motive seines Heldenlebens*, Istanbul 1944, pp. 6, 137, 211–216; S. N. Tadpatrikar, 'The Kṛṣṇa Problem,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. X (1929), pp. 269–320; Sadashiva L. Katre, 'Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1932), pp. 500–508, and *idem*, Vol. IX (1933), pp. 854–865.
35. Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 221–235.
36. A heavenly voice keeps stopping Balarāma from killing Jarāsandha (HV 2.36.29; 43. 72–73), saying his death is ordained to occur at another's (i.e. Bhīma's) hands.
37. The *Harivaṁśa* keeps remarking on the paradoxical character of Kṛṣṇa's appearances alone in contrast with his appearances with allies, and of his appearances with and without a city. He and his foes both know that he is truly most dangerous when he is alone, and when there is no king for him to subordinate himself to (HV 2.49.20–22; 50.15–17; 51.40). This theme is also played out in his theophany before Duryodhana in the Kaurava court (in the *Mahābhārata*); see Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 120–128.
38. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 235.
39. See Biardeau, EMH (V), pp. 225–226.
40. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 234.
41. See D. C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1967, pp. 71–73.
42. Karṇa refers to Bāhlīkas of the Punjab, but his geography is typical of the epic.
43. See Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 273–279.
44. On this and the above, see Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 226.
45. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 43.
46. To argue this would be out of place here. Let me just note that Rāvaṇa is opposed most directly not to Rāma, but to the traditional Vedic Ṛṣis, for whom Rāma is but an agent. It may be that Rāvaṇa's conversion to Buddhism in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*ca.* 300 A.D.) merely makes official an already implicit theme.
47. See Ruben, *Krishna*, p. 288; Vaudeville, 'Braj,' pp. 288, 204.
48. Though ruling from Peshawar, Kaniṣka is said to have placed his son Vāsiṣka at Mathurā as his viceroy; J. Allan, T. Wolseley Haig, H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, New York, 1934, p. 79.
49. This, I think, is the main point to be realized about such caricatures as Sṛgāla Vāsudeva, Puṇḍra Vāsudeva, Śiśupāla, and others. They are not historical challengers to Kṛṣṇa, in the first two cases for the 'title' of Vāsudeva. Rather, they are symbolic perversions, symbols of divinity unworthy of respect, of pseudo-divinity.
50. *sa taiḥ parivṛto rājā dasyubhiḥ śalabhairiva nānāveṣāyudhairbhīmair mathurāmabhyavartata* (HV 2.57.21).
51. On the notion of an 'heroic age,' see Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 48–59.
52. The full account occurs at HV 1.46.48–48.51.
53. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 222.
54. Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 227. Biardeau's interpretation differs from the one suggested here.
55. See Doris Srinivasan, 'Early Kṛṣṇa Icons: The Case at Mathurā,' *Kalādarśana: American Studies in the art of India*, ed. Joanna Williams Delhi etc. 1981; pp. 127–136. P. L. Gupta, 'Ekānaṁsā and Her Images,' *Bihar Research Society Journal*, Vol. LIV (1968), pp. 229–244; N. P. Joshi, 'Ekānaṁśā in Early Kuṣāṇa Art,' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S. (1967/68), pp. 34–36; *idem*, *Iconography of Balarāma*,

New Delhi 1979, pp. 26, 30, 51, 75, 83; see also Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, and Gaya Charan Tripathi, eds., *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, New Delhi 1978, pp. 15, 70, 101, 121–123, 151, 153, 159, 169–98.

56. See Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, pp. 60–76; *idem*, 'Draupadī's Hair,' *Puruṣārtha*, Vol. V (1981), discussing Draupadī in relation to the Goddess.
57. One finds other important associations besides triads (indeed dyads, tetrads, and pentads) in both early and later Kṛṣṇa literature and iconography, but the triads seem to have a central place in relation to the emergence of bhakti and temple worship.
58. As Māyon, the 'Black'; see Biardeau, EMH (V), p. 235, n. 1.
59. See Dennis Hudson, 'Śiva, Mīnākṣī, Viṣṇu—Reflections on a Popular Myth in Madurai,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XIV (1977), pp. 107–118.

11. Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation

KENDALL W. FOLKERT

The Jain remains found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in Mathurā, and dated to Kuṣāṇa and pre-Kuṣāṇa times, are often treated as if they were self-evidently meaningful. Yet a close examination will reveal that the religious significance attributed to them is of a curious sort when all is said and done. Only some of what the evidence reveals is given much attention, and that to excess, while other dimensions of it seem to have been nearly invisible to scholars. This invisibility is above all notable, as its causes are themselves often not perceived because of their being embedded in the scholarly presuppositions that govern much of Jain studies as a whole. In sum, the patterns in interpretation of the Jain evidence from Mathurā reflect larger premises in the study of Jain history, and so long as those premises remain in force, the Mathurā evidence will be trapped in an interpretive context that conceals as much as it reveals about Jain religious life at Mathurā.

The relationship between the materials from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and certain modes of thinking about the Jains is so fundamental that any effort at interpreting those materials ought to involve two kinds of retrospective inquiry. First, earlier interpretations, especially those from the 1890s and early 1900s, need to be given the most intense scrutiny before they are used, so that one is fully aware of the argumentative presuppositions about the Jains that affect (and sometimes even effect) those interpretations. Second, the nature of the actual evidence can never be taken for granted. The context and mechanics of discovery at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were such that one often must conduct a basic investigation into the status and character of the find-pieces involved before accepting or making generalizations about them.

These are rather drastic cautions, and their impact extends beyond the bare evidence from Mathurā. Given the problematic status of prior interpretations of that evidence, and given that the evidence itself is open to reservations, a reconsideration of the Jain presence in ancient Mathurā may be in order, one that would touch general assumptions about Mathurā and about Jain history.

One may well ask whether such far-reaching consequences are actually at stake. The answer must be that it is possible, and that an inquiry into the matter is necessary, especially because of an additional factor that is often forgotten: the discoveries at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā came at a pivotal moment in nineteenth-century Jain studies. The magnitude assigned to the evidence from there was often other than what one might expect; and since even a slight misdirection at a critical turning becomes magnified with the passage of time and distance, it is instructive in more than just an antiquarian sense to inquire how certain perceptions of the Jain tradition were interwoven with the discoveries at Mathurā.

I

The major finds of Jain materials at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā occurred between 1888 and 1896, and in one sense those explorations can be understood as part of a linear chain of events in Jain studies. The site and its surroundings had been partially explored in the 1870s by Cunningham, Harding, and Growse, and Cunningham had published some results as early as 1873.[1] But little attention was paid to those discoveries until the late 1880s, when Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was re-opened by James Burgess (and explored from 1889 onward by A. A.

Führer) for a specific reason: Cunningham's findings had become relevant to a debate that dominated Jain scholarship in the 1800s. That debate was over the origins of the Jain tradition, and evidence from Mathurā was wanted as ammunition for use in it.

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was thus given its second set of explorations not because of general interest in the site, but rather out of a particular desire for a certain sort of evidence. The foremost general factor affecting the explorations is this narrowness of purpose, and its consequences were and are manifold and damaging. It was even responsible for some of the dubious status of the evidence itself, because it established much of the immediate context for the handling of the finds; and some of this damage is very nearly irreparable. But before such concrete and mechanical concerns can be fully understood, it is important to see how the debate over Jain origins shaped the narrow issues that evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīla was expected to resolve.

The debate over origins informed early Jain studies to a degree remarkable even in an intellectual era nearly obsessed with the question of origins. Most students of the Jains have some familiarity with this debate because of the prominent (and often re-printed) publication of one part of it: Hermann Jacobi's introductions to his two volumes of translated Jain texts for the Sacred Books of the East (hereafter: SBE).[2] But there was more to the debate than is revealed by Jacobi's arguments, for they actually form the pivot between a first and a second stage in the debate. The Mathurā finds occurred within the second stage, and they were used to address issues that were only nascent in the earlier debate. Thus a knowledge of Jacobi's work does not carry one into the direct context of the digs at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

At the same time, the way in which Jacobi's arguments closed the debate's first stage left open the door for the second stage and its issues. In a linear sense, then, the re-opening of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is actually linked to the earlier debate, so that understanding the explorations does require a look back into the mid-1800s and earlier.

Developments before 1884. The transition from the first debate-stage to the second occurred in 1884. Up to that time, the debate had focused on the proposition that the Jains had originated out of Buddhism. Beginning in 1858, Albrecht Weber argued that Mahāvīra and the Buddha had actually been one and the same person, and that the Jains were Buddhist schismatics who had, in breaking away *ca*: 350 B.C.E., altered the portrait of their founder just enough to legitimize their position.[3] Christian Lassen theorized, in the 1860s, that the Jains' general resemblance to Buddhism and to other Indian movements pointed to the Jains' having originated as a movement in 'the 1st or 2nd century after Christ.'[4] In his view:

> . . . no doubt can remain that the *Jainas* are descendants from the Bauddhas, but that in some points they considered it advantageous to approach the Brahmans, probably in order to escape being persecuted by them.[5]

Both of these theories rested in part on the judgement that Jain Prākrit literature was not as old as the Buddhist canonical writings, but the general line of argument pre-dated such literary judgements. Fundamentally, the question of Jain origins was pursued in the form of a *via negativa* whose roots lay in the earliest scholarly writings on the Jains.[6] From the beginning, the Jain tradition's own accounts of its origins were doubted, and the debate consisted of a series of negative propositions that had to be set aside in order to establish the credibility of the Jain versions of their history. The theories of Weber and Lassen were, then, links in a longer chain of arguments whose momentum and direction were established very early in the history of Jain scholarship.

Between 1879 and 1884 (the latter being the year of his first volume of translations) Jacobi undertook the refutation of the negative thesis that the Jains had arisen out of Buddhism.[7] He succeeded, and his role in the debate is largely remembered because of this accomplishment. Using newly available Jain literature (which had begun to reach scholars in significant measure in the 1870s), he was able to undermine Weber's theory and to establish Mahāvīra's historicity; and he also showed that Lassen's hypothesis did not stand up under close scrutiny.

Jacobi argued that some of the semblances that Lassen saw between the Jains and Buddhists did not actually exist, and that those that existed did not detract from the distinctiveness of Jain teachings. In sum, he took the line that where the Jains and Buddhists did resemble each other, they also resembled movements in the larger Hindu tradition, specifically in matters of general ascetic praxis, cosmology, and cultic activity.[8] These, in his view, were not the essential parts of the Jain tradition; hence similarities in such areas did not vitiate the Jains' own claims about their origins, even as they explained the Jains' resemblances to non-Buddhist movements.

Jacobi's presentation was convincing, and from 1884 onwards the thesis that the Jains had originated within Buddhism was in general disrepute. But the debate,

and the *via negativa*, had one more stage to go. Jacobi's arguments had settled the matter of Jain–Buddhist relationships, but they carried with them two after-effects that shaped and dominated the second stage of the debate. First, in terms of the more linear series of debate-propositions, Jacobi's arguments suffered from being purely literary, and the reliability of Jain literature—whose antiquity, at least in terms of extant materials, even Jacobi admitted did not match the Buddhist's—remained open to some doubt. This specific question would dominate the final debate-stage, and is its most direct link to the Mathurā explorations.

The second after-effect, which was not so much a linear debate-matter, is less visible but was equally powerful in shaping the debate. In establishing the Jains' independence from Buddhism, Jacobi had in effect treated the Jains as a miniature Buddhism, i.e., as a parallel but distinctive ascetic movement whose history should be understood on the same model as Buddhist history. Nowhere is this more obvious than in his argument that the cultic life of both the Buddhists and the Jains was a borrowing from the larger Hindu context. He wrote, in connection with the cult of the Buddha and the Jina:

> . . . I believe that this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Ǧainism, that it did not originate with the monks, but with the lay community, when the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude deities and demons, and when the religious development of India found in the Bhakti the supreme means of salvation. Therefore instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals, and in the Ǧainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently from each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India.[9]

This after-effect is less visible in the debate because it was so readily accepted on all sides. It was not even a point of argument in the debate, because Jacobi's line of argument here was simply consistent with the ways in which scholars in general were categorizing Indian religion in the 1800s. One might compare this mode of thinking to a broad stream of ideas about Indian religion that the debate over the Jains channeled into a particular course and whose intensity was magnified by that channeling. In this way, the task of refuting negative propositions about Jain origins can be seen as heightening the nineteenth-century tendency to think of religious movements solely in terms of their abstract teachings and literature, which were the points of supposed similarity between the Jains and the Buddhists that Jacobi most seriously explored, while dismissing popular practice and cultic life as secondary.

In brief, one sees at the end of the debate's first stage two determinative patterns that would form the second stage: 1) an acceptable separation of Jain history from the Buddhist tradition; 2) a conceptualization of the Jain tradition as a closed, essentially ascetic system, parallel to Buddhism. As the debate moved into its second stage, then, the terms in which the Jains would be discussed and which would inform the investigation of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā had already begun to solidify into the forms that still haunt Jain studies today, forms that can be comprised in the term 'Jainism.'

The debate: stage two. The argumentative shift that marks this stage was provided by Auguste Barth, who had actually entered the debate in the first stage, but whose distinctive contribution came after Jacobi had settled the question of the Jains' relationship to Buddhism. Barth had originally agreed with Weber and Lassen, but after Jacobi's work he formulated a new stage in the *via negativa*: he disputed the continuity and distinct identity of the Jain tradition prior to the fixing of the Śvetāmbara canon in the fifth century C.E.; and he was cautious to the point of scepticism about any literary evidence prior to that time.[10] Though he accepted Jacobi's proofs for the historicity of Mahāvīra and did not dispute traditional Jain chronology concerning him, he still argued:

> . . . what we dispute, because it does not as yet appear to us to be demonstrated, is the conscious and continuous existence of the [Jain] sect beginning in that long-ago time [of Mahāvīra], and the direct transmission of a proper doctrine and tradition. This tradition appears to us, on the contrary, to have been formed much later, out of vague recollections and along the lines of the Buddhist tradition.[11]

Jacobi made an effort to counter this point of view, and his essay of 1884 concludes with a response to Barth. In Jacobi's view, Barth's principal error lay in confusing the fixing of the Jain canon with its composition, and he demonstrated by metrical analysis that the earliest Jain literature should be dated *ca.* 300 B.C.E. But he was obliged to carry the tradition back to Mahāvīra's time by arguing that, absent evidence to the contrary, the Jains' own accounts of their early history should be regarded as generally reliable, and he could not deny that the canon contained much that was far more recent than 300 B.C.E.[12] In a sense, Jacobi was hoist by his own petard. His treatment of the Jains as an essentially ascetic order parallel to Buddhism forced the issue of this 'Jainism's' age onto the grounds

of the age of its ascetic literature, and thus allowed Barth's claim that, on literary grounds, the Jains could be seen as having led for centuries 'an obscure, undefined existence much like that of other ascetic groups.'[13]

One can say, then, that the second stage of the debate became an argument over the origins of 'Jainism' in terms of nineteenth-century categories focusing on literary evidence. Both Jacobi and Barth accepted the notion that the tradition's continuity and identity were to be measured by the state of its ascetic core, with Buddhism as the parallel model but not the source, and what remained to be settled was the point at which this entity came into existence.

This formulation of the question set the stage for the work of Georg Bühler who, with Barth as his opponent, would dominate the rest of the debate. Bühler was knowledgeable about the Jains. During seventeen years in India (1863–1880), he had collected and sent to Europe most of the Jain literature that Weber and Jacobi used in their work. Though he had at one time agreed with Weber and Lassen,[14] he came to share Jacobi's view of Jain origins; and he and Jacobi (apparently working independently) had unraveled a major clue to Mahāvīra's historical identity (linking Vardhamāna Jñātṛputra with the Niganṭha Nātaputta of Buddhist texts).[15] But Bühler had otherwise been silent through the first debate-stage.

In 1879 he entered the debate in earnest, first through a lecture given to the Vienna Academy,[16] and then in a provocative article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (hereafter: *WZKM*). The latter piece most clearly expresses his sense of the debate and of his role in it; even the title is significant: 'On the authenticity of the Jaina tradition.' The channeling force of the debate and the adversarial effect of its *via negativa* are clearly visible in the hard line that Bühler took there in commenting on the views of Weber and Barth:

> . . . both distrust the Jaina tradition and consider it to be probable that the latter has been made up or, to use the proper word, has been forged according to the Buddhist scriptures.[17]

After reviewing and complimenting Jacobi's arguments from 1884, Bühler went on to state his own purposes in entering the debate:

> On reading [Jacobi's discussion], I could, however, not suppress a regret, that his answer to Mr. Barth is in one important point incomplete, since it furnishes no instance in which the tradition of the Jainas is proved to be trustworthy by independent, really historical sources. This feeling induced me to enter on a careful re-examination of all the ancient historical documents which refer to the Jains, and to enquire, if they furnish any data which corroborate the earlier Jaina tradition and liberate at least portions of it from the suspicion of being a deliberate forgery. The result is that I believe to be able to prove the correctness of a not inconsiderable part of the larger list of teachers and schools, preserved in the Sthavirâvali of the Kalpasûtra.[18]

What Bühler had discovered is now well-known: that a number of inscriptions from Mathurā, unearthed by Cunningham at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in 1871 and dated to Kuṣāṇa times, recorded Jain donations by laypersons under the direction of ascetic preceptors, and that the inscriptions used technical terminology for Jain ascetic sub-orders (*gaṇa*-s, *kula*-s, *śākhā*-s) that matched the terminology of the Kalpasūtra and even contained some of the same proper names for orders. This, in Bühler's view, was precisely what was needed in order to address Barth's doubts about the continuity of the early Jain tradition.

As noted before, this moment in the debate does not actually reflect a new discovery. It was a re-discovery of Sir Alexander Cunningham's evidence and the entering of it, at last, into the debate. While Cunningham had not noticed the technical terminology that so excited Bühler, he had found statues of Tīrthaṅkaras, and had noted that the inscriptions included the words Vardhamāna and Mahāvīra. From this he drew an enthusiastic conclusion, already in 1873, to the effect that there was at last 'tangible evidence to vouch for the truth' of traditional Jain claims.[19]

But no one had paid much attention until the second stage of debate, where the evidence was both needed and relevant. Literary testimony had been pushed to its limit, but a negative proposition still remained; and the issues at stake in considering Jain origins had now been so framed by the earlier discussions that Cunningham's inscriptional evidence spoke directly to the question, for it substantiated the Jain literary tradition precisely on the point of its ascetic identity and continuity—the very conception of the tradition that now governed the debate.

Being absolutely seized by the appropriateness of the evidence, Bühler did not rest content with his initial discovery. He took steps to obtain more materials, and within a year he had in hand a new inscription with which to bolster his views. He began his initial report on its discovery and translation with the following background information:

> Encouraged by the results of my re-examination of Sir A. Cunningham's Mathurâ inscriptions I asked Dr. J. Burgess in September last [1887] to resume during the next working season the excavations at the Kankâli Tila where the published documents have been found.[20]

Burgess agreed and began working in January, 1888; and thus it is to Bühler and to the debate over Jain origins that the re-opening of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā can be directly traced.

As finds at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā emerged (under the direction of Burgess in 1888, and thereafter under A. A. Führer), Bühler published a spate of reports, translating and interpreting inscriptions found on the materials.[21] Including his first article in 1887, he published the following series of pieces on the same theme:

1887, *WZKM* I : 'On the authenticity of the Jaina tradition'
1888, *WZKM* II : 'Further proofs of the authenticity of the Jaina Tradition'
1889, *WZKM* III: 'Further proofs for the authenticity of the Jaina tradition'
1890, *WZKM* IV: 'Further proofs of the authenticity of the Jaina Tradition'

The *WZKM* for 1890, as well as those for 1891 (V) and 1896 (X), also contained 'Brief Communications' (Kleine Mitteilungen) in which Bühler summarized Führer's finds as news of them reached him at Vienna. These 'Brief Communications' were also put before a wider audience through publication in *The Academy*. Beginning in 1891, Bühler published his findings in more comprehensive fashion in *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter: *EI*), a project that eventually ran to four reports published in volumes I and II.

Bühler carried the day against Barth by means of this steady flow of pointed, though brief, pieces. As Bühler was the only scholar intimately involved with interpreting the finds, and was highly respected, his interpretation of them was widely accepted. The general accord granted to them put an end to formal argument over Jain origins by the mid-1890s, and this especially is why the Mathurā finds occupy such a pivotal point in Jain studies. Jacobi had distinguished Jain from Buddhist history on the basis of literary testimony, and now Bühler had produced evidence to substantiate the literature's claims.

The debate and Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā: the end result. Even with the debate established as the immediate context of the finds and their interpretation, it is important to see that in the end, the whole exceeded the sum of the parts. The finds of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were as forcibly used by Bühler to argue his case as had the Jains' similarities to Buddhism been used by Weber, *et al.*, to argue the contrary. Bühler did not really refute Barth; Barth was simply overwhelmed.

What the finds at Mathurā accomplished, viewed objectively, was no more than the strengthening of Jacobi's original literary chronology, which carried the Jain tradition back to *ca.* 300 B.C.E. None of the archaeological evidence could be claimed, after all, to be as old as the oldest Prākrit literature. The lynch-pin of Bühler's argument was the conjecture that the testimony of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā pointed well back beyond itself, i.e., that a clearly organized ascetic tradition, attested by the technical language of the inscriptions as existing in Kuṣāṇa times and slightly before, probably implied a long history for such a tradition.

That this was a conjecture was clearly seen by Barth. In 1889, he exhaustively reviewed Jacobi's final statements on the subject of Jain origins along with Bühler's first two articles on the subject, and bitingly pronounced himself unconvinced. He did revise his original, more drastic suspicion that the fixing of the Śvetāmbara canon was the first point at which one had to deal with a truly continuous tradition. But he would not yield on his doubts about the tradition prior to the first two centuries B.C.E.,[22] and his last statement on the subject, in 1902, showed him still unrepentant.[23]

But Barth stood alone after 1890. The debate was not so much won as abandoned. Bühler seems to have felt so firmly that his evidence settled matters that after 1887 he did not again refer explicitly to Barth's views, not even to the latter's vigorous response of 1889. Nor did this occur because others had taken up the battle. Bühler remained, through the 1890s, the only scholar working with the materials at a primary level. His sense that the matter of Jain origins was settled by the Mathurā evidence was simply adopted wholesale.

Here, one may plausibly surmise, the *via negativa* of the debate finally turned back on itself. The scholarly community seems at last to have had enough of doubts about the Jains, and to have been ready to accept, almost with relief, a new position. Thus the debate's final effect was to produce an overly-enthusiastic mirror-image of the earlier scepticism at the expense, in the end, of a clear view of the evidence involved. Although the position taken by Jacobi and Bühler has proven to provide an acceptable version of early Jain history, the effort expended in establishing that view supplied more heat than light as concerns the actual evidence and its various dimensions. Though Weber, Lassen, and Barth were wrong about the Jains, they may have been proven wrong for reasons that had a damaging impact on later scholarly views of the tradition.

This is especially so because of the debate's linkage with the notion of 'Jainism,' i.e., with the idea of the tradition enunciated by Jacobi: that its non-ascetic features were secondary accretions. This latter perspective, used by both sides in the argument, assured that only certain questions were asked of the Mathurā

evidence, namely, such questions as were relevant both to the tradition's ascetic dimension and to the concrete points at issue in the debate. In general, this meant that Bühler's interest in the evidence was drawn toward whatever would substantiate older Jain writings on ascetic life, and this approach shines through all of his writings on the subject.

This was so from the very beginning. Already in 1887, with only Cunningham's finds in hand, Bühler regarded the specific language of the inscriptions as showing the ascetic continuity of the tradition. As he put it, in direct response to Barth's own language:

> The existence of [ascetic] titles . . . and of ancient schools at the end of the first century A.D. show [*sic*] that at [that] period the Jaina sect had possessed already for a long time 'a continuous and self-conscious existence.'[24]

In 1890, when he had seen and dealt with sixty-six inscriptions, and could no longer be thought of as having only a partial view of the evidence, he still wrote:

> In the discussion of the contents of these documents, the constitution of the order of the Jaina ascetics must naturally take the first place.[25]

This statement itself virtually defines the terms in which the Jain tradition's history and nature would be viewed. The inscriptions and their find-context were treated almost as if they had no evidence to offer other than what related to literary/ascetic matters. Thus the debate and the intellectual currents that it channeled with particular force led to an almost unconscious limitation on interpretation of the evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. This limitation, moreover, was of two sorts. While the non-ascetic/literary evidence remained virtually invisible, other evidence was over-interpreted in terms of continuity and the antiquity of the tradition. The final outcome is a curiously one-dimensional picture of Jain life at ancient Mathurā.

II

The best way to see this one-dimensionality is to look briefly at a particular piece of evidence, one that ought not show what it has regularly been taken to prove. That piece is the 'Jain stūpa' at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and it can serve especially well as an example of the currents and pressures that shaped Mathurā-Jain interpretation. But in addition to that, it also shows the effect of a general problem mentioned at the outset: the fact that the actual evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is still open to question.

The roots of the evidentiary problem lie, again, in the debate. The narrowness of purpose that it brought to the explorations after 1888 actually affected the handling of the evidence itself. In the first place, it led to greater emphasis being placed on the inscriptions than on the sculptural and architectural pieces. This was certainly true of Bühler's approach, though it was in part circumstantial: Bühler was in Vienna, and what Burgess and Führer could most readily send him were rubbings of the inscriptions.

But the inscriptions were what Bühler wanted, because they contained the evidence most needed in the debate over origins. This means that the earliest interpretations of the Jain remains at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā paid little attention to the actual pieces on which the inscriptions were found. Bühler wrote his first relatively exhaustive interpretation of the finds in 1890 (*WZKM* IV), and even then he appears to have had in hand only brief descriptions of some pieces (though he does mention one rough sketch).[26] It was not until 1893, in volume II of *EI*, that a connected account of some sculptural pieces and their inscriptions was given by him. This account was based on ten photographs that Bühler had received from Führer, and these appear to have been Bühler's only sustained contact with the pieces themselves.[27] Moreover, the peculiar circumstances of the debate, and Bühler's dominant role in it, meant that no one else was dealing with these materials.

This separation of the inscriptions from the plastic evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is by itself a continuing problem in dealing with those materials; even today, no sustained parallel account of the two kinds of evidence exists. Why this should be so is something of a puzzle, but it may be partially explained by a set of peculiar accidents that compounded the interpretive tendencies that were afoot in the early 1890s. First, Bühler was drowned in April 1898, in a boating accident in Europe. He had not written anything on the inscriptions since 1894; and with his sudden death, the possibility of any synthetic account of the evidence from Mathurā, which he alone of scholars in Europe knew thoroughly, virtually ceased to exist.

Such chances of retrieving a full sense of the finds as might have survived Bühler's death were dealt a fatal blow by a second 'accident.' Also in 1898, A. A. Führer abruptly left the service of the Archaeological Survey of India, and his departure finally crippled sustained interpretation of the evidence by knowledgeable scholars, especially interpretation that would combine the study of the inscriptions with examination of the sculptural pieces. Führer neither left behind nor published subsequently any systematic account of his work at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

Without any systematic account by Bühler, and without Führer's personal remembrance of what had been done at the site, scholars had (and still have) little or no sense of the actual find-location of most pieces of evidence, and it is an open question whether any such record was in fact kept. This has left an aura of doubt about Führer's work at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā; but to blame Führer alone is to overlook the debate-context that surrounded the re-opening of the site.

Some of Führer's handling of the digs may even have been due to a sense on his own part that the inscriptions were the most crucial matter, overshadowing the sculpture and architecture. But a larger share of the problem arises from the fact that he served in a period when archaeological work in British India was at a low point in funding and staff. By all accounts, Führer had enormous responsibilities, virtually no help, and a miserly budget.[28] Indeed, it appears—perhaps as one of the 'accidents' involved—that the explorations of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā could not have occurred at a worse time in terms of the support given to them. Viewed in retrospect, Jain studies would have been better served had James Burgess turned down Bühler's request in 1887 that the site be re-opened.

But the work was done. Führer had prepared a number of plates illustrating some of his finds, but these were unaccompanied by any data. So as to ensure that at least some of the Mathurā evidence would reach a larger audience, Vincent A. Smith was asked, in 1900, to undertake the publication of Führer's plates, something that Smith himself had suggested be done, but which he did himself only because 'no one else was available.'[29]

The task Smith faced was formidable. He knew nothing of the site, and could not explain Führer's diagrams or drawings of it.[30] As concerned the plates of sculptural and architectural pieces, Führer had left these 'without a word of explanatory text.'[31] Smith noted that he had in some cases been unable to accept Führer's headings for the plates, that he himself had 'seen most of the originals from time to time,' but had been unable 'to make a minute examination of the objects described', and that his assistant, P. C. Mukherji, had 'to some extent' compared the plates with the originals at the Lucknow Museum and had 'in a few cases . . . detected discrepancies between Dr. Führer's headings to the plates and the labels affixed to the originals in the Museum.'[32]

All of this notwithstanding, Smith went forward; and so was born *The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathurâ*, published in 1901. Smith combined Führer's plates and illustrations with a text consisting mostly of Bühler's interpretation of the inscriptions. In that sense alone, the volume is nearly a case of the blind leading the blind. Seen in retrospect, *The Jain Stûpa* should also be classed as one of the 'accidents' that affected the evidence from Mathurā. Further, despite Smith's disclaimers, and despite the fact that most of the text in the volume is either quoted or directly derived from Bühler (including those parts attributed to Führer, who simply quoted Bühler's pieces in the *WZKM* on all interpretive points), Smith's name has since then been repeatedly associated with the interpretation of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

That critical evidence should have been in such a state, and should have been published in such a way, is one of the great problems in interpreting Jain life at Mathurā. Yet, as one of the few comprehensive publications of the evidence, *The Jain Stûpa* gained a curious life of its own, and its flaws were, and still are, largely overlooked. It would be valuable to trace, if space allowed, the volume's post-1900 'life' in order to understand better its persistent influence. But one answer to why it endures, and one of the keys to its success, may be no further away than the following statement by Smith in the Introduction:

> The discoveries [at Kaṅkālī Ṭīla] have to a very large extent supplied corroboration to the written Jain tradition, and they offer tangible incontrovertible proof of the antiquity of the Jain religion, and of its early existence very much in its present form.[33]

In sum, the scholars to whom was left the task of interpreting the materials from Mathurā could do, it seems, little more than adopt and continue the basic line of interpretation established by Bühler: that the basic significance of the evidence was its testimony to the age and continuity of the Jain tradition. The strength of this general approach was remarkable, for it succeeded in establishing the basic approach still taken today to the evidence.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the matter of the stūpa, which is a classic example of both the one-dimensional interpretation of the finds and of the misfortunes that befell the evidence. So many factors from the debate-context affect this particular item that it deserves a major review in its own right; what follows is only a partial treatment of it for the sake of showing its exemplary status as an item whose major dimensions remained virtually invisible while those things about it that were relevant to the intellectual context of its discovery were over-interpreted.

The discovery of the 'Jain stūpa.' The presence of a

stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was first noticed by Führer in his explorations of 1890. But both he and Bühler thought at first that it was Buddhist.[34] This is all the more notable because, in the first article in the *WZKM* in which Bühler discussed the stūpa, he also discussed the finding of a sculptured panel (J.623, State Museum, Lucknow; inscription: Lüders #75) portraying in its upper quarter a frieze containing a stūpa flanked by two seated Tīrthaṅkaras on either side. Bühler regarded the frieze-portrait of a stūpa in this way:

> No less interesting is the additional proof, furnished by Dr. Führer's slab, that the Jainas formerly worshipped Stûpas.[35]

Bühler drew this conclusion because the frieze substantiated literary evidence in his view. Ernst Leumann had discovered references to stūpas in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja (Rājapraśnīya)*, the second Śvetāmbara *upaṅga*; and in a manner wholly consistent with the forces operating in the debate over origins, Bühler thus accepted the frieze as indicating a Jain stūpa-cult even as the stūpa on the site was still thought of as Buddhist.[36]

Less than a year later, his view of the stūpa began to change. Führer had discovered the famous inscription (Lüders #47) that refers to the installation of an image at the '*vodva* stūpa, built by the gods.' This inscriptional reference to a stūpa unleashed an interpretive stream. In assessing it, Bühler wrote:

> The sculptures [discovered previously] left no doubt that the Jains worshipped Stûpas, which fact is also mentioned in the extracts from the Rājapasenaijja translated by Professor Leumann . . . . Yet, the assertion that there was a Jaina Stûpa at Mathurâ teaches us something new that hereafter will prove very important. For, it must be kept in mind that Dr. Führer has found a Stûpa in the immediate vicinity of the two Jaina temples [at Kaṅkālī Ṭīla]. He believed it to be Buddhistic, because he discovered close to it a seal with a Buddhist inscription. I have adopted his conjecture. . . . But the point becomes now doubtful. It can be decided only when the Stûpa has been opened, and its surroundings have been completely explored.[37]

This cautious note about the original provenance of the stūpa was far outstripped, however, by Bühler's vision of its age. For he went on, in the same discussion:

> Even more valuable is the statement that the Stûpa was *devanirmita*, 'built by the gods' i.e. so ancient that at the time, when the inscription was incised, its origin had been forgotten. On the evidence of the characters the date of the inscription has to be referred undoubtedly to the Indo-Scythic era . . . . The Stûpa must, therefore, have been built several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, as the name of its builder would certainly have been known, if it had been erected during the period when the Jainas of Mathurâ carefully kept record of their donations. This period began with the first century B.C.... Our inscription furnishes therefore a strong argument for the assumption that one Jaina Monument at Mathurâ is as old as the oldest known Buddhist Stûpas.[38]

By late 1892, some two years after Führer's first report of a stūpa, Bühler had thrown all caution to the winds. Writing in *EI*, in connection with the editing and translation of the inscription that refers to the stūpa, he put it this way:

> . . . with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn . . . through No. XX [the number assigned by Bühler to the inscription numbered 47 by Lüders] that an ancient Jaina Stûpa existed in Mathurâ, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i.e.* was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten.[39]

The only new evidence to lead Bühler to his increasing conviction that the stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was Jain was an increasing number of stūpa-portraits on other finds. But his discussions do not even reflect a systematic consideration of that evidence. What had apparently seized his attention was the notion of *devanirmita*, which he interpreted as further testimony to the age of the Jain tradition. In the years that followed, Bühler reinforced this interpretation, especially in 1897 in an account of Jinaprabha's *Vividhātīrthakalpa* (14th century C.E.), whose section on Mathurā contains a legendary account of the erection by the goddess Kuberā of a stūpa at Mathurā dedicated to the Tīrthaṅkara Śupārśva.[40]

This one dimension of the stūpa—its extraordinary age—has come to dominate virtually all discussion of it. After Bühler's death, the stūpa was given its ultimate push to prominence by Vincent Smith. It is not clear whether the order of *The Jain Stûpa* was at all dictated by any arrangement of the plates on Führer's part; but the volume's title, design, and organization pulled the stūpa into extraordinary visibility. After presenting in plates i and ii the general outlines of the mound and photographs of the excavations, Smith devoted plates iii, iv, and v to the stūpa-foundation remains, and plate vi (which received the longest textual accompaniment of any plate in the volume) to the sculpture-base on which the 'stūpa'-inscription occurred.

In Smith's text, and in virtually every discussion of the stūpa since then, the words first used by Bühler in the 1890s echo and re-echo, which is why they have been so extensively quoted above. The notion that the stūpa was so old in Kuṣāṇa times that no one knew who had built it has become the one feature of it that dominates all discussion, and the stūpa itself has become the prime piece of Jain evidence from Mathurā, despite

the checkered history of its discovery and the doubtful state of the evidence.

Stūpa-interpretation and Mathurā-interpretation. The stūpa does not stand alone in having been interpreted one-dimensionally, but space prevents a review of the many other items whose interpretation-history runs parallel to what has been sketched out above. Nor is this review of the stūpa as complete as is needed if its full significance is to be understood. What the stūpa here shows is, however, critical for understanding the problems of interpretation that still exist concerning the Jain presence at Mathurā.

At the most drastic level, the faint possibility exists that the stūpa was Buddhist or that the foundations are those of some other circular structure. But such a totally revisionist thesis need not be adopted. There very likely was a stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and later Jain literature does refer to a stūpa (or stūpas) at Mathurā. But the evidence, for various reasons, is problematic enough to always sustain a faint level of doubt; and such is unfortunately the case for most of the finds. This is the first problem illustrated by the stūpa that must receive systematic attention in dealing with the Jain presence at Mathurā.

But serious as that problem may be, the tendencies in interpretation that the stūpa illustrates are even more critically important, and directly reflect major concerns in understanding the general meaning of the Jain presence at Mathurā. The first such general concern is again parallel to the interpretation of the stūpa: the tendency to treat the existence of the remains almost solely in terms of their ability to prove the antiquity of the Jain tradition. This approach to the materials from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā derives most directly from the context supplied by the debate over origins, and while it is an important feature of the finds, it does not deserve the degree of attention that it still receives.

This is especially so because preoccupation with the question of antiquity has succeeded in obscuring so many other features of the evidence. The most startlingly 'invisible' dimension of the stūpa, as of most other materials, is that it clearly reflects a vigorous lay-cult. Moreover, this cult was clearly condoned, if not abetted, by the monastic Jains at Mathurā. Yet analysis of the finds has stayed with Jacobi and Bühler in focusing almost exclusively on their testimony in the domain of the ascetic tradition. In this connection, the stūpa is perhaps the most startling instance of forced interpretation. It can hardly attest any ascetic practice at all. But rather than deal with this obvious point, scholars have rested content with reading the stūpa's presence in a way that must wedge it into the mold of being evidence for the antiquity of the Jains as an ascetic movement.

All of this springs, in terms of its intensity, from the debate over origins and its entanglement with the nineteenth-century vision of cultic activity as a secondary accretion to 'Jainism.' Yet the evidence itself, had it been found outside of that setting, might open the door to far more interesting possibilities. Those possibilities can be summed-up by proposing the following options for re-understanding the Jain presence at Mathurā.

First, if the religious life of the Jains as revealed at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is typical of the Jain tradition for Kuṣāṇa times, a major reconsideration of Jain history is indicated. The stūpa and other evidence indicates a variety of religious interaction between ascetic and lay Jains that would require significant re-thinking of the role of the lay-community in early Jain history. At the very least, any vestiges of the notion that Jain cultic life was an inessential borrowing from the surrounding context ought to be seriously re-evaluated. Most Jain scholars are somewhat aware of this concern; but if the evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were liberated from its one-dimensional past interpretations, that concern might find a new impetus and new information with which to work.

Second, it is possible that one has to think in terms of a 'Mathurā-Jain tradition,' i.e., that Jain life at Mathurā was not typical. This, too, has major implications for thinking about Jain history, most especially in terms of the common supposition that the Jain tradition forms a kind of unchanging monolith. Again, scholars are aware that the period in question, from *ca.* 200 B.C.E. to 300 C.E., is one of extraordinary fluidity in Jain history. The Mathurā evidence, seen more clearly, could assist significantly in understanding the range of varying development in the Jain tradition at that time, and could provide useful concrete models for taking seriously the fluidity of the tradition in the face of the usual assumption about its unchanging character.

But even beyond that, the possibility of an 'untypical' Jain community at Mathurā raises the possibility that Mathurā itself has been underestimated. Certainly the interpretations of the Jain community there have given priority to the 'Jainism' involved in all of the evidence. But it may be important to think of Mathurā itself as the major force in the situation. The power of an ancient *tīrtha* to deflect and shape even an ascetic tradition that comes within its precincts has seldom appeared as a factor in interpreting the Jain remains. To cite a single instance: it may be that the ancient

sacredness of Mathurā, which in essence did not derive from Jain religiosity, is the place to begin in trying to understand why the 'Jain stūpa' was thought of as having been built by the gods.

In the end, it appears that the Jain presence at Mathurā cannot be left in the interpretive modes that have driven it thus far. All that has been seen of it is the one dimension of the tradition's antiquity and continuity, in conceptual terms that are themselves in need of reconsideration. Until Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is re-examined, almost literally piece by piece, both Jain history and the life of Mathurā in general will remain to a significant degree eclipsed where much clearer light could prevail.

NOTES

1. Alexander Cunningham, *Report for the Year 1871–72*, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. III, 1873, pp. 13–46. Reprint: Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1966.
2. Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, 2 vols. The Sacred Books of the East 22, 45. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884, 1892.) Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, 1964.
3. Albrecht Weber, 'Über das Śatruñjaya Māhātyam. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina.' *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* I:4, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 1 ff.
4. Christian Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. IV. Leipzig: L. A. Kittler, 1861, pp. 755 ff. Translated by E. Rehatsek in: *The Indian Antiquary* II (1873), pp. 193–200, 258–265. Subsequent citations are to the English translation.
5. Lassen, *Alterthumskunde*, p. 199.
6. Various accounts of these earliest writings can be found at the outset of the previously cited works by Jacobi, Lassen, and Weber.
7. In addition to his first volume of translations, cf. Jacobi, 'The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu,' *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* VII:1, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 1 ff.; and 'On Mahāvīra and his Predecessors,' *The Indian Antiquary* IX (1880), pp. 158–163.
8. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Vol. 1 (*SBE* 22), pp. xix-xxv.
9. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Vol. 1 (*SBE* 22), p. xxi.
10. Auguste Barth, 'Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde, Bulletin de 1880,' *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. I (1880), pp. 256–257. Citations from Barth are hereafter given according to the year of the 'Bulletin,' which is the format in which all were published. These can also be found in: *Quarante Ans d'Indianisme: Oeuvres de Auguste Barth*, 4 vols., Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1914, cited as *Oeuvres*. The citation in question: *Oeuvres* I, pp. 286–287.
11. Barth, 'Bulletin de 1881,' *Revue* III, p. 90; *Oeuvres* I, pp. 306–307.
12. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Vol. 1 (*SBE* 22), pp. xxxix-xlvi.
13. Barth, 'Bulletin de 1881,' *Revue* III, p. 91; *Oeuvres*, p. 308.
14. Georg Bühler, *Über die Indische Secte der Jaina*, Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1887, pp. 38–39 (n. 16).
15. See above, and Bühler, 'The Three New Edicts of Aśoka,' *The Indian Antiquary* VII (1878), p. 143, n. 5.
16. This lecture was published as *Über die Indische Secte der Jaina*.
17. Bühler, 'On the authenticity of the Jaina tradition,' *WZKM* I (1887), p. 165.
18. Bühler, *WZKM* I, pp. 168–169. Because of the great similarity in the titles of Bühler's articles, they are cited according to the year of the *WZKM*.
19. Cunningham, *Report for 1871–72*, p. 46.
20. Bühler, *WZKM* II, p. 141.
21. A full listing of these publications emerges from these notes; see also Klaus Janert, *Heinrich Lüders: Mathurā Inscriptions*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 47, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 40–41. Janert's work first called my attention to many of the problematic dimensions of Mathurā-interpretation.
22. Barth, 'Bulletin de 1889,' *passim*.
23. Barth, 'Bulletin de 1902,' *passim*.
24. Bühler, *WZKM* I, p. 180.
25. Bühler, *WZKM* IV, p. 315.
26. Bühler, *WZKM* IV, p. 327.
27. Bühler, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurâ,' *Epigraphia Indica* II, 1892, pp. 311–323.
28. J. H. Marshall, 'Introduction' to *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report for 1902–03*, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 5–7.
29. Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stûpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurâ*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XX. Allahabad, 1901, p. iii.
30. Smith, *Jain Stûpa*, p. 8.
31. Smith, *Jain Stûpa*, p. iii.
32. Smith, *Jain Stûpa*, p. iii.
33. Smith, *Jain Stûpa*, p. 6.
34. Bühler, *WZKM* IV, p. 314.
35. Bühler, *WZKM* IV, p. 328.
36. Bühler, *WZKM* IV, pp. 328–329.
37. Bühler, *WZKM* V, p. 61.
38. Bühler, *WZKM* V, pp. 61–62.
39. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurâ,' *Epigraphia Indica* II, 1892, p. 198.
40. Bühler, 'A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā,' *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1898, pp. 1–2; reprinted in *The Indian Antiquary* for 1898; originally presented to the Akademie at its session on 5 May 1897.

PART IV

NUMISMATICS

12. Ancient Mathurā and the Numismatic Material

A. K. NARAIN

Archaeological evidence now amply confirms the literary information that the second spurting up of cities in India took place in *circa* 7th–6th centuries B.C. and that the major scene of urban activities was the plains watered by the rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā and their tributaries. In the succeeding centuries, most of these cities developed into centers of considerable significance for they not only commanded controlling positions on trade routes but continued to remain stable centers of political gravity, cultural action and artistic tradition. Mathurā was verily one of them.

As a primary source for the history and culture of Mathurā the numismatic material is indispensable. For this reason its use in various contexts of historical explanation is not out of bounds in other sections of this publication. But the papers of this section are prepared from the point of view of numismatists and their purpose is to make a survey of the state of knowledge in the field and to present an analysis of some of the aspects of the available material. Originally seven papers addressing specific themes and problems were planned for the conference but five were presented and are now being published. These papers provide a survey of, and present some ideas about, the nature, content, importance and limitations of the coinage. They do not cover all the aspects of coinage and monetary studies related to Mathurā. Unfortunately certain important issues which required study of die-allignments, metallurgy, metrology and hoards of coins could not be tackled because facilities were not available, particularly in private and public collections of India. I only hope that conditions will change and such studies will become possible in the future. The papers speak for themselves and I do not propose to summarize them here but rather present briefly my own observations and comments in general, which are not always in agreement with their authors.

Although coins bearing the name of some of the ancient cities of India are known to have been issued, so far none with the name of Mathurā inscribed on it has come to light. But this does not mean that coins of, and for, Mathurā did not circulate there from almost the beginning of history of coinage in India. P. L. Gupta has postulated that even before the rise of the Mauryas some of the punch-marked coins were indeed issued in Mathurā for the kingdom of Śūrasena, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. He would like to identify certain symbols punched on them as indicative of the Mahājanapada or its chief city, Mathurā. But unfortunately there is no outside evidence to confirm definite association of these symbols with the kingdom or the city. Nor is the provenance of these coins satisfactorily recorded. P. L. Gupta's own major detailed study of the punch-marked coins, a doctoral dissertation, still remains to be published and until then it is not possible to examine his arguments and assumptions about the classification and chronology of this earliest coinage of India.

There is no doubt, however, that the earliest punch-marked coins of India did circulate in Mathurā and its environs but perhaps they did so from the Nanda-Maurya period rather than from still earlier times as P. L. Gupta would like us to believe. Archaeologically speaking we still lack evidence of their presence in northern India in the earliest layers of what is known as the N.B.P. ware culture, and the recent excavations

also at Sonkh, and in Mathurā itself, have failed to enlighten us on this point. It must be noted that along with punch-marked coins there also circulated uninscribed cast coins right from almost the beginning of monetary history of India. These seem to have partially overlapped with, and were followed by, die-struck but *still* uninscribed copper coinage for a transitional period of time until local and other series of inscribed die-struck coins began to be minted in and around Mathurā sometime during the second century B.C. The generally held view that the punch-marked coins continued to circulate, and even to be minted by using moulds, down to this period and even later is not confirmed by the recent work at Sonkh at least so far as the Mathurā region was concerned; but P. L. Gupta is right that this lack of evidence at Sonkh does not affect the generalization because support is available from other places.

It is with the inscribed series of coinage that Mathurā and its environs get their first specific evidence of independent identity. A careful record of the persistent provenance of coins, now confirmed by stratified archaeological evidence, leaves no doubt that the earliest of the inscribed coins of Mathurā were issued by a local chief Gomitra. There is scholarly consensus that Gomitra must be placed after the end of the Mauryas. Whether or not all the kings with Mitra-ending names, who ruled over a major part of northern India after the Mauryas, were collaterals, it is clear from the numismatic sources that Gomitra was the first among them at Mathurā and he was probably a junior contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Gomitra was succeeded by at least five, but possibly six, kings whose genealogical links cannot be firmly established. Their coinage do indicate a group relationship, or for that matter kinship, based on common symbols used on their coins. Archaeology and palaeography provide reasonable grounds for the sequence of these kings. P. L. Gupta's suggestion on the basis of coin-legends that Gomitra, and possibly a few others, began their career in what may be called the 'Greater' Mathurā is worth consideration.

Härtel's work at Sonkh has shown conclusively that Mitra kings were followed by the Datta ones at Mathurā. But the Sonkh evidence is not very rewarding about all the members of the family and their sequence. At least six of them, if not more, are known from sources. But only one of them, Rāmadatta, is recorded by Härtel at Sonkh. His coins are found side by side with those of Hagāmaṣa and therefore Härtel thinks that the rule of Kṣatrapas overlapped the reign of Rāmadatta and he suggests that the Dattas ruled 'concurrently in small sub-divisions of Mathurā and the period of their reign extended over a few decades only.' I do not think we need to attach more than necessary importance to the Sonkh findings and derive conclusions simply on the basis of mere absence of the coins of Datta kings other than those of Rāmadatta. Sonkh evidence may just indicate that the coins of an *earlier* king, Rāmadatta, continued to circulate along with the issues of a later king Hagāmaṣa, which is not an uncommon feature. Moreover, Sonkh is not *all* Mathurā. I see no reason to squeeze out the Dattas before Śaka-Pahlava rulers as successors of the Mitra kings in Mathurā or relegate them only to the 'sub-districts' of it. I would agree with P. L. Gupta and Bela Lahiri that the Mitra and Datta coinages form a homogeneous series and that the latter followed the former. Sonkh evidence only shows, if anything, that the Dattas did not follow the Śaka-Pahlavas as D. C. Sircar would like us to believe.

In fact before we come to deal with the Śaka-Pahlava rulers of Mathurā we must consider and be prepared to accommodate one, two, or even more claimants to power there. Names of Balabhūti and Vīrasena have been mentioned along with yet another whose name is only incompletely read by P. L. Gupta in his paper. I think we have reasons to be ready to find place for about fifteen kings before the Śaka-Pahlava Kṣatrapas in Mathurā. Thus, if we allow an average of even ten years' reign for one we need 150 years. This time span is in keeping with Allan's significant remark that their coin-type degenerates progressively until it is almost irrecognizable. If Gomitra, a junior contemporary of Puṣyamitra came to power in the middle of the second century B.C. we cannot place the Śaka-Pahlava Kṣatrapas before the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

The list of the Kṣatrapas includes at least five names: Hagāna, Hagāmaṣa, Rajuvula, Śoḍāṣa, Toraṇaḍāṣa (or Bharaṇaḍāṣa). To this may be added possibly one non-Indic name, Vajatama (?) as well as two Indianised names Śivadatta and Śivaghoṣa. Linguistically these names (except the last two) seem to include pure Śaka as well as mixed Scytho-Parthian (Pahlava). Like the Bhūmaka-Nahapāna group and the Caṣṭana-Rudradāman group of central and western India, the Mathurā Kṣatrapas also seem to me to belong to two ethnic groups, i.e., the Pahlava group of Hagāna-Hagāmaṣa and the Śaka group of Rajuvula.

I find it difficult to agree with P. L. Gupta, Bela Lahiri and others about the sequence of these Śaka-Pahlava rulers of Mathurā and I agree with Härtel in putting the Hagāna-Hagāmaṣa group earlier than the Rajuvula-Śoḍāṣa group. Depending upon the classification and sequence of these two groups, it will not be difficult to accommodate their other members. In my opinion the archaeological evidence of Sonkh and the

coin-types help put the Hagāna group earlier than that of Rajuvula. Whether these Kṣatrapas of two families ruled Mathurā only as representatives of a sovereign head of an empire or as independent rulers, there is no numismatic evidence for their existence later than the end of the first century A.D.

By the beginning of the second century A.D. Mathurā was already part of a large empire over which the Kuṣāṇas ruled. Cunningham's report about coins of Soter Megas from Mathurā and adjoining regions has not been confirmed by later findings and so also there are no reports about the coins of Kujūla from the region. The numismatic evidence as well as that of the Māṭ Devakula indicate the presence of Vima Kadphises as the first among the Kuṣāṇas in Mathurā. Without going into details of the problem of Kuṣāṇa chronology it will suffice here to say that my studies do not support the theory that Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era of 78 A.D. So, I would place Vima's entry into Mathurā towards the end of his reign by the end of the first century A.D. Mathurā was ruled by Kaniṣka I and his successors until perhaps a Kaniṣka III who came after Vāsudeva.

An important surface find at Sonkh must be noted here for it has prompted exciting speculations. I refer to the coin with the Brāhmī legends *Huviṣkasya* on one side and *putra Kaṇikasya* on the other. P. L. Gupta has discussed this coin in detail in his paper and has postulated the existence of a Huviṣka even before Kaniṣka I. It is true that the possibility of distinguishing two Huviṣkas has been envisaged earlier by some scholars, including me, but none of us has thought of having a Huviṣka before Kaniṣka I. P. L. Gupta has now in effect arguments for three Huviṣkas: a Huviṣka I before Kaniṣka I, and a Huviṣka II and a Huviṣka III, either one following the other or intervened by a ruler who can only be Kaniṣka II. Thus Vāsudeva I would succeed a Huviṣka III! While the arguments put forward by P. L. Gupta need to be examined in detail here, it may suffice to say that I do not feel convinced about the evidence or the necessity of having a Huviṣka intervening Vima and Kaniṣka I. Apart from the interpretation of the legend on the coin, the fact that it is in Brāhmī and the context of its surface discovery at Sonkh in the area of the Nāga apsidal temple indicate that this coin belongs to a later Kuṣāṇa king, after Vāsudeva I,. when Brāhmī letters and words start appearing on their money. Depending upon the interpretation of the legends this coin may be attributed *either* to a later Kaniṣka II or III, son of a Huviṣka I or II; *or else* to a later Huviṣka II or III as a son of Kaniṣka II or Kaniṣka III. P. L. Gupta's attribution of this coin to a pre-Kaniṣka I Huviṣka does not help the numismatic classification of the coins bearing the name of Huviṣka.

From Sonkh evidence it is clear that Mathurā probably continued to be ruled for a couple of decades more after Vāsudeva. But how long we do not know. Whether or not there was a Kuṣāṇa vacuum in Mathurā before its occupation by the Guptas is debatable and is intimately related to the whole problem of the date of Kaniṣka I. P. L. Gupta finds it convenient to place at least five, if not more, later Kuṣāṇa kings in the area after Vāsudeva I and before Samudragupta to cover a period of one hundred years. Recent discoveries of hoards of later Kuṣāṇa coins may lend some support to the continued presence of the later Kuṣāṇas in the area. On the other hand we may or may not agree with K. P. Jayaswal, Bela Lahiri and others about the Nāga coins at Mathurā but no doubt the Purāṇic testimony about the Nāga rule at Mathurā not only finds support from the Gupta epigraphs but also from Nāga related activities discovered at Sonkh. Allan also classified some Mathurā coins in the 'uncertain' category and thought that 'they are in any case of much later date.' I feel we have no alternative but to permit a gap of at least a couple of decades between the last of the Kuṣāṇas and the first of the Guptas at Mathurā.

The identity and importance of Mathurā acquired new dimensions in the Kuṣāṇa period because Mathurā became part of a larger body politic. The Kuṣāṇa coins were imperial issues and the devices used on the coins ceased to reflect local traditions of Mathurā. Symbols and motifs of earlier coinages of Mathurā have often been understood as indicative of sectarian preferences. What is now recognized as the figure of Lakṣmī was at one time described as that of Kṛṣṇa on some coins in view of Mathurā's association with the Kṛṣṇa cult. So also P. L. Gupta is tempted to identify the truncated figure supposedly holding a plough and a mace on a punch-marked coin as that of Balarāma. No doubt Lakṣmī in various forms and associations dominates the coin-types of the pre-Kuṣāṇa Mathurā. But what do these figures indicate? Do they point to the religious affiliations of the kings who issued the coins or are they the fairly common examples of numismatic conservatism in the selection of devices for use in coin-types? J. P. Singh's paper concludes that 'the local kings of Mathurā did not use coins to publicize their own religious leanings and beliefs' and that the use of Lakṣmī on Śaka-Pahlava coinage only shows that these foreign ethnics followed a policy of religious tolerance. Numismatic conservatism in continuing the use of a coin-type transcends not only personal and dynastic but also ethno-cultural assocations. One may also add

here that Lakṣmī could be used more as representing royal glory and power or as the goddess of wealth in her own right, or even as Mahāmāyā in association with elephants, than as consort of Viṣṇu and forming integral part of a regular cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

The geographical distribution and sequence of the early local coins of Mathurā have been mostly dependent on record of provenance, continuity of coin-types and the palaeography of coin-legends. These were sought to be double checked by a paper on coin hoards by A. K. Srivastava of the Mathurā Museum and by another on the stratigraphic evidence of coins from excavations by Sunil C. Ray of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Ray's paper has included the results of recent works at Sonkh by Härtel and at Mathurā by the Archaeological Survey of India. But one may note the limitations of his findings because of the non-availability to him of complete data from these excavations. Let us hope that the summary reports on these sites are soon replaced by detailed studies of the material by the excavators.

A. K. Srivastava's paper on the treasure trove finds from Mathurā is an important contribution. The material is derived from the files relating to the treasure troves dealt by the U.P. Coin Committee from 1886 to the present. One cannot help noting that although these files cover a long period of about one hundred years they have yielded only five lots of coins related to Kuṣāṇa and later Kuṣāṇa kings. Four out of these five were found during the last two decades, and one in 1900–01. Except the one found in 1900–01, which consists of only two gold coins, all others consist only of copper. For almost three-fourths of the century not even copper was reported to the Coin-committee. This is, indeed, most disappointing, to say the least, and serves as a strong reminder to the imperative need for a redrafting of the treasure trove laws of India, a subject to which scholars have drawn the attention of the concerned authorities time and again. Anyway, in spite of the quantitative limitations of the material, the contents of the five treasure troves have led Srivastava to make three significant observations: i) that there was a gap of four or seven years between the last dated epigraph in the reign of Huviṣka and the first-known inscription dated in the reign of Vāsudeva and that this gap was occupied by the unsettled politics in the Indo-Gangetic divide keeping Huviṣka busy in conflict with the Yaudheyas and allowing time for Vāsudeva to settle down. Support for this is sought in the 'blundered types' of Huviṣka found in the Tehri Garhwal hoard; ii) that, the Sasanians had direct or indirect political control or influence in the Mathurā region after the decline of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas; and iii) that some of the Later Kuṣāṇa kings were ruling contemporaneously with the Guptas and that their coins were also circulating in the region along with those of the latter. All the three observations made by Srivastava are full of serious implications and they cannot be ignored in any discussion of the chronology and history of the Kuṣāṇas. The coins of the lots used by Srivastava must therefore be studied thoroughly and correlated with other available evidence before conclusions are made.

MacDowall's paper once again not only underscores the significance of coin hoards and their analyses but also the significance of the copper coinage of the Kuṣāṇas. We must realize that but for the punch-marked coins, the rare small silver type of Gomitra and the few Pallas type of Rajuvula's silver, the coinage of Mathurā consisted overwhelmingly of copper. This is also true of the imperial mintings of the Kuṣāṇas. MacDowall's careful study of the Kuṣāṇa copper deserves to be followed up for more than one reason. While I do not see much justification, and hardly any concrete evidence, to accept his 'officinae' theory I agree with him that the late Kuṣāṇa coppers appear more as 'series of coins' and not as 'issues of individual kings.' So also his postulation of the sequence of these issues based on a progressive reduction in the metrology, his notice of significant chronological variations in the pattern of distribution of copper as well as his criticism of Göbl's hypothesis of post-Vāsudeva situation are constructive. By drawing attention to the various local copper coinages derived from the Kuṣāṇas, MacDowall very aptly demands more comprehensive study of these later coinages.

While all these papers have advanced our knowledge and updated it, much remains to be done and for that it is necessary that a comprehensive corpus of Mathurā coinage and a complete recording of all coin-finds are made. A large scale horizontal digging of the relevant sites along with reporting is another obligation which must not be further postponed.

13. Treasure Trove Finds from Mathurā

A. K. SRIVASTAVA

Any gold or silver in coin or plate or bullion when found concealed in a house or in the earth or other private place the owner thereof being unknown is named a Treasure Trove. A treasure trove not only reveals economic fluctuations but at times political and military events as well. Hoards also throw welcome light on the local history of the place of their discovery. The recorded finds from Mathurā, as revealed from the reports of the U.P. Coin Committee are no exception to this. We find in them the data for reconstructing, for the early centuries of the Christian era, the political and economic fluctuations in the Mathurā region; this was a period when the area ranked as one of the important towns of the Kuṣāṇa emperors. Several issues relating to the Kuṣāṇa history, as for example, the number of kings named Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva, the later Kuṣāṇa kings (their chronology and extent of control and the Sasanian control on the region) still need careful scrutiny. The information coming out from the finds described below is of high value on these debatable points.

THE MATERIAL

Lot No. 1.
Gold–2.
Find place – Mathurā District,

Kadphises, Candragupta I.
Disposition: Lucknow Museum.
Treasure Trove Report No. 17, 1900–01.

Lot No. 2.
Copper–2175.
Find Place – Bhūteśwar, Mathurā.

Vima Kadphises 208 (King standing at altar and Śiva Nandi); Kaniṣka 1426 (King standing at altar and deity Oado 287, Oesho 19, Mirro 53, Nanā 70, Athsho 79, Māo 47, Boddo 4, illegible 686); Huviṣka 451, (Elephant rider and deities 217, Nanā 2, Māo 20, Mirro 16, Athsho 27, Oesho 18, double struck 1, illegible 133), Seated cross-legged and deities 92 (Māo 8, Mirro 6, Athsho 11, Oesho 10, Nanā 4, illegible 53), Reclining on a couch and deities 142 (Māo 11, Athsho 24, Oesho 14, Nanā 5, illegible 88).
Disposition: Lucknow 52, Madras 34, Bombay 20, Nagpur 19, Bangalore 34, Trivandrum 15, Tricur 13, Gauhati 7, Bhuvaneswar 22, Allahabad Museum 11, Allahabad University 14, Banaras University 17, Rajkot 16, Poona 16, Ashutosh Museum Calcutta 16, sale 1860.

Treasure Trove Report No. 3 of 1966–67. D. C. Sircar, Presidential Address Agra Session, December 1956; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, p. 232; C. S. Srivastava, 'Kuṣaṇa Hoards of Treasure Trove Coins from Uttar Pradesh,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*, Lucknow 1969, No. 3, pp. 58–61.

Salient Features:

1. The hoard reveals rare coins of Kaniṣka with Boddo on reverse and those of Huviṣka revealing freak of elephant rider type and king seated cross-legged/ reclining on a couch with Nanā on the reverse.

2. The depositor of the lot did not survive after the period of Huviṣka.
3. The deposit itself appears to be a family saving and is the result of patient collecting over a long period.
4. The number of deities represented in each type in the lot reflects the consciousness that the family had for the Kuṣāṇa types.
5. All coins are of standard Imperial Kuṣāṇa copper money.

Lot No. 3.
Copper–1221.
Find place – Māṭha, Mathurā.

Vima Kadphises 254; Kaniṣka 227 (King at altar and deity Mirro 65, Māo 45, Oado 220, Athsho 57, Nanā 72, Okpo 121, Helios 1, Boddo 1, Pharro 1, Athsho with obverse double struck 1, illegible 333); Huviṣka 40 (Elephant rider 20, Māo 7, Athsho 4, Oesho 2, Nanā 1, illegible 4), Seated on a couch 13 (Athsho 11, Oksho 2), Seated cross-legged 7 (Athsho 5, Nanā 1, Māo 1).
Disposition: Lucknow 4, Mathurā 12, Varanasi 11, Jalaun 11, Hardwar 6, Gorakhpur 11, Banda 8, Aligarh 8, Allahabad 20, Gorakhpur University 7, Numismatic Society of India 25, Sale 776, returned 322.

Treasure Trove Report No. 6 of 1978–79

Salient Features:

1. The lot appears to be contemporaneous with the preceding one (No. 2).
2. The contents of the two lots reveal close similarity in the nature and consciousness of the depositors.
3. All coins confirm to the find of Imperial copper Kuṣāṇa money.

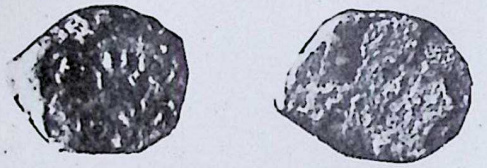
Lot No. 4.
Copper–593.
Find place – Mathurā.

Standing king and Śiva with bull 515 (King wearing peaked headdress 1, King holds a circular object attached with a rod transversely 2, Double trident 18, king having a crescent halo 36, king's face with pointed nose 38, king wearing loose tunic 15); king wearing tight tunic 184 (with straight hem 128, hem curved in the middle 3, curved hem with small pointed ends 2, long tunic tight at waist with straight hem 51); king wearing long coat with slanting flaps 64; double struck 2; worn out 118; King at altar and Ardokhsho 78 (Seated deity 75), double trident 6, crescent halo of the king 15, king wearing loose kurtā 4, tight kurtā with straight hem 13, long kurtā tight at waist 15, worn out 22; Ardokhsho standing 3 (Deity standing on a lotus seat holding something rising over l. shoulder 2, worn out 1).
Disposition: Lucknow Museum 593.

Salient Features:

1. Two coins reveal three-arched hill symbol over the hump of bull—a symbol usually found on uninscribed cast coins. The appearance of the symbol is unusual and its significance is yet to be understood.
2. On the obverse (i.e. standing king side) Brāhmī letters *tha, chhu, Bu, Na, Va, Sva, mu, ru, da, sa, ai*, auspicious symbol (*Swastika*); Monogram or composite letters appear under the upraised l. hand. In one, Brāhmī letter '*tha*' is noticeable while on two coins letter '*Ga*' appears in between the altar and the r. leg. Only in a solitary example, near the king's head on the l. some letters are discernible.
3. Quite a large number of coins of thin fabric appear. Most of them were struck with the dye when the metal had not sufficiently hardened. Naturally one side gives the impression of being sunken in. The maximum diameter of a coin appearing in the lot is 24 millimeters while the majority of them are in between 16 millimeters to 19 millimeters.
4. Coins showing 'Ardokhsho reverse' form only one sixth part of the hoard and surprisingly do not show any Brāhmī letters as described before. Majority of them reveal the deity seated, but in a solitary instance the deity is standing on the ground and holding some object raised above her l. shoulder. In yet another she appears over a lotus seat, a phenomenon common with the Guptas. Scarcity of the type may point to its non-prevalence in the area of the depositor.
5. Coins bearing a common Brāhmī letter under the arm exhibit varieties in the dress of the wearer. Whether this variation implies that the issuer had ruled under more than one king or that these are the varieties of one and the same ruler is difficult to say.
6. A good number of coins show king's face having flat nose resembling very much to the Parthians or Arsacid bust. Where these coins should be placed in the chronology is a debatable issue. Smaller series available in the Govindnagar find may hint at a time gap when people had forgotten the use of Imperial coins totally and had not seen the smaller type.
7. Absence of Imperial Kuṣāṇa copper coinage is worth notice.

Lot No. 5.
Copper–1541.
Find place – Govindnagar, Mathurā.



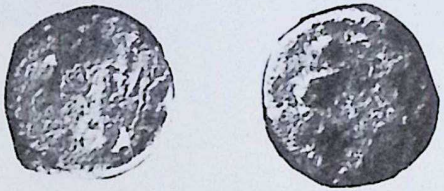
1

Pl. 13.I.1 Kṣatrapa: Coins from Govindnagar Hoard.

2

Pl. 13.I.2–4 Imitations of Kuṣāṇa types.

3

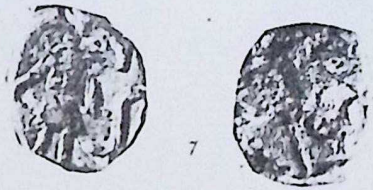


4

5

Pl. 13.I.5 Vāsudeva.

6



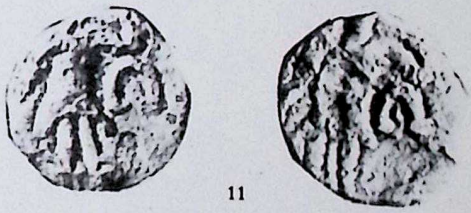
7

8

Pl. 13.I.6–13.II.12 Later Kuṣāṇa showing Brāhmī letters under the arm.

9

10

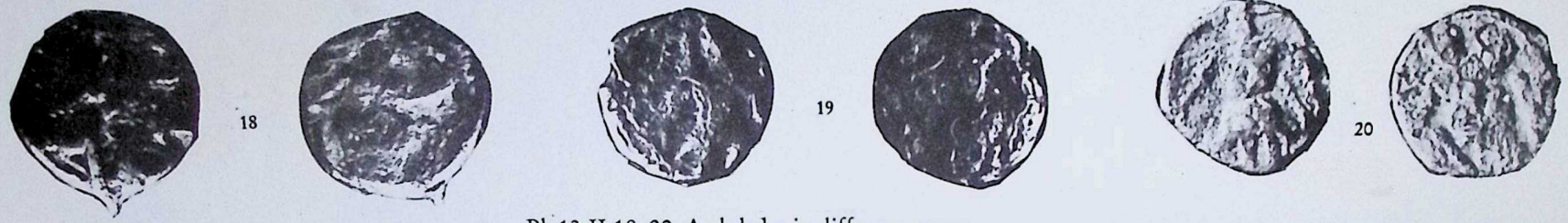


11

Pl. 13.I Coins from Govindnagar Hoard.

Pl. 13.II.13 Three lined type of Siva Nandin Group.

Pl. 13.II.14–17 Kuṣāṇo-Sasanian types.



Pl. 13.II.18–20 Ardoksho in different poses.

Pl. 13.II Coins from Govindnagar Hoard.

Kṣatrapa coin 1, Rajuvula (?) 1 (Lion and Herakles); Rude copy of Huviṣka 2 (King reclining on a couch); Vāsudeva 2 (standing king and Śiva with bull; seated with both hands raised); Late Kuṣāṇa—King at altar and Śiva with bull 738 (double trident 1, tunic with straight hem 16, hem curved in the middle 4, flaps going slantingly 540, very much degenerated and showing Śiva with bull by three lines 168); king at altar and Ardokhsho 26 (Tunic with straight hem 14, curved hem 11, deity on a lotus seat 1); Kuṣāṇa-Sasanian 402 (Bust of king and altar—Bivar's type No. 30(i) (A. D. Bivar, 'The Kushano-Sasanian Coin Series', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII [1956] pl. IV Nos. 32–38) as before but Bivar's No. 36 (71), as before but Bivar's No. 37 (10), as before Bivar's No. 33 (41), as before but Bivar's No. 35 (46), as before but Bivar's No. 31a (1), worn out 232; king at altar and seated figure (Hūṇa ?) 1, Kidāra Kuṣāṇa (?) 2, illegible 366. (Pls. 13.I; II).

Disposition: Mathura Museum 1541.

Mathura Museum No. 76.245.

Salient Features:

1. In contrast to the hoard described above as lot No. 4 the coins showing Śiva with bull on the reverse bear no inscriptions under the arm.
2. Inscriptions under the arm appear on the coins bearing Ardokhsho reverse and we notice *chhu, jhu, śa, ṣa, vai* and *ga* letters in the lot. Kuṣāṇa symbol is noticeable on two coins: in one on the obverse, while in the other on the reverse in the right field.
3. The hoard for the first time reveals coins of Śakas and Kṣatrapas together with different Kuṣāṇa series. The presence of Kuṣāṇo-Sasanian group of coins in sufficient number will make one rethink about the date of Kaniṣka as the lot does not reveal any coin of the Imperial Copper Series. It will also be pertinent to note that the available Sasanian types resemble those of Ardashīr, Shāpur II and Kobāro.
4. All coins are of smaller size and majority of them reveal impression on sunked die on one side.

DISCUSSION

The material described above forms part of the material found in the files relating to Treasure Trove dealt by the U.P. Coin Committee from the year 1886 till date. As seen above, the following points deserve special treatment:

Mathurā played an important role during the Kuṣāṇa times. Besides being a religious center of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist faiths, it witnessed brisk art activity and we have numerous dated and undated sculptures and inscriptions of this age from this district. Coin finds, though not many, also confirm the presence of a rich society here since gold as well as copper currency of the Kuṣāṇas is present in sufficient quantity. Out of the five finds, three relate to the coins of the Imperial Kuṣāṇa kings and this raises the first point for consideration. All the three finds reveal coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka only, and there is not a single piece showing Vāsudeva or any other later Kuṣāṇa king. A span of four or seven years exists in between the last dated inscription of Huviṣka and in the first known inscription of Vāsudeva according to the present state of our knowledge. May we presume that the owners of these lots died during this time gap when Vāsudeva was to settle down and Huviṣka was busy in some sort of conflict with the Yaudheyas? The reminiscences of this gap appear in the blundered types of Huviṣka and in a lot of forty five gold coins found from Tehri Garhwal in U.P. This later lot presents Huviṣka's coins revealing cock and lion standard and mistakes in Greek legends revealing the names of the deities. Whether any gap actually existed is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge, but the epigraphic evidence coupled with the present numismatic evidence may hint at such a possibility.

The second point is the problem of the Sasanian hold, in depth and extent, over Northwest India. After the death of Vāsudeva I, his successors could not hold the Kuṣāṇa empire intact and it disintegrated into small principalities. The Shāpur I inscription at Kaaba-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-i-Rustam mentions the extension of Shāpur's empire into a major part of the Kuṣāṇa empire. Excavations at Begram show that the city was sacked by the Sasanian king in the period between A.D. 241 and 250. Ardashīr I according to Dr. B. Chattopadhyay (*The Age of the Kushāṇas*, Calcutta 1967, p. 108) was the first Sasanian emperor to have established his supremacy over Bactria and to have received messengers from the king of the Kuṣāṇas. He followed the practice of appointing crown princes as governors in the conquered provinces. Such governors were allowed to issue coins in their names. The new conqueror of a particular territory imitated the currency which had been previously in use there under settled conditions, and accordingly we find Sasanian conquerors of Bactria and India issuing coinage showing standing king and Śiva with bull, the type being a copy of the prevalent Kuṣāṇa type. Prof. K. D. Bajpai feels, on the other hand, that the Kuṣāṇa chiefs ruling over the Northwest after suffering defeat from the Sasanian invaders had no option but to acknowledge the Sasanian over-lordship after which their kingdoms were returned

to them, to rule and to issue coinage with certain modifications. The coins of the Later Kuṣāṇa chiefs show Sasanian influence in the dress of the king and in the fabric of the coins. Perhaps, these were the earliest coins that can be cited showing the beginnings of the Sasanian influence over the Kuṣāṇa land. Subsequently Sasanian rulers introduced their own type i.e. 'bust of King and Fire Altar' for these areas as well. Quite a good number of coins of this type are reported from Seistān, Kabul Valley and Punjab area. But with the discovery of the two hoards in question we will have to rethink the limits of this influence. The Govindnagar find preserves 738 coins showing Śiva Nandi type. Out of these 168 present three lines as rude outline of Śiva and Bull. This latter group according to Mr. John Deyell is known to have been in circulation in the Bharatpur Rajasthan area as well. Following them are 402 coins in the lot bearing 'bust of King and Fire Altar'. These coins resemble the silver coins of the same type and have been grouped under type I of the Kuṣāṇo Sasanian series by A. D. Bivar in 'The Kuṣāṇo Sasanian coin series' published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII (1956), 13 ff. One hundred seventy legible specimens among the lot have further been subdivided on the basis of variations in the headgear worn by these kings. Out of these, one group reveals the inscription 'Kobad'. This ruler is accepted by Bivar as a subordinate to the Sasanian king Hormizd. His coins retain the bust of his Sasanian over-lord along with his own name and thus present the practice adopted by Ardashīr I. Single specimen revealing 'Standing king and seated deity Mirro' and 'King wearing peaked crown and cursive Pahlavic inscription' suggest the presence of Shāpur's and Ardashīr's coinage in these lots. As it is normally held that copper coins do not travel beyond the area of their circulation, the presence of Sasanian coins at Mathurā in these lots calls for some explanation. Particularly the worn out specimens numbering 232 of 'bust of King and Altar type' will strengthen the presumption of their being in circulation unless one is going to suggest that the depositor carried his treasure along with him from his home town (i.e. the Kabul Valley). This latter presumption cannot be supported because of the presence of 168 coins revealing merely the outline of Śiva Nandi type, as well as of a solitary Hūṇa coin, in the lot. In fact, the presence of different sub-types of Sasanian kings together with those of the later Kuṣāṇa kings having Brāhmī letters under the arm and showing Sasanian features seem to imply political control of the Sasanian rulers over the area; this gradually forced the masses to forget the real Śiva and bull type. The picture that emerges from these finds can be enumerated as follows:

The solitary coin of Vāsudeva in the Govindnagar find revealing standing king and Śiva Nandi with OESHO in Greek reminds one of the last days of the later Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva. The Kuṣāṇa symbol is prominently preserved on the obverse. Then began the disintegration of the empire, and the rulers owing allegiance to the Sasanian governors ruling in the Kabul Valley possibly began to rule in this region. The phase shows the coins of the Kuṣāṇa chiefs having Brāhmī letters *chhu*, *Thu*, *sa*, *ṣa*, *vai* and *ga* under the arm and Ardokhsho reverse with thin fabric and a Sasanian face. These number only 26 in the Govindnagar find which suggests that soon these were replaced by another set of Kuṣāṇa chiefs using 'standing King and Śiva Nandi' type with Brāhmī letters whose 514 coins figure in the Mathurā find of 593 coins. These coins reveal letters readable as *tha*, *chhu*, *bu*, *na*, *va*, *mu*, *ru*, *da*, *sa*, *au* etc. Some names, it would appear, are common in both and prove that they held control at both the places. Once this confusion was over and clear-cut Sasanian control was established, 'bust of King and Altar type' was promulgated for circulation. Then comes perhaps another time gap in the Kuṣāṇa rule in Mathurā when people, having forgotten the original Kuṣāṇa type started using rude outlines of Śiva and bull type; 168 coins of this type are available in the Govindnagar find. Thus the Sasanian influence that appears from these two finds is not of a casual nature but preserves the different stages through which it had undergone. By way of supplementary evidence I may add that Kuṣāṇo Sasanian coins in gold have been found from Jaunpur and Meerut districts, showing the Śiva Nandi type only. We may roughly place the coins described above between 240 A.D to 5th and 6th century A.D., a period which is also more or less substantiated by the dated sculptures found from Govindnagar. My senior colleague Sri R. C. Sharma, Director Mathura Museum now Director State Museum Lucknow U.P. informs me that the earliest dated sculptures belong to 12th year of Kaniṣka and the latest go to Gupta Era 121 from the Govindnagar find. Terracottas having Persian and Sasanian ethnic features also support the idea that Sasanian people did come to Mathurā. The potters did not miss this opportunity and have successfully copied their features in their toys. (V. S. Agrawala, *Bhartiya Kalā*, 1977, p. 328.) The scheme of events proposed above goes against the accepted view that Mathurā continued to be ruled by the Imperial Kuṣāṇas during the 3rd cent. A.D. under whom brisk art activity was going on; the evidence cited above tends to show control of the Sasanians over

this area. Of course, the nature of control i.e. by a Sasanian Governor or by Kuṣāṇa Chief under the Sasanian King is not very explicit. This evidence has again to be corroborated by evidences from excavations and other sources which are yet to be discovered and therefore in the present state of our knowledge it will suffice to say that a new line of thinking has appeared for consideration. Whether it is to be accepted or rejected, only time will tell.

The problem of Later Kuṣāṇas is another interesting problem upon which these finds present some new material for consideration. First, it is interesting to note that in both finds, letters under the arm appear in one series only i.e. either in Śiva Nandi reverse in the Mathurā find, or in Ardokhsho reverse in the Govindnagar find. Second, Ardokhsho reverse are quite small in number vis-à-vis the total number of coins in each lot. Though lesser in number, these reveal varieties in the depiction of deity Ardokhsho. Of particular interest are the types showing Ardokhsho portrayed as Lakṣmī as shown on Gupta coins. In one, the goddess is seen seated and lotuses appear in lower field while in the other the deity stands on the lotus itself. Since the type is recognized on 4th century Gupta coins, the above mentioned Kuṣāṇa type becomes contemporaneous. This is not altogether an impossibility as the Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to '*Daivaputra Śāhī Śāhā nuśā hāi Śaka Muraṇḍai*' with whom Samudragupta had diplomatic ties. The Kuṣāṇa chiefs of the Gadahara tribe actually record Samudra on one of the coin types and letters '*ga*' and '*vai*' on the coin finds from Govindnagar paleographically are of the same period. Such coins have not to my knowledge been published.

Lastly the fact, that the Govindnagar find has coins starting from 1st century B.C. to 5th/6th centuries A.D. in itself is of unusual interest. It shows the awareness that the depositor had for the coins. Thus we today have the coins of a period of which not much is known. In the B.C. group, I include the coin bearing '*Khatapasa*' inscription and a type showing Lion and Herakles (?) motif while the Kuṣāṇa type Hūṇa coin is to be grouped for 5th/6th centuries A.D. Again the absence of any Imperial group of coinage in these lots is somewhat astonishing. This can only suggest that the depositor's family had no connection with the area ruled by this set of kings.

14. Early Coins of Mathura Region

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

The inquiry into the coinage of Mathurā region begins with the silver punch-marked coins. Durga Prasad had made mention of thirteen thin broad pieces, of round or elliptical shape, bearing four symbols with an average weight of forty-two grains, deposited in the Lucknow Museum. Since there was no record of their provenance, he thought that they were, most probably, obtained from Western U.P.[1] But, he himself obtained twenty-five coins of similar type from Mathurā.[2] He considered these coins as confirmation that all are to be attributed to Śūrasena *janapada*,[3] the ancient name of the Mathurā region. My investigations later revealed that these coins were actually part of a hoard of about 500 coins that were discovered at Sahet-Mahet (ancient Śrāvastī). A part of this hoard was obtained by a Mathurā dealer;[4] from him the coins were acquired by the Lucknow Museum and Durga Prasad. As such, his attribution was based on a wrong impression. A close scrutiny of the symbols on these coins also disclosed that they were related to the older obverse type coins, known from the Pailā hoard,[5] and belonging to Kosala *janapada*. Thus these coins do not relate to Śūraseṇa *janapada* or the Mathurā region.

Some coins of an entirely different fabric, weight and symbols are published by Allan in his *Catalogue of the British Museum* and attributed to North India.[6] They had come to the British Museum from the collections of Cunningham and Whitehead.[7] One of Cunningham's specimens had come from Mathurā. Coins of this type (Fig. 14.1) were found in a hoard, many years ago, at Sonkh, quite near the base of the mound that has now been excavated by the German Archaeological Expedition under the leadership of H. Härtel. The entire hoard soon disappeared; a few coins of this hoard somehow reached the hands of B. D. Seth, who was then the District Officer at Mathurā. By chance I saw these coins. Not long after that, a small lot of twelve coins of this type was acquired by the Mathurā Museum.[8] The man who sold these coins to the Museum did not disclose the exact findspot of the coins but mentioned that they were found within the District of Mathurā. I suspect that these coins belong to this very Sonkh hoard. I am thus inclined to attribute these coins as the issues of Śurasena *janapada*. In my opinion, they testify to the existence of an independent state at Mathurā, before the rise of the Magadha empire under the Nandas.[9]

So far we have no official record of the finds of the silver punch-marked coins of the Nanda-Mauryan Imperial period from Mathurā and its vicinity. But both Mathurā and Lucknow Museums have several lots of this coinage obtained from Mathurā residents or dealers; they might be intact hoards. We cannot be sure that all of them are the finds of the Mathurā region, but I have no doubt that some of them originated from there. The silver punch-marked coins of this series, discovered all over the country, are almost uniform in their contents insofar as their varieties are concerned. The difference lies only in the quantity of the different varieties in different hoards. Thus whatever is said on the basis of these coins for any part of the country, would be equally true for Mathurā region.

These punch-marked coins uniformly bear five bold symbols on the obverse and are considered to conform to the thirty-two *rattīs* weight-standard. Their fresh specimens weigh in the proximity of fifty-six grains.

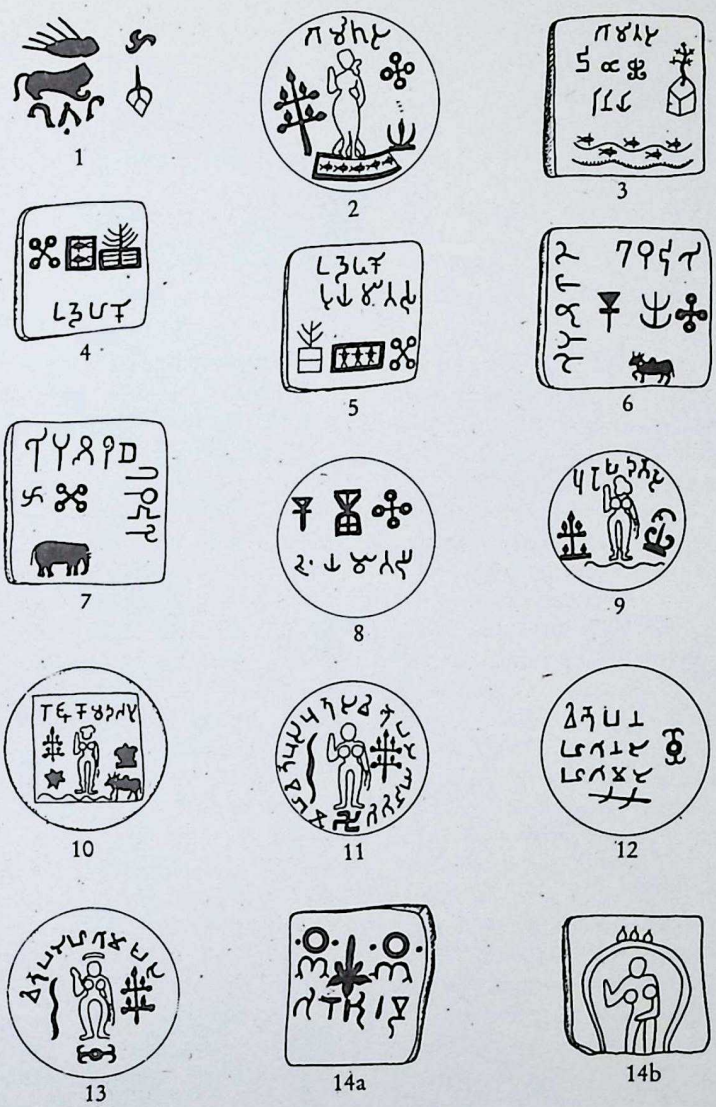
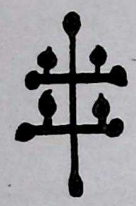


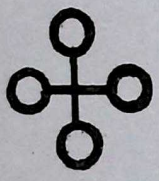
Fig. 14.1; no. 1 Local punch-marked coin of Śūrasena *janapada*.
Fig. 14.1; no. 2 Coin of Gomitra.
Fig. 14.1; no. 3 Coin of Gomitra of Rāṇā.
Fig. 14.1; no. 4 Coin of Udehika.
Fig. 14.1; no. 5 Coin of Sūryamitra of Udehika.
Fig. 14.1; no. 6 Coin of Sūryamitra of Sudavāpa.
Fig. 14.1; no. 7 Coin of Dhruvamitra of Sudavāpa.
Fig. 14.1; no. 8 Coin of Sūryamitra.
Fig. 14.1; no. 9 Coin of Puruṣadatta.
Fig. 14.1; no. 10 Coin of Kāmadatta.
Fig. 14.1; no. 11 Coin of Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.
Fig. 14.1; no. 12 Coin of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa.
Fig. 14.1; no. 13 Coin of Kṣatrapa Hagāmaṣa.
Fig. 14.1; no. 14a and b Coin of Vīrasena (Obverse and reverse)



1

2

3

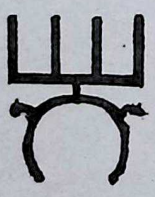


4

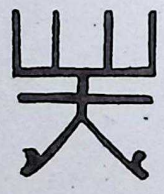
5

6

7



8



9

Fig. 14.2 Symbols.

On the basis of the group of five symbols, I have been able to distinguish no less than six hundred varieties; yet they are not exhaustive. The varieties, based on the group of five symbols are classified into a number of groups and classes, and, on their basis, these coins may be chronologically divided into three distinct, broadly defined periods.

The earliest in the chronological sequence are the varieties that are known only in a few hoards known only in Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh; they are not much publicized. If these coins are ever found in any hoard outside the said area, their number is negligible and they appear much worn. They are assigned to the pre-Nanda period, when Magadha was confined to its own region or when it was extended a little towards Kāśī and Kosala. Among the coins I saw, I had hardly found any coin of this period in the lots or hoards, ascribed to Mathurā region. Evidently, these coins were never current in this area, and we may conveniently say that this region was in no way, politically or economically, influenced by Magadha during this period. Most likely, local punch-marked coins of the type mentioned above were then current here.

The silver coins of the subsequent two periods—pre-Mauryan and Mauryan—are found together in most of the hoards, as also in the hoards or lots ascribed to Mathurā. Since the meaning of the symbols punched on these coins still remains a puzzle in Indian numismatics, we may only say that the Mathurā region probably formed a part of the Magadha empire from the time of the Nandas or a little later. But we cannot say exactly when it was included in that empire and what was its status within the empire.

However, two symbols of the punch-marked coins appear to me closely related to the Mathurā region. One of them is the tree type symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 1); it is seen as the fifth mark on a number of varieties of the pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins.[10] The same symbol is also seen on a series of monarchical coins of Mathurā of a later period.[11] Since this symbol is seen only in these two series of coins, the natural inference would be that the two series are interrelated by this symbol, and that the symbol meant one and the same thing on both series. As this symbol on the later monarchical coins appears to signify the state or the mint-town, which in both cases was Mathurā, it may be assumed that on the punch-marked coins, too, this symbol meant the same thing. Thus this symbol may be called 'the Mathurā symbol.'

This assumption finds further support from a later variety of punch-marked coins (Pl. 14.I.1), which attracted my attention while I was examining the Mathurā Museum coins for this paper.[12] On this variety of the punch-marked coins, there is, along with the above-mentioned symbol, another symbol—a standing human figure holding a plough in his left hand and a long stick (maybe a *musala*) in the right hand (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 2). The two attributes in the hands of the human figure in this symbol are very similar to those seen on the *drachmae* of the Indo-Bactrian ruler Agathocles, discovered in the excavations at Ai-Khanum in the Oxus Valley (Pl. 14.I; no. 2). One side of these *drachmae* bears the figure of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) holding *cakra* (Pl. 14:I; no. 2, reverse); the other side shows the figure holding plough (Pl. 14.I; no. 2, obverse). The plough is the well known attribute of Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma) in Indian iconography. If the identification of the figure on the punch-marked coin is admitted as Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma), this would be his earliest anthropomorphic representation. The association of Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma) with Mathurā is well known. He was a hero of the Vṛṣṇi clan, and his effigy on the punch-marked coin has replaced the symbol, which is generally identified as the insignia of the Mauryas. This suggests that it is a post-Mauryan issue, and it might have been issued by the Vṛṣṇis,[13] at the fall of the Mauryan empire. Here the figure of Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma) is perhaps meant to represent the Vṛṣṇis. As such the third symbol on the punch-marked coins may be taken as the symbol of the ruling dynasty or people and the fifth symbol as the mint or the capital town of the state. If this assumption is established, it might lead to the key to unravelling the mystery of the symbols on the punch-marked coins.

Silver punch-marked coins ceased to be minted, in my opinion, in *circa* 200–175 B.C.[14] But the cessation of the minting did not stop their circulation at least till the first–second century A.D.[15] The excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Expedition at Sonkh, some eight miles south of Govardhan in Mathurā District, during the years 1966–1974, lead us to believe that these coins ceased to be circulated in the Mathurā region in the latter half of the second century B.C.[16] (i.e., within a few decades of the cessation of their minting). But other available evidence shows that the punch-marked coins did circulate at Mathurā much later than the date arrived at by the excavators.

The term *purāṇa*, found mentioned in the Puṇyaśālā inscription,[17] indicates that the punch-marked coins were current as late as the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka. Again, in an excavation, carried out in 1917 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna at Kaṭrā Kesavadeva, in the heart of the city of Mathurā, several terracotta coin-moulds, meant to cast punch-marked

coins, were found.[18] They are now deposited in the Mathurā Museum.[19] Whether these moulds were meant for genuine use or for fraudulent purposes, they undoubtedly indicate that the punch-marked coins were both in currency and demand. Unfortunately, we have no records of the excavation to know the stratum in which these moulds were found nor do we know their associated finds which could help to determine the period. Nevertheless, on the evidence of similar moulds, found at other sites,[20] it may well be said that Mathurā moulds belong at least to the first–second century A.D., if not to a later date.

The aforesaid Sonkh excavations brought out silver punch-marked coins together with uninscribed cast coins in levels 34–33 and with copper punch-marked coins in levels 32–31, where the cast coins were conspicuously absent. In these levels, the copper punch-marked coins were found, stray as well as in a hoard of forty-two coins kept in an earthen bowl.[21] Prima facie, this excavated material would indicate, as our archaeologists generally interpret, that the copper punch-marked coins were later in date than the uninscribed cast coins, and the cast coins had a very short life. But these conclusions seem untenable to me.

Most likely, the silver and the copper punch-marked coins as well as the cast copper coins, were concurrently in use at Mathurā, even though they might not have originated simultaneously. Cast copper coins have not yet been properly studied either at Mathurā or elsewhere; it is out of place to discuss them here. They may or may not be local issues of Mathurā.

The copper punch-marked coins, though not as profuse as the silver ones, are found widely scattered in what once formed the Mauryan empire. But unlike the Mauryan silver punch-marked coins, these copper punch-marked coins, known from different centers, have little in common in their fabric, metrology and symbolism. They are local in their nature and are suggestive of being the issues of independent local states.[22]

The copper punch-marked coins of the type found in Sonkh excavations were known earlier in the collections of the Patna and Mathurā Museums and were collected from Mathurā. These coins are cut from long flat bars, weighing between 4.1727 grammes (64.4 grains) to 6.8674 grammes (106 grains); they may be classified into two classes depending on whether they bear one or two symbols.[23] These coins are unknown outside the Mathurā region; they are the local issues of that region, issued at a period after the Magadha empire had crumbled into small principalities. Thus these copper punch-marked coins explode the long-standing belief that the Śuṅgas had occupied the entire Mauryan empire after the *coup d'état* of Puṣyamitra. If the Śuṅgas had ever issued coins, they should not be silver punch-marked coins, as their production had ceased about the time of the Bactrian invasion of India. The *coup d'état* of Puṣyamitra had taken place after that.[24] Śuṅga issues might exist only among the copper punch-marked coins; but surely being local in nature, only those punch-marked copper coins may be identified as the issues of Puṣyamitra and his successors that are found exclusively in Magadha or Vidiśā.

The copper punch-marked coins of Mathurā constitute a very small series of only six or seven varieties. They may not have been issued by more than one or two rulers, and only a period of about twenty-five years may be suggested for them. Taking into account all the considerations, they may be placed in the first half of the second century B.C., some time between 180 and 160 B.C. or latest in 150 B.C.

These copper punch-marked coins were succeeded by a series of die-struck inscribed coins in the Mathurā region. They are singularly uniform in their fabric and execution, and they uniformly bear on the obverse a standing female figure with the right hand uplifted and the left hand hanging down (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 3). The coins are so typical in their nature that they are well understood by the name of 'Mathurā coins.' No less than nineteen names of the rulers are identified on these coins.

The coins of all the rulers have a common symbol (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 1), placed either on the left or the right of the standing female figure (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 3). This symbol is not seen anywhere else in the contemporary series of coins. Thus it appears to have some significance of its own. Not unlikely, as said above, it might be the sign of the state, or the geographic territory, or the mint of Mathurā. Besides this 'Mathurā symbol,' the coins have two or three other symbols, which isolate these coins into four distinct groups, related to four successive periods connected without any break.

The earliest group of these coins have the 'Mathurā symbol' on the left of the female figure and have two other symbols on her right and a third symbol below her feet (Fig. 14.1; no. 2). The upper right symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4) is exclusive to this group of coins. This obverse representation is seen uniformly on the coins of five rulers[25]: Gomitra,[26] Sūryamitra,[27] Brahmamitra,[28] Dṛdhamitra[29] and Viṣṇumitra.[30] The coins of four of these rulers have been found in the levels 28–26 of the Sonkh excavations, just above the level yielding copper punch-marked coins and so the chronological sequence of these rulers is clear from the evidence of the excavations. Gomitra is the earliest;

Sūryamitra followed him; then came Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra. No coin of Dṛdhamitra was found in the excavations but this does not deny his existence. It is only that his coins were not left where the archaeologists did their diggings.

The coins of Gomitra are both square and round. Allan takes the square coins as an evidence of an early date for Gomitra. In his opinion, it also indicates Gomitra's connection with another type of coin that has four symbols in the center and the legend *Gomitasa* above and *Rāṇāye* below (Fig. 14.1; no. 3). The legend *Gomitasa Rāṇāye* can only be explained satisfactorily to mean 'The coin of Gomitra of Rāṇā.'[31] I am tempted to identify *Rāṇā* with Rāyā, a place not very far from Mathurā. Quite likely, Gomitra was initially a ruler of a small principality in close vicinity to Mathurā; later he shifted his power to Mathurā.

From the ancient mound at Rairh (a small village in former Jaipur state, perhaps it now forms part of Sawai Madhopur district in Rajasthan), copper coins bearing the names of Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra were found in 1931.[32] The solitary coin of Brahmamitra found there was the same as is known from Mathurā.[33] Its association with the coins of the other two Mitras may indicate that these rulers were related to Mathurā; the name Sūryamitra, which is found on the coins of both places, adds weight to it.

The coins of Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra, found at Rairh, however, are quite distinct from those that are known from Mathurā. These coins form a series of their own along with two coins of unknown provenance in the British Museum. This series begins with the coins bearing the name *Udehikī* having three symbols at the top (Fig. 14.1; no. 4). The name Udehika may well be identified with Uddehika, Audehika or Auddehika, mentioned by Varāhamihira and located in Madhyadeśa.[34] It may also be said that these coins were issued by people or at the place called Udehika. Quite similar are the coins of Sūryamitra; they have the legend *Udehikī Sūyamitasa*, which means Sūryamitra of Udehika (Fig. 14.1; no. 5). Next we have another type of coin with the legend *Sudavāpa Sūyamitasa* (Fig. 14.1; no. 6) and *Sudavāpa Dhuvamitasa* (Fig. 14.1; no. 7). These two coins are very close to each other in their devices and show that Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra were the rulers of the place or principality called Sudavāpa. All the coins of this series are undoubtedly the issues of two places, Udehika and Sudavāpa. However, these coins seem to be closely connected with Mathurā as they share a common symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4), which may be the dynastic symbol of Mathurā Mitra rulers.

It may be proposed that at the very beginning of the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, small principalities had sprung up at different places and issued their coins. Coins bearing the names Kauśāmbī,[35] Vārānasī,[36] Māhiṣmatī,[37] Vidiśā,[38] Tripurī,[39] Ujjayinī,[40] Erakiṇa[41] and Tagara[42] suggest this. Coins which show the name of the locality are not confined to renowned places but were also issued from less well known places like Bhagilā and Kurarā in Madhya Pradesh.[43] In the same category of lesser known localities are the place-names Rāṇā, Udehika, Sudavāpa and also Upātika.[44] Most likely, all these places were situated in the vicinity of Mathurā; later these places developed into a well-knit unit—the kingdom of Mathurā.

The Mitra kingdom of Mathurā seems to have extended its power into south Pancāla, as is suggested by another series of coins that have three symbols arranged in a row and the name below them (Fig. 14.1; no. 8). They have the names Gomitra,[45] Sūryamitra[46] and Brahmamitra.[47] All these names are known in the Mathurā coin-series. The provenance of Gomitra coin in the Indian Museum is not known but its square incuse is very close to the incuse seen on the coins of Pañcāla (Ahicchatrā). This incuse is absent on the coins of the other two rulers. This probably indicates that the idea of the square die was borrowed from Pañcāla (Ahicchatrā) coinage and was later abandoned. It also indicates that Gomitra was the earliest of the three kings mentioned above.

The provenance of the coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra not being known, Allan attributed them to Kanauj on the basis of a third coin found there.[48] This coin appears similar to coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra in the fabric and execution. But this third coin, bearing the name *Viṣṇudeva*, is actually quite different in its obverse symbols and reverse motif.[49] The only connecting link between it and the Mitra coins is the obverse tree-in-railing symbol. On the other hand, apart from the common-mitra ending, these coins are also linked with the Mathurā coins by their common symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4) which seems to be the dynastic mark on the Mathurā coins. It is quite likely that the Mitra rulers who issued these coins were the same as those of Mathurā. They had expanded their kingdom in South Pañcāla (i.e., Kanauj area) where Viṣṇudeva perhaps established his own authority after Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra.

Before moving further, it seems necessary to mention that the Mitra-ending names are found among all the four major contemporary states—Mathurā, Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. Some historians believe that all these rulers were the Śuṅgas, the successors of Puṣyamitra and that they issued local coins for the different parts of their kingdom. The fact, however, is

coins, were found.[18] They are now deposited in the Mathurā Museum.[19] Whether these moulds were meant for genuine use or for fraudulent purposes, they undoubtedly indicate that the punch-marked coins were both in currency and demand. Unfortunately, we have no records of the excavation to know the stratum in which these moulds were found nor do we know their associated finds which could help to determine the period. Nevertheless, on the evidence of similar moulds, found at other sites,[20] it may well be said that Mathurā moulds belong at least to the first–second century A.D., if not to a later date.

The aforesaid Sonkh excavations brought out silver punch-marked coins together with uninscribed cast coins in levels 34–33 and with copper punch-marked coins in levels 32–31, where the cast coins were conspicuously absent. In these levels, the copper punch-marked coins were found, stray as well as in a hoard of forty-two coins kept in an earthen bowl.[21] Prima facie, this excavated material would indicate, as our archaeologists generally interpret, that the copper punch-marked coins were later in date than the uninscribed cast coins, and the cast coins had a very short life. But these conclusions seem untenable to me.

Most likely, the silver and the copper punch-marked coins as well as the cast copper coins, were concurrently in use at Mathurā, even though they might not have originated simultaneously. Cast copper coins have not yet been properly studied either at Mathurā or elsewhere; it is out of place to discuss them here. They may or may not be local issues of Mathurā.

The copper punch-marked coins, though not as profuse as the silver ones, are found widely scattered in what once formed the Mauryan empire. But unlike the Mauryan silver punch-marked coins, these copper punch-marked coins, known from different centers, have little in common in their fabric, metrology and symbolism. They are local in their nature and are suggestive of being the issues of independent local states.[22]

The copper punch-marked coins of the type found in Sonkh excavations were known earlier in the collections of the Patna and Mathurā Museums and were collected from Mathurā. These coins are cut from long flat-bars, weighing between 4.1727 grammes (64.4 grains) to 6.8674 grammes (106 grains); they may be classified into two classes depending on whether they bear one or two symbols.[23] These coins are unknown outside the Mathurā region; they are the local issues of that region, issued at a period after the Magadha empire had crumbled into small principalities. Thus these copper punch-marked coins explode the long-standing belief that the Śuṅgas had occupied the entire Mauryan empire after the *coup d'état* of Puṣyamitra. If the Śuṅgas had ever issued coins, they should not be silver punch-marked coins, as their production had ceased about the time of the Bactrian invasion of India. The *coup d'état* of Puṣyamitra had taken place after that.[24] Śuṅga issues might exist only among the copper punch-marked coins; but surely being local in nature, only those punch-marked copper coins may be identified as the issues of Puṣyamitra and his successors that are found exclusively in Magadha or Vidiśā.

The copper punch-marked coins of Mathurā constitute a very small series of only six or seven varieties. They may not have been issued by more than one or two rulers, and only a period of about twenty-five years may be suggested for them. Taking into account all the considerations, they may be placed in the first half of the second century B.C., some time between 180 and 160 B.C. or latest in 150 B.C.

These copper punch-marked coins were succeeded by a series of die-struck inscribed coins in the Mathurā region. They are singularly uniform in their fabric and execution, and they uniformly bear on the obverse a standing female figure with the right hand uplifted and the left hand hanging down (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 3). The coins are so typical in their nature that they are well understood by the name of 'Mathurā coins.' No less than nineteen names of the rulers are identified on these coins.

The coins of all the rulers have a common symbol (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 1), placed either on the left or the right of the standing female figure (Fig. 14.2, Symbol 3). This symbol is not seen anywhere else in the contemporary series of coins. Thus it appears to have some significance of its own. Not unlikely, as said above, it might be the sign of the state, or the geographic territory, or the mint of Mathurā. Besides this 'Mathurā symbol,' the coins have two or three other symbols, which isolate these coins into four distinct groups, related to four successive periods connected without any break.

The earliest group of these coins have the 'Mathurā symbol' on the left of the female figure and have two other symbols on her right and a third symbol below her feet (Fig. 14.1; no. 2). The upper right symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4) is exclusive to this group of coins. This obverse representation is seen uniformly on the coins of five rulers[25]: Gomitra,[26] Sūryamitra,[27] Brahmamitra,[28] Dṛdhamitra[29] and Viṣṇumitra.[30] The coins of four of these rulers have been found in the levels 28–26 of the Sonkh excavations, just above the level yielding copper punch-marked coins and so the chronological sequence of these rulers is clear from the evidence of the excavations. Gomitra is the earliest;

Sūryamitra followed him; then came Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra. No coin of Dṛdhamitra was found in the excavations but this does not deny his existence. It is only that his coins were not left where the archaeologists did their diggings.

The coins of Gomitra are both square and round. Allan takes the square coins as an evidence of an early date for Gomitra. In his opinion, it also indicates Gomitra's connection with another type of coin that has four symbols in the center and the legend *Gomitasa* above and *Rāṇāye* below (Fig. 14.1; no. 3). The legend *Gomitasa Rāṇāye* can only be explained satisfactorily to mean 'The coin of Gomitra of Rāṇā.'[31] I am tempted to identify *Rāṇā* with Rāyā, a place not very far from Mathurā. Quite likely, Gomitra was initially a ruler of a small principality in close vicinity to Mathurā; later he shifted his power to Mathurā.

From the ancient mound at Rairh (a small village in former Jaipur state, perhaps it now forms part of Sawai Madhopur district in Rajasthan), copper coins bearing the names of Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra were found in 1931.[32] The solitary coin of Brahmamitra found there was the same as is known from Mathurā.[33] Its association with the coins of the other two Mitras may indicate that these rulers were related to Mathurā; the name Sūryamitra, which is found on the coins of both places, adds weight to it.

The coins of Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra, found at Rairh, however, are quite distinct from those that are known from Mathurā. These coins form a series of their own along with two coins of unknown provenance in the British Museum. This series begins with the coins bearing the name *Udehikī* having three symbols at the top (Fig. 14.1; no. 4). The name Udehika may well be identified with Uddehika, Audehika or Auddehika, mentioned by Varāhamihira and located in Madhyadeśa.[34] It may also be said that these coins were issued by people or at the place called Udehika. Quite similar are the coins of Sūryamitra; they have the legend *Udehikī Sūyamitasa*, which means Sūryamitra of Udehika (Fig. 14.1; no. 5). Next we have another type of coin with the legend *Sudavāpa Sūyamitasa* (Fig. 14.1; no. 6) and *Sudavāpa Dhuvamitasa* (Fig. 14.1; no. 7). These two coins are very close to each other in their devices and show that Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra were the rulers of the place or principality called Sudavāpa. All the coins of this series are undoubtedly the issues of two places, Udehika and Sudavāpa. However, these coins seem to be closely connected with Mathurā as they share a common symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4), which may be the dynastic symbol of Mathurā Mitra rulers.

It may be proposed that at the very beginning of the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, small principalities had sprung up at different places and issued their coins. Coins bearing the names Kauśāmbī,[35] Vārānasī,[36] Mahiṣmatī,[37] Vidiśā,[38] Tripurī,[39] Ujjayinī,[40] Erakiṇa[41] and Tagara[42] suggest this. Coins which show the name of the locality are not confined to renowned places but were also issued from less well known places like Bhagilā and Kurarā in Madhya Pradesh.[43] In the same category of lesser known localities are the place-names Rāṇā, Udehika, Sudavāpa and also Upātika.[44] Most likely, all these places were situated in the vicinity of Mathurā; later these places developed into a well-knit unit—the kingdom of Mathurā.

The Mitra kingdom of Mathurā seems to have extended its power into south Pancāla, as is suggested by another series of coins that have three symbols arranged in a row and the name below them (Fig. 14.1; no. 8). They have the names Gomitra,[45] Sūryamitra[46] and Brahmamitra.[47] All these names are known in the Mathurā coin-series. The provenance of Gomitra coin in the Indian Museum is not known but its square incuse is very close to the incuse seen on the coins of Pañcāla (Ahicchatrā). This incuse is absent on the coins of the other two rulers. This probably indicates that the idea of the square die was borrowed from Pañcāla (Ahicchatrā) coinage and was later abandoned. It also indicates that Gomitra was the earliest of the three kings mentioned above.

The provenance of the coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra not being known, Allan attributed them to Kanauj on the basis of a third coin found there.[48] This coin appears similar to coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra in the fabric and execution. But this third coin, bearing the name *Viṣṇudeva*, is actually quite different in its obverse symbols and reverse motif.[49] The only connecting link between it and the Mitra coins is the obverse tree-in-railing symbol. On the other hand, apart from the common-mitra ending, these coins are also linked with the Mathurā coins by their common symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 4) which seems to be the dynastic mark on the Mathurā coins. It is quite likely that the Mitra rulers who issued these coins were the same as those of Mathurā. They had expanded their kingdom in South Pañcāla (i.e., Kanauj area) where Viṣṇudeva perhaps established his own authority after Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra.

Before moving further, it seems necessary to mention that the Mitra-ending names are found among all the four major contemporary states—Mathurā, Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. Some historians believe that all these rulers were the Śuṅgas, the successors of Puṣyamitra and that they issued local coins for the different parts of their kingdom. The fact, however, is

that none of the five Mitra-names of Mathurā occur in Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī series. It is only in the Pañcāla series that we have two names in common with the Mathurā series; they are Sūryamitra[50] and Viṣṇumitra.[51] But the palaeography of the coins in the two series does not reveal that these two rulers were contemporary at Mathurā and at Pañcāla; thus it cannot be said that they ruled Mathurā and Pañcāla during the same times.[52]

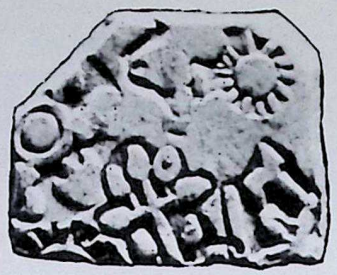
Some historians say that the rulers of these different states were collaterals, belonging to one family. The inscription *Jīvaputaye Rājabhāryaye Bṛihāsvātimita dhitu Yaśomataye kāritaṁ*,[53] found on a large number of bricks discovered at Mora (Mathurā) argues against this view. This inscription shows that Yaśomatī, the daughter of Bṛhaspatimitra[54] was the queen of some Mathurā king. A king named Bṛhaspatimitra is well known in Kauśāmbī;[55] probably there was also one Brhaspatimitra in Pañcāla.[56] It is not clear which of these two Bṛhaspatimitras was the father of Yaśomatī, but whoever he might have been, he could never have been a collateral of the Mathurā rulers for the simple reason that there was a Śastric injunction against marriage in one's own maternal or paternal family within five and seven generations respectively. By the same law, Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla rulers would not have been collaterals, as it is equally well known from the Pabhosa Inscription that Bṛhaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī was the son of the granddaughter of Vaṅgapāla of Ahicchatrā.[57] These make it clear that Mathurā, Pañcāla and Kauśāmbī rulers were in no way collaterals.

The second group of Mathurā coins is similar to the coins of the Mitra rulers (Fig. 14.1; no. 9); here the Symbol 4 is replaced by a new symbol (i.e., Fig. 14.2; Symbol 6), and this symbol is invariably seen on all the coins that bear the Datta-ending names. Five rulers[58] of this group are Puruṣadatta,[59] Rāmadatta,[60] Kāmadatta,[61] Uttamadatta[62] and Bhāvadatta.[63] Like the Mitra rulers, Puruṣadatta bears no title with his name; he may be the earliest in the dynasty. Next was Rāmadatta, whose coins are known of two varieties: one follows Puruṣadatta in having no title; the other has the appellation *Rājño* added to the name. The coins of both the varieties are known to have square and round dies. The coins of the square die, with the legend *Rājño Rāmadatasa* bear two additional symbols on the obverse; one is a star placed on the left of the female figure below the Mathurā symbol; the other is a new symbol placed to the right of the female and it is that of a bull facing to the left; furthermore, the 'river of fish' symbol under the feet of the female is replaced by a serpentine symbol (Fig. 14.1; no. 10). No apparent reason for the additional symbols and the change of symbol can be suggested unless they might be indicative of a second ruler with the name of Rāmadatta. The next ruler was Kāmadatta, who bears the title *Rājño* and his coins have the revised obverse motif found on Rāmadatta's coins. Uttamadatta and Bhāvadatta are the two other rulers bearing the title *Rājño*. While their coins have the same obverse motif as on Puruṣadatta, the reverse device on them is changed. Whether these rulers followed Puruṣadatta or were later than Kāmadatta is not clear.

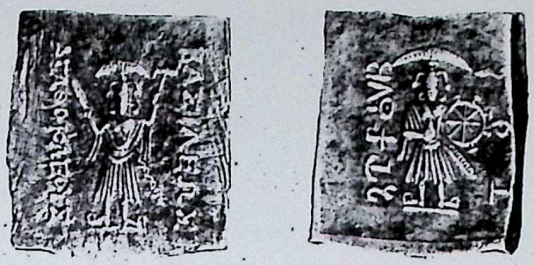
The coins of the Dattas along with those of the Mitras form a homogeneous series; it meant that they were quite close to each other. And the finds of the Sonkh excavations conclusively show that the Dattas immediately followed the Mitras.[64]

Some other coins need to be referred to here before we move to the third group of the Mathurā coinage. One of these coins bears the name Balabhūti.[65] His coins are very close to the coins of the Mitras and Dattas. On the available specimens of his coins in the British Museum, the symbols on either side of the female figure are obliterated, and it is not possible to know their association; only the title *Rājño* places Balabhūti with the Datta group, but his *bhūti*-ending name does not allow him to be a member of the line. A clay-sealing in the Mathurā Museum bears the legend *Rājño Balabhūtisya Yanyaye*.[66] Balabhūti of the coins may be identified with Balabhūti of the sealing and thus the sealing adds to our knowledge that he belonged to a place called *Yanya*. This brings him close to Gomitra, whose coins have the legend *Gomitasa Rāṇāye*, but it is not possible to place the two close to each other in terms of time. However, it may be inferred that some time during the days of the Dattas, Rāyā had become independent of Mathurā for a short while, but had maintained its link with Mathurā. On the other hand, the name Balabhūti reminds us of Dhanabhūti, who is known from a coping stone inscription found at Mathurā,[67] but in the absence of the title 'Rājño' in the inscription, it is difficult to relate the two.

The other coins that may be noted here, are square in shape and bear the legend *Vīrasenasa* (Pl. 14. I; no. 3; Fig. 14.1; no. 14).[68] These coins are found not only in Mathurā but also in its environs.[69] Their issuer Vīrasena is generally identified with Svāmī Vīrasena, who is mentioned in the Jankhat (Farrukhabad) inscription and is dated in the third century A.D.[70] In identifying Vīrasena of the coins with Svāmī Vīrasena of the inscription, the palaeographical evidence has been totally ignored. A careful study of the coins (Pl. 14.I; no. 3) would show that the letters have straight vertical strokes.

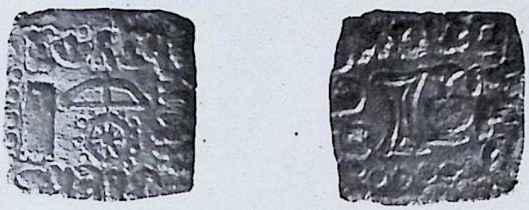


Pl. 14.I.1 Punch-marked coin showing the figure of Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma).



Pl. 14.I.2 Drachm of Agathocles showing Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarāma) and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa).

Pl. 14.I.3 Coin of Vīrasena.



Pl. 14.I.4 An unidentified coin found at Mathurā.

Pl. 14.I.5 Coin of Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka from Mathurā.

Pl. 14.I.6 Coin of Kaniṣka son of Huviṣka found at Sonkh (Mathurā)

Pl. 14.II.7 Obverse of gold coin of Huviṣka; king holding *aṅkuśa* in right hand.

Pl. 14.II.8 Obverse of gold coin of Huviṣka; king holding a sceptre or standard in his right hand.

Pl. 14.II.9 Copper coin of Kuṣāṇa type bearing the name Vīra.

Pls. 14.II.10-11 Copper coins imitating the Kuṣāṇa coins.

This means that the coins belonged to a period earlier than that of the Kṣatrapas, (i.e., first century A.D.) at which time the letters had the triangular head (nail-head).[71] The nail-head is conspicuously absent on these coins. Again, the female figure (Fig. 14.1; no. 14b) is quite close to the figure seen on the Mitra–Datta coins. The *Nandipada* and the tree symbols are equally indicative of an early date. Above all, the square shape would not date the coins to the Christian era. The absence of the title of the issuer, also indicates an early date, (i.e., the late second or the early first century B.C.). Perhaps, Vīrasena was a ruler in the close vicinity of Mathurā.

A solitary square copper coin (Pl. 14.I; no. 4) was acquired by the Mathurā Museum in the early fifties from a laborer who lived quite close to the ancient site of Keśavadeva temple and had perhaps found it there. The coin is quite similar to the Indo-Bactrian square coins in having the legends on the three sides of each face. It differs from them in having both the legends in Brāhmī and in having symbols in place of the effigies. On one side, it bears three symbols in the center and on the other it has two. A similar coin in worn condition, was published earlier by Cunningham and was mentioned by him under the Taxilian coins.[72] Most likely, it was found there. But, since Brāhmī legends are found rarely on the coins of Taxila, it is likely that it was a drift there from Madhyadeśa. The legends are *Jayantānāṁ puta Rajña ava vasataya* on one side and *Gopa (—) bahu brahamana (ya)* on the other.[73] The meaning of these legends is obscure; thus nothing can be said about the issuer. If the coin belonged to Mathurā or its vicinity, it will have to be placed somewhere in the Mitra–Datta period.

These indigenous rulers were succeeded by the Śaka Kṣatrapas of the Punjab—Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula and his successors. Their coins belonged to the third group. On the obverse of these coins, there is the standing female figure as seen on the Mitra and Datta coins, as well as the Mathurā symbol placed to the right of the figure. On the left is introduced a new wavy-line symbol. A *svastika* is placed under the feet (Fig. 14.1; no. 11). The reverse motif is replaced by Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī, most likely adopted from the coins of Azilises.[74]

The Mathurā type coins of Rajuvula[75] where he styles himself as *Mahākṣatrapa* are scarce; this indicates that he came to Mathurā only late in his life and ruled there only for a short period. He was succeeded by his son Śoḍāsa, who issued coins exclusively of Mathurā type;[76] they are not found outside the Mathurā territory, meaning thereby that his rule was confined to that locality. A coin with the name Kṣatrapa Toraṇadāsa is said to have been in R. Burn's Collection.[77] Probably, he was another son of Rajuvula and it is suggested that he followed Śoḍāsa. Since the coin has the lesser title of Kṣatrapa, most likely it was issued in the lifetime of Śodāsa, when Toraṇadāsa was heir-apparent evincing a tradition that is known from the coins of the Western Kṣatrapa.[78] However, it is not unlikely that he succeeded Śoḍāsa as *Mahākṣatrapa*. If he did, absence of his coins indicates that he did not survive long.

After the sons of Rajuvula, the rule of Mathurā passed to another line of Kṣatrapas,[79] whose coins (Fig. 14.1; no. 12) have the legend *Khatapasa Hagānasa Hagāmaṣa* in three lines with a symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 7); the other side has a horse to left.[80] These coins are interpreted to mean that Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa ruled jointly with Hagāna as the senior partner. None of the faces of these coins bear any resemblance to the coins of Mathurā, as described above. Though these coins are confined to the Mathurā region, it is possible that they had originated somewhere else and had come here with Hagāmaṣa, who actually succeeded the Rajuvula family at Mathurā and issued coins in the tradition of the latter. The obverse of Hagāmaṣa's coins is the same as the coins of Rajuvula's family, the only change is that the symbol below the feet of the female figure is replaced by the symbol that appeared on the obverse of Hagāna–Hagāmaṣa joint issues (Fig. 14.1; no. 13). Hagāmaṣa retained the reverse device—horse to left, of his joint issue.[81] In the tradition of Hagāmaṣa's coins are found the coins of three other Kṣatrapas named Śivadatta,[82] Śivaghoṣa[83] and Vijayatrāta Svāmī.[84] Their names suggest that by their time, the process of Indianization of the Śakas had been completed. No suggestion can be made about the order of the succession of these rulers.

While it is almost certain from the coins that these Kṣatrapas were distinct from the line of Rajuvula, it is not known who they were and how they came to Mathurā. A Kṣatrapa[85] named Ghataka is known from a fragmentary inscription from Gaṇeshrā, who belonged to the well known Kṣaharāta family of the Śakas,[86] to which we know Nahapāna belonged. The coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna's father are sometimes found at Mathurā (Pl. 14.I; no. 5); they may indicate some link between Mathurā and the domain of the Kṣaharātas of Western and Central India. The Kṣaharāta family of Western and Central India, confronted by the Sātavāhanas and the Kārddamaka Kṣatrapas, may have moved to Mathurā, and these Kṣatrapas might belong to that family.

According to Härtel's preliminary report on the Sonkh excavations, no coins of Mitras appeared in level 24. In that level, he found two coins of Hagāmaṣa and one of Rāmadatta; in level 23, he found twenty coins; some of them were Mathurā issues of Rajuvula;

the bulk hailed from Śoḍāsa. In the same level, Härtel again found the coins of Rāmadatta. He has concluded that the rule of the Kṣatrapas overlapped the reign of Rāmadatta. Since only the coins of Rāmadatta were detected in the excavations, he holds that the Ḍattas ruled concurrently in small subdistricts of Mathurā and that the period of their reign extended over a few decades only.[87]

In Härtel's opinion, it would be unrealistic and incompatible with all excavation experience to assume a substantially longer period than twenty years for the individual levels.[88] If I have rightly understood his reasoning, since the coins of the Datta and Kṣatrapa rulers were found only in layers 24 and 23 that would mean that they ruled for only forty years. But levels in an excavation represent the cultural sequence and not the political changes. Cultural life was not necessarily affected by the political changes. Thus, for me the absence of coins of any ruler in any level means nothing historically. It is difficult for me to accept that the Dattas and the Kṣatrapas existed for such a short period. Härtel has given the sequence of his excavation levels in Figure 10 of his *Report*.[89] There he has shown that the first fifteen layers cover seventeen centuries (i.e., each of these levels had covered an average period of more than a century). If for any reason, by Härtel's own yardstick, the later levels at Sonkh could survive for such a long period, there seems no reason to assert that the earlier levels had shorter lifespans of only twenty years.

I would interpret the absence of the coins of the rulers other than Rāmadatta in the Sonkh excavations to mean that they had no occasion to be left at the place where the archaeologist did his diggings. The association of Rāmadatta's coins with the Śaka-Kṣatrapa coins only means that they were issued in larger numbers and that they remained in circulation for a longer period. Here attention may be drawn to a small hoard of eleven coins that was found in 1930 at Ursan in Kanpur District. According to the cryptic Treasure Trove Report, the hoard included three coins of Hagāmaṣa, five of Mathurā (probably Mitra/Datta coins) and one coin Kṣatrapa (most likely of Rajuvula or Śoḍāsa) along with two cast coins.[90] The content of this hoard would simply mean that all these coins were current in the period when the hoard was buried and not that all the coins were contemporaneous issues. The same may be said about Sonkh finds. I feel very reluctant to agree with Härtel's conclusions.

My own views about the date of the entire Mathurā series from the Mitras down to the Kṣatrapas is reflected in the paper that I submitted to the Seminar on the Date of Kaniṣka. In order to suggest the date 144 A.D. for the beginning of the Kaniṣka era,[91] I had listed twenty rulers of Mathurā and calculated 360 years for them, taking eighteen years for each ruler. In the present context, it means that the Mitra rulers begin in 215 B.C. and end in about 144 A.D. But I would now like to review it and say that the Mitra rule could not have commenced at a date earlier than 150 B.C. and that the Datta rule came to an end with the coming of Rajuvula to Mathurā.

As pointed out earlier, the Mathurā coins of Rajuvula bear Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī in imitation of the coins of Azilises, and Azilises may be placed *circa* 50–30 B.C. as the termination of Azes I's rule is not estimated in any manner earlier than 50 B.C.[92] Rajuvula would have had the chance to imitate Azilises' motif on his coins only some time after 50 B.C. Though we have no indications that Rajuvula followed Azilises, if we do take it to be so, the date of Rajuvula would be at the end of the century at Mathurā because he came there quite late in his life. After Rajuvula, we have at least six rulers at Mathurā. If an average of eighteen years for each reign is accepted, the termination of the Kṣatrapa rule would come about the first decade of the second century A.D. A century of rule for six rulers may not be considered a high estimate when we know that 98 years were covered by three or four Kuṣāṇa kings at Mathurā.[93] The Sonkh excavations indicate that the Kuṣāṇas followed the Kṣatrapas without any gap.[94] As such, the arrival of the Kuṣāṇas at Mathurā can only be placed in the beginning of the second decade of the second century A.D. at the earliest.

A careful scrutiny of the coins that are found at Mathurā reveals no trace of Kujūla Kadphises, the first Kuṣāṇa ruler. It means that he had no hold in this region. According to Cunningham, the coins of Soter Megas were found at Mathurā and in almost all the places in Madhyadeśa along with the coins of the Great Kuṣāṇas. He also detected a local type of his coins at Mathurā.[95] But we have not found a single coin of Soter Megas of any type in the course of our investigations of coins current at Mathurā. We are disinclined to attach importance to what Cunningham has said. We feel that Vima Kadphises was the first Kuṣāṇa ruler who occupied Mathurā after the Kṣatrapas. If twenty years is assigned to his reign, his date would then be in the second and third decades of the second century A.D.

At this stage, a copper coin attracts our attention. It was found on the surface at Sonkh during the excavations in the area of the Nāga apsidal temple, outside the main excavation site. Immediately under the temple

lay an early Kuṣāṇa structure.[96] The copper coin has Brāhmī legends on both the faces. On one face, the legend is clearly *Huviṣkasya* in one line; on the other face, the legend is in two lines and may be read as *putra ka/ṇaka (sya)* (Pl. 14.I; no. 6). The division of a legend on the two faces of a coin is probably unknown anywhere in Indian numismatics, but here the legends can be read meaningfully only when they are taken together and read as *Huviṣkasya putra Kaṇikasya*. It would then mean that the Kaṇika was the issuer of the coin and he was the son of Huviṣka.[97] We do not know of Kaniṣka, who was the son of Huviṣka. It may be said that Huviṣka, whom we know as the successor of Kaniṣka, might have had a son named Kaniṣka. But on this coin, we see no device which could be called Kuṣāṇa. Here the human figure, though wearing a foreign dress, is unlike the figures of the king or the deity, seen on the Kuṣāṇa coins. The figure is closer to the figures seen on the early indigenous coins. The coin is un-Kuṣāṇa also in fabric and execution. The obverse device with a square incuse is the feature of early Indian numismatics. It is known at the latest on the coins of the Pañcāla series that had ended with the advent of the Kuṣāṇas. Moreover, no regal title, which is known on the Kuṣāṇa coins, is used here either for Huviṣka or for Kaniṣka. These peculiarities make it almost certain that the coin belongs to a very early period in the Kuṣāṇa history at Mathurā. From the point of palaeography also, the coin does not seem to be of any later date than Kaniṣka I. The name Kaṇika is used in literature only for Kaniṣka I.[98] This means that the coin was issued only for him in the very early period of his entry into Mathurā in keeping with the local traditions. His coins with Graeco-Bactrian script might have been issued later and for circulation in his entire dominion. This coin thus brings to light an unknown fact that Kaṇika (Kaniṣka I) was the son of Huviṣka (whom we may call Huviṣka I).

That Kaniṣka's father, Huviṣka I, had succeeded Vima Kadphises is also indicated from a few gold coins, which have so far been attributed to the second Huviṣka who succeeded Kaniṣka I. It was never seriously taken that the coins bearing the name Huviṣka were the coins of more than one person of the same name. It is not that the idea of two Huviṣkas is new. Earlier, it was suggested by F. W. Thomas,[99] A. L. Basham,[100] A. K. Narain[101] and S. K. Maity[102] on various considerations. We are not concerned here with most of the arguments adduced by them. I would refer only to two different spellings of the name Huviṣka—*Oeṣko* (OOHþKO) and *Oeṣki* (OOHþKI), on the basis of which Narain has postulated two Huviṣkas.[103] He did not rely merely on the difference in the spelling of the name but also cited a parallel instance to substantiate it. He pointed out that the name of Kaniṣka I on his coins is spelled as *Kaneṣki* (KANHþKI) and it is *Kaneṣko* (KANHþKO) on the coins that are later and attributed to Kaniṣka III. The reasons for the different spellings could only be the differentiation between two rulers of the same name. If that were true in the case of Kaniṣka, it could well be true in the case of Huviṣka, also.

In addition, I would like to add that the spelling *Oeṣko* (OOHþKO) is seen only on two varieties of coins: (1) the Elephant-rider[104] and (2) King seated cross-legged.[105] On all the other coins having the bust of the king, the spelling uniformly is *Oeṣki* (OOHþKI). The cross-legged royal portraits go back to the days of Maues, Azes II and Kujūla Kadphises;[106] and the elephant type is similar to that of Vima Kadphises.[107] These types are quite unknown in the coin-series of Kaniṣka I, who intervened between Vima Kadphises and Huviṣka (Huviṣka II of my reckoning). This could not be termed mere accident. Again, the form of the monogram on the coins of these two types, is that which is seen only on the coins of Vima Kadphises (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 8) and Kaniṣka. Huviṣka's own monogram was Symbol 9 (Fig. 14.2), which is seen exclusively on the bust-type coins. The types, the monogram and the spelling, when taken together, isolate the issuer of the Elephant-rider and Cross-legged types from the issuer of the bust-type coins. These coin types indicate that the issuer of the former two types was earlier than Kaniṣka I and close to Vima Kadphises and was distinct from that Huviṣka who issued coins with the bust type and who came after Kaniṣka I.

Here it might be of interest to mention that D. W. MacDowall has analyzed the weights of the copper coins, attributed to Huviṣka[108] and has detected two distinct chronological groups on the basis of a striking decrease in weight standard and the change in the monogram. According to him, the first group of Huviṣka's copper coins are those that have the obverse legend commencing at one o'clock and have the well-made form of the reverse symbol, which is the same as that used by Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 8). The coins of the first group show the king riding on an elephant, sitting cross-legged and seated on a couch. These coins show a clear point of concentration at 15–16 grammes, representing the tetradrachm denomination of Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka. The second group of Huviṣka's copper coins is characterized by the use of a distinct symbol (Fig. 14.2; Symbol 9), seen also on the bust-type gold coins. It is generally

engraved with a reasonable amount of care. The legend on these coins does not commence at one o'clock and the letters are larger and less well-formed. These coins range between 8 and 13 grammes, and were struck to a standard of 10 to 12 grammes.

MacDowall had been cautious about the interpretation of the significance of the apparent division; he, therefore, suggested the possibility of separate stages in the issues of these coins or separate mint-centers. But in view of the distinctions noticed in the gold coins discussed above, it may now be reasonably said that the two divisions in the copper coins also lead to the same conclusion as derived from the gold coins, viz. there was more than one Huviṣka, and one of them may well be placed between Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka I. This Huviṣka (i.e., Huviṣka I) may well be identified with the Huviṣka mentioned on the copper coins found at Sonkh.

Again, the bust-type gold coins of Huviṣka may well be divided into two groups indicating that they were the issues of not one but two rulers named Huviṣka (i.e., Huviṣka II and III). While these coins uniformly show the king holding a mace or club in his right hand, the object in his left hand helps distinguish the coins into two varieties. On some coins, he holds an *aṅkuśa*[109] (goad) (Pl. 14.II; no. 7), and on the other a spear or scepter[110] (Pl. 14.II; no. 8). I suggest that they relate to two distinct rulers of the same name. Without going into any detail to substantiate my suggestion, it may suffice to cite the parallel instance of the coins of Azes I and II. G. K. Jenkins distinguished the two Azeses on the basis of the object held by the horse-rider in his hand. Jenkins pointed out that Azes I held a spear and Azes II had a whip.[111] If this were true for the Śaka rulers, there is no reason why it should not be true for the Kuṣāṇa rulers.

That the above mentioned two types of the coins belonged to two Huviṣkas (II and III) is substantiated from two hoards of gold coins discovered in Uttar Pradesh. One of them found in 1965 in the district of Barabanki had thirteen coins, all of Huviṣka and exclusively of the type where the king holds *aṅkuśa* (goad); the hoard included none of the type where he holds a spear or a scepter.[112] The other hoard that was discovered in the district of Garhwal in 1971 had forty-five coins—forty-four of Huviṣka and one of Vāsudeva. Here all the forty-four coins of Huviṣka were of the type where the king holds a scepter. On none of them is he seen holding *aṅkuśa*[113] (goad). The two hoards are so distinct in their contents that they unmistakably mean that the two types of the coins were separately issued in two different periods. The association of the coin of Vasudeva in the Garhwal hoard, makes it certain that the spear-type coins were later.[114] The *aṅkusa*-type coins belonged to Huviṣka II and the scepter-type to Huviṣka III.

Here reference may again be made to MacDowall's observations about the weights of Huviṣka's copper coins. He has distinguished the copper coins of group II, mentioned above, into two classes, on the basis of their weights. They represent the standard (1) 10 to 12 grammes and (2) 7 to 9 grammes. He places them into two distinct chronological phases.[115] They may well be the coins of two sucessive rulers of the same name.

The inscriptions bearing the name of Huviṣka are known to cover quite a long period of time, from Kaniṣka years 28 to 60.[116] This may well be the period of two Huviṣkas (II and III). During this period whether the two Huviṣkas were successive rulers or someone had intervened between them remains to be investigated.

Huviṣka (III) was succeeded by Vāsudeva. This is clear from the Garhwal hoard, just mentioned above. His inscriptions of the Kaniṣka years 64 (or 67) to 98 years are known from Mathura region[117] and they testify to his existence there. The political history of the Mathurā region after him is obscure. The Yaudheyas and/or the Nāgas are vaguely considered as responsible for the decline of the Kuṣāṇa rule in this region. But hardly any coin of the Yaudheyas can be seen in the Mathurā Museum and the Nāga coins there are also so few[118] that they are insufficient to suggest any kind of occupation at Mathurā. As such, there was almost a vacuum in the history of Mathurā from this time till the rise of the Guptas.

Some information about this period of history may be elicited from the coin-hoards known from Uttar Pradesh and the vicinity. But no proper attention has so far been given to them. A close scrutiny of these hoards[119] indicates that they are distinguishable into two clear groups. One group of these hoards, known from all parts of Kuṣaṇa dominion, includes only the coins of the earlier Kuṣaṇa rulers (Vima Kadphises to Huviṣka). In them the Vāsudeva coins are generally absent; in a few cases where his coins have been found, their number is too small to be of any value. The other group of the hoards are exclusively the coins of Vāsudeva and his successors, and these hoards of copper coins are confined in and around Mathurā region. Only the hoards of the gold coins have a little wider diffusion. This division of the hoards, by itself, is very significant. It makes it clear that by the time of Vāsudeva, or in the early part of his reign, the Kuṣāṇa domain had greatly diminished in the east. It had become limited to the Mathurā region and its periphery. It was not wiped out, as is generally believed.

The copper coins of the second group found in and around Mathurā[120] would have been the best evidence for our purpose, but unfortunately, they have never been properly studied and published. However, five gold coin hoards, known to me, though not found exactly in the Mathurā region, may serve our purpose well. One of them came from the District of Jaunpur and had thirty-three coins;[121] the other hoard had only twelve coins and was found in Unnao District;[122] the third hoard had twenty-one coins and was found in Meerut District.[123] All these Districts lay in Uttar Pradesh, the great part of which was under the influence of the Kuṣāṇas and was governed from Mathurā. The fourth hoard of ten coins was discovered in the village Dado Fatehpur, Khetri (District Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan).[124] The fifth hoard was found at Mithathal in the District of Hisar (Haryana Pradesh).[125] Both these places are not very far from the Mathurā region.

The contents of these five hoards of gold coins, when studied together, present a link between the Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva I at one end and Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty at the other end, with an unbroken chain of at least five rulers—Vāsudeva II, Kaniṣka III, Bazeṣka, Vasu and Sāka.[126] They thus show that there was no hiatus at any time in the period between the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas. This, however, does not mean that Sāka, whose coins are known only in the Mithathal hoard, was the ruler of the Mathurā region. It only indicates a chronological sequence of the rulers up to the time of the rise of the Guptas under Samudragupta.

We have plenty of copper coins at Mathurā in the continued tradition of the Ardoksho reverse type coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II. They indicate that a few more rulers might have existed in the chain of the Kuṣāṇa rulers in the Mathurā region. Three types of such coins are illustrated here (Pls. 14.II; nos. 9–11). Of them, one is most interesting (Pl. 14.II; no. 9). Here the king is seated on a throne, facing front, holding a fillet (*pāśa*) in the right hand and with the left hand upraised, probably holding a staff. Behind his right hand is a pointed spear of broad blade replacing the trident of the earlier coins of Vasu and others. To the right of the right hand, below the arm appears a legend *Vīra*. Perhaps, below the left hand are also a few letters, which are not clear. This coin undoubtedly belongs to a king named Vīra, probably a successor of Vasu. The other two coins might be later issues.

In the light of the above, we may have a hundred years after Vāsudeva I for Vāsudeva II, Kaniṣka II, Vasu, Vīra and a few other rulers that might have succeeded Vasu or intervened between these rulers. It may now be said that the Kuṣāṇa rule terminated only with the rise of Samudragupta. Samudragupta's date may well be placed in about 350 A.D.[127] As such, the date of these post-Vāsudeva rulers might have commenced around 250 A.D. If we accept this date for the Kaniṣka year 98, the last known date for Vāsudeva I, the commencement of the Kaniṣka era would be around 140–150 A.D., almost the same, as was suggested by me earlier.[128]

NOTES

1. Durga Prasad, 'Classification and Significance of the symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India.' *Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLV (1934), pp. 9–10.
2. Prasad, 'Classification and Significance.' Fn. 1; Pl. 31.
3. Prasad, 'Classification and Significance.' Pl. 31.
4. P. L. Gupta, 'Sahet-Mahet Hoard of Silver Punch-marked coins.' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XX (1958), pp. 62–64.
5. E. H. C. Walsh, 'Paila Hoard of Punch-marked Coins.' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II (1940), pp. 15–78.
6. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. 6.
7. Allan, *Catalogue*. Intro., p. xvii.
8. Mathurā Museum Coin Register No. 712.
9. Coins of this very type are known from some other places, but those finds do not detract in any way from the present attribution. A small lot of these coins was obtained by J. K. Agrawala of Lucknow from Rajgir (ancient Rajagṛha) (see *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vii, 1933, p. 81). But on their basis, these coins cannot be attributed to Magadha *janapada* as certain different types of local punch-marked coins are known from Magadha region and may be reasonably identified to that *janapada*. A few coins are known from Ujjain-Bhilsa region (P. L. Gupta, 'Some Interesting coins from Ujjain Bhilsa,' *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XIV [1953], p. 43), and Padama-Pawaya (ancient Padmāvatī) (H. V. Trivedi, 'Some New Ancient Indian Coins,' *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVII [1955], p. 39). But these coins are more or less indicative of intercommunication between Mathurā and these places. Coins of Ujjain are often found at Mathurā.
10. P. L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 51, 52, 62, 64, 68, etc. There the symbol is shown inaccurately pointed.
11. Infra, p. 9.

12. Mathurā Museum Coin Register Nos. 461.59; 516.9; 540; 572.191; 728.8. A few coins with this symbol but with different symbol-associations are catalogued by Allan (*Catalogue*, p. 43) but all of them are of unknown provenance. I do not remember to have seen this symbol in any coin lot or hoard of known provenance other than Mathurā or its vicinity.
13. Coins of Vṛṣṇis of a little later period are known, (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 281, Coin 17). Their sealings have recently come to light. There we have the *musala* and *cakra*, the attributes of Saṁkarṣana (Balarāma) and Kṛṣṇa (Omanand Saraswati, '*Vriṣṇi-Rājanya gaṇa ke Mudrāṅka*' (in Hindi), *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXV [1973], pp. 95–100). They indicate that Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were represented by their attributes on these seals. That the Vṛṣṇis lived in this area in the post-Mahābhārata period is attested from various literary sources.
14. The hoards of the silver punch-marked coins having the Mauryan issues have invariably the same varieties of the coins as were discovered in the hoard that was found in the excavations at Ai-Khanum in the Oxus valley along with the *drachmae* of Agathocles (A. K. Narain, 'Two Hindu Divinities, *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXXV [1973], p. 74). Agathocles is dated in 185–160 B.C. The hoard thus furnishes a clue to assume that the minting of the silver punch-marked coins would have ceased before this hoard was interred.
15. Many silver punch-marked coins were found along with the coins of Kujūla Kadphises, Vima Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Vāsudeva and the Sasanid rulers in the monastery at Taxila (J. Marshall, 'Exploration and Research,' *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923–24, p. 26). More than five thousand silver punch-marked coins were found at Mir Zakah, near Kabul, along with the Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian and Kuṣāṇa coins (R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésore Monetaire D'Afghanistan*, Paris, 1953, pp. 66–90). Three punch-marked coins were found in the deposit at the foot of the *Vajrāsana*, the throne of Buddha, in the temple of Bodh Gayā, which were placed during the reign of Huviṣka (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. XVI [1880–81], p. 4). Recent excavations at Siśupālagarh (Orissa), Chandrāvallī (Karṇāṭaka), Amreli and Bahal (Mahārasṭra) and Ahicchatrā (Uttara Pradesh) yielded punch-marked coins in the strata that are dated first to third century A.D. (C. Ray, *Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins in Indian Excavations and some Allied Issues*, Ṿaranasi, 1959, pp. 20 ff).
16. H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' *German Scholars on India*, Bombay, 1976, p. 80.
17. S. Konow, 'Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of the year 28,' *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, 1931–32, pp. 55–61.
18. Pannalal, 'A Find of Clay-moulds for forging Coins at Mathurā,' *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, I (1918), pp. 137–140; Birbal Sahni, *On the Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 44–47; Durga Prasad and P. L. Gupta, 'Clay-moulds of Punch-marked Coins from Mathurā,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVI (1954), pp. 166–176.
19. Mathurā Museum, Accession No. 1560.
20. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1961, pp. 130–135.
21. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 79.
22. P. L. Gupta, 'Copper Punch-marked Coins from Sonkh,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXVII (1975), pp. 3–10.
23. P. L. Gupta, 'Sonkh,' pp. 11–12.
24. *Yuga Purāṇa*, narrated the invasion of the Bactrians into India under the leadership of Demetrius (Dharma-mitra) immediately after referring to Sāliśuka, the fourth ruler after Aśoka. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* refers, most likely, to this invasion when he illustrates imperfect tense (*laṁ*). At this time, the political condition of Northern India would have been disturbed, and this occasion might have encouraged Puṣyamitra for his *coup d'état* against Sāliśuka. The horse-sacrifice of Puṣyamitra, at which Patañjali was the priest, would have taken place only after the said *coup d'état*. So, this event may be placed some time between *circa* 204 and 184 B.C.
25. A sixth ruler named Satyamitra is suggested in this series on the basis of a coin lately discovered (K. D. Bajpai, 'A Coin of Satyamitra—A New Ruler of Mathurā,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVIII [1966], p. 42). Not being convinced of the identification of the devices and the attribution, no notice of this coin is taken here.
26. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 170; Pl. XXV, 1–2.
27. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 171; Pl. XXV, 17; XLIV, 6–7.
28. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 173; Pl. XXV, 12–14.
29. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 174; Pl. XLIII, 16.
30. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 178; Pl. XXV, 15–16.
31. The same view is expressed by S. K. Dikshit (K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, no date or place of publication given, p. 53).
32. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 66–68.
33. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 67; Pl. XXVI, 11.
34. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XIV.3.
35. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. xcviii.
36. S. S. Roy, 'Inscribed Coins of Varanasi,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII (1950), p. 134.
37. P. L. Gupta, 'Coins of City of Mahismati,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XV (1953), p. 70; H. V. Trivedi, 'Coins of Mahismati,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII, ii, 1955, p. 9.
38. B. C. Jain, 'Early Coins from Vidisa,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXIII (1961), p. 307.
39. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 230.
40. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 262.
41. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. xci.
42. C. S. Gupta, 'A Coin of the City State of Tagara,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXIII, 1971, p. 37.
43. S. L. Katare, 'Hitherto unknown coins of the city of Bhagila,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XIV, 1951, p. 9.

44. A coin bearing this name was found by Cunningham at Ambarikha, north of Mathurā town (*Archaeological Survey Report*, III, p. 14; *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. VI. 13).
45. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Varanasi, 1972 (Reprint), p. 194.
46. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 147; Pl. XIX, 12.
47. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 147; Pl. XIX, 17; Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 194.
48. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. xciv.
49. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 147; Pl. XIX, 13.
50. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 193.
51. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 202.
52. K. M. Shrimali, 'The Chronological implications of the Language and Palaeography of Pañchala Coins,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXIX (1977), p. 45.
53. J. Ph. Vogel, *Exploration at Mathurā* in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1911–12, p. 128.
54. On the Audumbara coins the name Viśvamitra is written as *Vispamitra*. It shows that *śva* and *spa* were interchangeable.
55. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 150.
56. In the winter season of 1891–92, Führer had excavated a two-storied Śiva temple at Ahicchatrā and found a pot containing sixteen coins of the Pañcāla rulers. According to Smith (*Catalogue*, p. 185) they included a coin of Bṛhaspatimitra. He presumed that the coin might be in the Lucknow Museum. But so far as I could ascertain from the Accession Register of the Museum, there exists no such coin.
57. A. Führer, 'Pabhosa Inscriptions,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1892–94), p. 240.
58. A ruler Śeṣadatta is placed among the Mathurā rulers (Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. cx). He should have found mention here; but I am doubtful about the attribution of his coin to Mathurā; hence, I have ignored him.
59. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 176; Pl. XXIV, 1–4.
60. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 179, Pl. XXIV, 5–8.
61. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 182; Pl. XXIII, 18.
62. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 177; Pl. XXIV, 15–17.
63. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. cxi.
64. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' pp. 83–84.
65. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 178; Pl. XXX, 22–24.
66. Unpublished. Mathurā Museum, Accession No. 70.38. My attention to it has been drawn by T. P. Verma, who has examined the Museum's collection of seals and sealings.
67. A. Cunningham, 'Mathurā,' *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. III, Pl. XVI (1871–72), p. 36, Pl. XVI, Fig. 21.
68. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 280; Pl. XLV, 15–16.
69. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. clv.
70. R. Burn, 'Note on Indian Coins and Inscriptions,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1900), pp. 552–553; F. E. Pargiter, 'Jankhat Inscription of the time of Virasena,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 85–87; Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. clv.
71. T. P. Verma, 'The Palaeography of the Local Coins of Northern India,' *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1968, p. 142.
72. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. III, 4; Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 218; Pl. XXXI, 17.
73. A. S. Altekar has read the legend as *Jayaṁtānāṁ putrasya Alavasataya* and *Abhapa abaha(hu?) bu ana* respectively. ('Two Coins from Mathurā,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VI, 1944, pp. 24–26.)
74. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 105, coins 332–33; Pl. XIII. H. Härtel and B. N. Mukherjee informed me during our stay at Delhi for this Seminar, that some very tiny coins with Abhiṣeka Laksmī on one side and a horse on the other were found in the excavations at Sonkh in the layer where the coins of Sūryamitra of the Mathurā series were found. These tiny coins also bear the name of Sūryamitra. Though I have not seen the coins, I am very doubtful about the name on the coin. Horse on the reverse was introduced only on the coins of Hagāna and Hagāmeṣa. These coins do not materially alter the position.
75. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 187; Pl. XXVI, 12–13.
76. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 190; Pl. XXV, 14–17; XLIII, 17.
77. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. cxii. The coin is not traceable. It is not mentioned in the *Sale Catalogue of Burn's Collection*, nor does it exist in the British Museum, London, or in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where it could be expected.
78. P. L. Gupta, 'The Kārddamaka Kshatrapas of Western India,' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 4, 1953–54, pp. 50–56.
79. Allan has placed this group of rulers just after the indigenous Datta rulers and considered that some of them may be contemporary at Mathurā with Rajuvula's rule further north (*Catalogue*, Intro., p. cxvi). But this view is not tenable. See J. N. Banerjea, 'The Chronology of Some Satrāps of Northern India,' *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, Delhi, 1948, p. 52 ff. Also, Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1974, pp. 165–166.
80. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 184; Pl. XXVI, 6.
81. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 183; Pl. XXVI, 1–5.
82. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 183; Pl. XXV, 26.
83. Allan, *Catalogue*, Intro., p. cxii.
84. B. N. Mukherjee, 'A Unique Satrapal Coin,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXVIII, 1976, pp. 60–61. This coin has recently been acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi, where I had the occasion to examine it. The legend on the coin is *Khatapasa Vajatata sama*. Mukherjee takes the name of the ruler as vajatata-jama, but to me it is the Prakritization of the name Vijayatrātasvāmī.
85. Traces of letters that may be restored as *Kṣatrapasa* are available on the inscription.
86. Vogel, *Mathurā*, p. 128; H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Göttingen, 1961, p. 303.

87. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 83.
88. Härtel, 'Sonkh.'
89. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' between pages 80 and 81.
90. A. K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh*, Lucknow, 1980, p. 146, Hoard No. 815.
91. P. L. Gupta, 'The Coinage of the Local Kings of Northern India and the Date of Kaniṣka,' *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*. Leiden, 1968, pp. 114–20.
92. A. K. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 164.
93. Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva are the rulers, whose inscriptions dated in successive years are known from the beginning up to the year 98.
94. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 83.
95. A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, Part II, p. 14; 55 (compiled in *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas and Kushanas*, Varanasi, 1971, Reprint). Cunningham says that these coins are not found elsewhere; but Whitehead had found them in Delhi and Jagadhari. He says that probably they were current in south-east Punjab (*Catalogue*, p. 162, fn. 1).
96. Härtel does not mention this coin in his *Report*. However, I have published it ('A Kushana Coin with Brahmi Legend,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXV [1973], pp. 123–28).
97. If the legends on the two sides are interpreted independently as Härtel suggested during the discussion on this paper, and *putra Kaṇikasya* is taken to mean 'son of Kaniṣka', then Huviṣka may be regarded as the issuer of the coin. But this interpretation would be most unusual. To mean 'son of Kaniska', the correct form would be *Kanikasya putra* and never *putra Kaṇikasya*.
98. For the identification of Kaṇika with Kaniṣka I, see B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushanas and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1968, p. 27; 40; 45 fn. 19; 49 fn. 51; 50; fn. 52; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushana Genealogy*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 116, fn. 180; also S. Levi, 'Notes on the Indo-Scythians,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII (1903), pp. 380–89. F. W. Thomas, *Tibet Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan*, London, 1935, p. 119 fn. 2; W. H. Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 280, fn. 2.
99. F. W. Thomas, 'Notes on the Scythian Period,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1952), p. 116.
100. A. L. Basham, 'The Succession of the Line of Kanishka,' *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. XX (1957), pp. 77–88.
101. A. K. Narain, 'A Unique Gold and Two Silver Coins of Huvishka,' *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXII (1960), p. 99.
102. S. K. Maity, 'The Gold Content of the Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa chiefs and the Sassanian Gold Coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XX (1958), p. 164; 166.
103. To reject this suggestion, B. N. Mukherjee has pointed out to the rules of grammar, laid down for the Bactrian language, to show that both the forms were valid for the same name (*The Kushana Genealogy*, pp. 66–67). But grammar does not overrule common sense. Common sense is that no one writes or spells his name in two different forms. If the two forms of the same are used, it unmistakably means that they do not mean one and the same person.
104. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Los Angeles, 1967, p. 61; Pl. III, 41–42.
105. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 62; Pl. III, 44.
106. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 14; Pl. I, 6.
107. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 22; Pl. I, 17. It is noteworthy that a coin of this type was found at Varanasi (H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Indica*, p. 354).
108. D. W. MacDowall, 'The Weight Standards of the Gold and Copper Coinages of the Kushana Dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vasudeva,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXII (1960), pp. 71–73.
109. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 63; Pl. III, 48–59.
110. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 84; Pl. III, 60; IV, 61–74.
111. G. K. Jenkins, 'Indo-Scythic Mints,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII (1955), pp. 1–2.
112. A. K. Srivastava, 'Kushana Gold Coins from Barabanki District,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXI (1969), pp. 15–21.
113. A. K. Srivastava, 'Kushana Coins from Tehri-Garhwal,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXVIII (1975), pp. 72–73.
114. A hoard of gold coins, found in the Meerut District (Unpublished), also shows that scepter-type coins of Huviṣka were later. This hoard included a coin of Huviṣka along with those of Vāsudeva and his successors. Unfortunately, the coin of Huviṣka of this hoard is not traceable now. But from its description, given in the *Treasure Trove Report*, available in the State Museum, Lucknow, it was a rare type coin showing the king wearing a turban in the Indian style. This coin might have been similar to the coin in the State Museum, Münich (West Germany) (A. K. Narain, 'A Unique Gold and the Silver coin of Huviṣka,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII [1960], p. 7). The Münich coin shows that the king holds a scepter in his right hand.
115. D. W. MacDowall, 'Weight Standard,' pp. 71–72.
116. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 226–268.
117. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, pp. 268–270.
118. Just before the preparation of this paper, the Mathurā Museum Coin Collection and a private collection at Mathurā were thoroughly examined by me.
119. List of the finds of the Kuṣāṇa coins in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa and the adjoining areas is given in my paper 'Kuṣāṇa-Muruṇḍa Rule in Eastern India,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXVI (1974), pp. 29–39. My two earlier papers include the finds from Eastern Uttar Pradesh ('Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX [1953], pp. 212–214; 'The Date of Kuṣāṇa Currency in Eastern India,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XV [1953], pp. 185–189). List of the finds

of the Kuṣāṇa coins in U.P. has also been prepared by C. S. Srivastava and A. K. Srivastava based on the Treasure Trove Reports (*Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, nos. 3 and 8, 1969 and 1971, respectively.

120. A hoard of 1221 coins was found at Māṭ. Another hoard of 120 coins was discovered in the excavations at Sonkh (A. K. Srivastava, 'Findspots of Kushana Coins in U.P.', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 8 [1971], p. 40, Entries 15 and 17). Recently, a third hoard of about 1500 coins was found at Govindnagar (Information, A. K. Srivastava). A fourth hoard of 296 coins was found at Jamba Ranger in Jaipur District (Rajasthan) not very far from the Mathurā region (Information, Premlata Pokharna).
121. A. K. Srivastava, 'A Hoard of Kuṣāṇa Coins from Jaunpur district', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 4, 1966, pp. 27–30. According to Srivastava, it included the coins of Kaniṣka, Vāsudeva, Kaniṣka III and Vasu. But on one of the coins B. N. Mukherjee has found the name *Bazeṣko* clearly written ('A Gold Coin of Bazeshko,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXIV [1972], pp. 31–35). This adds a new name to the list of the later Kuṣāṇa rulers. He may perhaps be identified with Vasaska or Vaskushana of the Sanchi inscriptions (J. Marshall, A. Foucher, and N. G. Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, three volumes, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 385–386) which bear the dates 28 and 22 respectively and are reckoned in the second Kuṣāṇa era by some scholars.
122. A. K. Srivastava, 'Kuṣāṇa Gold Coins from Unao District,' *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, nos. 5–6 (1970), pp. 31–32. It includes post-Vāsudeva coins.
123. *Indian Archaeology*, 1953–54, p. 39. 'The information given here is vague and to some extent inaccurate. There was no Kushano-Sasanian coin in the hoard. I examined this hoard recently at the Lucknow Museum. It contained one coin of Huviṣka (king holding spear); six coins of Vāsudeva (plain type 2; scyphate type 6; five coins of Kaniṣka (Śiva and Bull type) and ten coins of Kaniṣka III (Ardokhsho type).'
124. P. Pokharna, 'A Hoard of Kushana gold Coins from Rajasthan,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXIX (1977), p. 160. The information here is incomplete, but the photographs of the coins shown to me by Pokharna disclose that the hoard includes the coins of Vāsudeva and his successors.
125. The hoard was found in 1915 and still is unpublished. Originally it had eighty-six coins; but only sixty coins came into official hands. Of them, thirty-three belonged to the Imperial Guptas (twenty-nine of Samudragupta and four of Kachagupta) and the rest related to the Kuṣāṇas. Till recently, the only information about the hoards was that it included a coin of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, a rare variety (*Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1915–16, p. 25; 1926–27, p. 19; A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi, 1957, p. 309). Recently I had an occasion to lay hands on the *Annual Reports* of the Central Museum, Lahore. The *Report* for the year 1915–16 disclosed that the hoard was originally examined by R. B. Whitehead and he had then prepared a very brief note on it. According to his note, the notable coins in the hoard were: a very fine piece of Samudragupta's Battle-axe type, a coin of Samudragupta's Aśvamedha type and four coins of Kachagupta. He did not say a word about the Kuṣāṇa contents. However, the *Report* for the year 1916–17 disclosed that twenty coins from this hoard (eleven of the Guptas and nine of the Kuṣāṇas) were acquired by the Museum. The *Report* has illustrated all the twenty coins but without any description. The illustrations reveal that the Museum's acquisition included two coins of Vāsudeva (Śiva-Nandi reverse), two coins of Kaniṣka III (Śiva-Nandi reverse), two coins of Kaniṣka III (Ardokhsho reverse), two coins of Vasu (Ardokhsho reverse) and one coin of Sāka (Ardokhsho reverse). In the light of this disclosure, it may well be presumed that the remianing coins, that were not acquired by the Museum, would have been the duplicates of these coins. Thus we now have a fair idea of the hoard.
126. To have a clear historical picture, these hoards need a detailed treatment and a critical study which was not possible here. It may be discussed by me sometime later in an independent paper. But whatever has been said here is the sum substance of the hoard study, and it serves our purpose well.
127. P. L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, Varanasi, 1974, p. 250.
128. Gupta, 'Coinage of Local Kings,' p. 120.

15. Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins from Excavations at Mathurā

SUNIL C. RAY

The antiquity of the Mathurā region is amply evidenced by literary works, indigenous as well as foreign,[1] which receive corroboration from archaeological finds, mainly in the form of sculptures and inscriptions,[2] belonging to Kuṣāṇa and pre-Kuṣāṇa periods. More specific light on the chronology of the area however is left by monetary issues which can be classified as silver punch-marked coins, copper punch-marked coins, cast copper coins, local coins of so-called Mathurā rulers, coins of Satraps of Mathurā and coins of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and their successors. A corpus of coins recovered from Mathurā has not yet been prepared nor is a comprehensive list of such coins absolutely necessary to propound my thesis. Nevertheless, we may take an account of such discoveries, references of which are scattered in various works.

During his fourteen years of sojourn in the Mathurā region, Cunningham came across a number of coins of the 'Indo-Grecian' princes of Kabul and Punjab in various mounds of the city. Among these were issues of Apollodotus and Menander, both in silver and copper, of Antimachus and of Straton. He also refers to a copper coin on which he read the name of *Upātikya* written in Aśokan character.[3] He further obtained several copper coins of Saudāsa (Śoḍāsa)[4] and of Rajuvula and Rañjubula.[5]

Cunningham noticed that coins of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva were spread over a large area of the Indian subcontinent, from Kabul to Benares and from Kashmir to Sindh and Malwa.[6] Somewhat similar was the pattern of distribution of the coins of Vima Kadphises, a few of which were located at Mathurā and at Bhūteswar, a neighbouring area of the former.[7]

The variety of types and abundance of coins found at Mathurā, rightly led Cunningham to conclude that these monetary issues were evidence enough to indicate the antiquity of the region. He also attempted to fix a chronology of the coins on typological basis placing the old punch-marked pieces of silver and copper at the beginning, coinciding with the age of Buddha. These were followed by silver hemidrachmas of the Greek princes Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus and Straton. Then came the copper coins of the Hindu princes Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta etc. Next in succession were the coins of Vima Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. Chronologically the last in the series were the coins of the Gupta rulers.[8]

In his book, *Coins of Ancient India*, Cunningham reiterates his statement about the find of coins with greater details. He states that he found coins of Menander, Apollodotus and Antimachus II, Kuṣāṇa kings and many punch-marked silver coins from Mathurā. He also records the coins of Satraps from Mathurā. They are Rajuvula and his sons Śoḍāsa and Hagāmaṣa and his contemporary Hagāna. Other coins belonged to Hindu princes. These are Rājña Balabhūti, Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Rājña Rāmadatta, Puruṣadatta, Rājña Janapada, Ārjunāyana.[9] Smith adds to it the names of the following additional rulers which were not mentioned in Cunningham's work. They are Bhāvadatta, Uttamadatta, and Viṣṇumitra.[10] Allan records a few more names, viz. Gomitra II, *c* 200–50 B.C., Goṣadatta, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Kāmadatta and Kṣatrapa Śivadatta.[11] Besides we know the names of Satamitra,[12] Śeṣadatta[13] and Satyamitra.[14] Not all the coins mentioned above were actually found on the

soil of Mathurā. Many of them were collected from the local market. But a comparison of these coins with the coins actually found at Mathurā having a uniform coin type, viz. Lakṣmī holding lotus in uplifted right hand on the obverse and three elephants with riders on the reverse makes it evident that they were closely related, and if not at Mathurā proper, they were in all likelihood current in the neighbouring regions.

About the local Hindu coins, Vincent Smith very correctly states that the strikers of these monetary issues 'may have been contemporary with each other, are earlier than the foreign Satraps with Persian names.'[15] Attempt has been made to date some of these local rulers. Gomitra has been placed in the 2nd century B.C., Viṣṇumitra in the 1st century B.C. and Sūryamitra in the 2nd century B.C. on the basis of the identification of these rulers with the rulers of the same name occurring in several inscriptions found in the Mathurā region.[16] But such an identification cannot be established on unimpeachable grounds. As far as characters of inscriptions on the coins are concerned, it has to be admitted that due to the stereotyped nature of the script occurring on coins arising out of the peculiar technique of manufacture, it is not possible to date the script precisely, within a span of fifty years or so.[17]

In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, coins have been acquired from time to time. The findspots are not always recorded, but from the recorded ones it is noticed that quite a considerable number of coins hail from Mathurā. The pieces coming from Mathurā since 1924, for which records are available, show five silver punch-marked coins, one copper punch-marked coin, eleven cast copper, one copper Azes I, two copper Azes II, two Apollodotus, two Soter Megas, eleven coins of Vima Kadphises, a large number of coins of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva and imitation Vāsudeva, one copper Kidāra and several Kuṣāṇa-Sasanian coins were obtained from Mathurā, an evidence which tallies closely with the observations of Cunningham. Besides, there were coins of the Mathurā Satraps, of Rāmadatta and Nāga coins,[18] the last ones evidently belonging to a period beyond the one which is under our purview in the present paper.

Coins unearthed in various other excavations and in treasure trove, include silver and copper punch-marked coins along with baked clay moulds of punch-marked coins, coins of Greek and Śaka rulers, of local kings with names ending in Datta and Mitra, Kṣatrapas and the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and their successors. Most notable among these was a hoard of 2175 coins found in 1966–67, which contained 4 specimens of Kaniṣka and 8 of Huviṣka, a hoard of 1221 coins which included monetary issues of Vima Kadphises, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka and a hoard of 593 coins of Vāsudeva.[19]

Most of the coins referred to above were surface finds or finds in stray hoards of collections obtained from local dealers. But even those which came from excavations could not be placed to their respective cultural and chronological context, because of the limitation of the methods under which such excavations were conducted. In fact, in spite of the collection of very rich and impressive archaeological materials, these could not be placed in a chronological scheme due to non-availability of an accepted cultural sequence of the Mathurā region. It was therefore felt to be absolutely necessary to have a vertical dig in the Mathurā region which would disclose the cultural pattern of the area and show the objects obtained in the excavation in a stratified sequence. Comparable materials, otherwise obtained, could then be reasonably located against a cultural and chronological background. Artistic study of materials already in hand could at the most trace out some broad outline of artistic trends and a workable theory about the development of such trends through ages, but this fell far short of a scientific chronology, showing successive cultural occupations and their characteristic features. Only a closely observed scientific dig could offer this evidence. Such a dig, though on a small scale, was taken up during the years 1954–55 by the Archaeological Survey of India.

The area which was taken up for excavation lay to the north of the superimposed mosque of Aurangzeb. Period I, which was tentatively dated to 6th century B.C. yielded plain grey and polished black wares (not Northern Black Polished Ware) but did not present any coin. Period II which turned out Northern Black Polished Ware could be divided into three subperiods. Of these, the first showed evidence of bamboo and reed huts with baked bricks as well as ring wells in structural remains. Antiquities included bone needles or styli, carnelian amulets, and beads, figurines of the mother goddess in grey and animals in red terracottas. But no coin was encountered in this subperiod.

The middle subperiod presented a variety of antiquities including gadrooned and cylindrical terracotta beads, ear ornaments, etched carnelian beads, copper antimony rods, grey terracotta figurines of the mother goddess, elephant figurines with lozenge shaped eyes, enormous tusks and bodies decorated with punched, stamped or notched circlets. This subperiod also yielded coins, cast square copper.[20]

The last of the subperiods saw vigorous building activity in baked bricks. There were well laid out wells, drains and ring wells. Other finds consist of

coppersmith's furnace and workshop with several moulds, beads of shell, glass and crystal, terracotta female figurines with gorgeous headdress and monkeys with three legs. Cast copper coins were also met with in this subperiod. According to the chronology accepted by the Archaeological Survey of India, period II came to a close about the 2nd century B.C. The cast copper coins of Mathurā, therefore, were later than the earlier days of the N.B.P. and survived up to the 2nd century B.C.

After a temporary desertion, this very site again came to be occupied and this period of habitation has been described in the report of the excavation as period III. The cultural components of this period were various types of beads in crystal, agate, carnelian, lapis lazuli, faience, jasper and shell, dice of bone, stone caskets and a turquoise blue glazed finial. Copper coins, including those of Kuṣāṇas were met with in this period.[21]

The next period of the dig has been assigned a date extending from A.D. 100 to 350, which turned up terracotta dwarfs and grotesque figures showing use of double moulds identical to those found at Ahicchatrā in levels datable to A.D. 100 to 350. No coin is recorded to have been found in this period.[22]

Another excavation in the Mathurā region, where considerable emphasis was laid down on the principle of stratification was the one conducted at Sonkh, a site situated in the suburbs of Mathurā. The excavation was conducted by Herbert Härtel between 1966 and 1974.[23] It revealed the cultural sequence of the site which started from a period when the Painted Grey Ware was in use along with Black-and-Red Ware and continued upto late eighteenth century when the area was under the rule of the Jats. The chronology of the site was obtained mainly on the evidence of coins. Levels 34 and 33, belonged to the period of the Mauryas which yielded silver punch-marked coins and uninscribed cast coins with crescent-on-hill motif on the reverse. In levels 32 and 31, besides the silver punch-marked coins, which were encountered in the previous periods a new type of coin, the punch-marked copper, was met with. One small bowl contained as many as 42 coins of this type. The excavator attributed these levels to the period of early Śuṅgas.[24] Immediately higher levels, levels 30 and 29, presented punch-marked coins of silver and copper. In addition, level 29 yielded a die-struck coin with the Ujjain symbols on the reverse and a standing human-figure before a bull on the obverse. Härtel places these levels to middle Śuṅga period, i.e. second half of the 2nd century B.C.

The earliest inscribed coin of Sonkh comes from level 28. This is a coin of king Gomitra, who is supposed to have been a local ruler of Mathurā. From the lower phase of level 26 came up coins, in large numbers, of another Mitra king, Sūryamitra. The upper layers of level 26 and level 25 presented coins of Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra. By locating these Mitra coins in a stratigraphic sequence, Härtel has supplied important data on the basis of which the chronology of these coins can be determined, a chronology which does not tally with the normally accepted date for these coins. Allan, for example, has placed Gomitra of Härtel's coin in the 3rd century B.C. and Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra in the 2nd century B.C. and coins of other rulers with names ending in the Mitra and Datta (the types of which closely resemble the coin types of the Mitra rulers mentioned above and the provenances of which are either Mathurā or regions around it), in the 2nd and 1st century B.C.[25] But Härtel's discovery of these coins in levels lying between the Mid-Śuṅga and the Kṣatrapa period, places them between *c.* 150 B.C. to the end of the 1st century B.C. It may however be argued that the evidence of only one site is not adequate enough to finally settle the issue. It may further be said that at Sonkh, some of these Mitra coins may be survivals in an upper stratum. It will be therefore desirable to search for supporting evidence from other stratigraphic diggings before accepting the chronology of Härtel.

The local coins of Mathurā with names of strikers ending in Mitra or Datta have been found in several excavations, where adequate emphasis has been laid on the principle of stratigraphy. One of these is the excavation at Hastināpura. At Hastināpura, in site number one, five coins of the Mathurā rulers were met with. Struck on copper, they had the usual Lakṣmī figure on the obverse. In two cases, the names could be read as Śeṣadatta. On others, the names could not be read fully. These were found in period IV, which is broadly assignable between 2nd century B.C. and late 3rd century A.D. Though the excavator states that they were found in the lower levels of the period, this is not wholly true. In layer sixteen they were interlocked with the coins of the Yaudheyas, coins that are usually given a date in the 1st century A.D., while a few occurred in slightly earlier layers. At least this is evident from the section published in plate XXIII.[26] At Purana Qila, in one of the digs, the coins of Mathurā rulers are recorded to have been noticed in period III, *c.* 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. which yielded Yaudheya coins of the 1st century A.D. and Śuṅga terracottas.[27] In another dig, copper coins of Mathurā kings, apparently the Mitras and Dattas, are found in

the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period which presented typical Yakṣa (Kubera) of the Kuṣāṇa period, coins of Kuṣāṇas and the Yaudheyas and bowls and sprinklers of Kuṣāṇa age.[28] The reports published are too brief to enable one to locate the actual sequence of the Mathurā coins in relation to Yaudheya and Kuṣāṇa coins. Nevertheless their stratigraphic position does not militate against the view expressed by Härtel.

At Sonkh two coins of Kṣatrapa Hagāmaṣa and one of Rāmadatta were found in level 24, and twenty Kṣatrapa coins were met with in level 23. Most of these coins belong to Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa. A few coins of Rāmadatta also were seen in association, indicating perhaps that the rule of the local king remained overlapping with the Kṣatrapa rule over the Mathurā region. As pointed out by Härtel, no absolute date can be ascribed to the Kṣatrapa levels of Sonkh. But it is evident that the Kṣatrapas followed the Mitras. Hagāmaṣa can be reasonably assigned to the first century B.C. and Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa in the early part of the Christian era.

Coins of Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka I poured forth from level 22, of Huviṣka from level 18 and of Vāsudeva I and Kaniṣka III from level 16. On the basis of the actual occurrence of the coins of his predecessors and successors, the coins of Kaniṣka I, at Sonkh, can be said to have a place in the 1st century A.D.

Apart from presenting a cultural sequence with the help of coins, as described above, the excavations at Sonkh indicated the dates of two types of coins which could not be assigned so far to a definite period. One of these, which was felt by Allan to have originated in Uttar Pradesh but was finally assigned to Taxila[29] and was a die struck copper piece with a lion before *dhvaja-stambha* on the obverse and plain reverse, belonged to levels 33 and 32 and therefore was assignable to early Śuṅga period, i.e. first half of 2nd century B.C.

The second one, a round die struck copper, had a standing human figure on the obverse and one Ujjain symbol on the reverse. It was found in level 29, assignable to 2nd century B.C. I mention these coins to indicate that coins do not merely date a stratum in a stratified dig on the basis of their own known dates, but also to indicate how the unknown provenance and indeterminable date of a monetary issue is found out by the help of stratigraphic digging.

Sonkh has not only yielded a series of coins, which are helpful to date the chronology of the site, but also has dated the industries and the pattern of life which go with these coins. Associated with the silver punch-marked and cast copper coins go houses built of mud, wood and reed. The common red ware had dishes, plates and bowls. Coarse grey and black slipped ware were also in use besides the Northern Black Polished Ware. Terracotta mother goddess is an industry *par excellence*. Other important finds include a plaque of bone, possibly a female figure and an interesting copper trident. With the coming of punch-marked copper coins, there is a change in the associated industries. Moulded terracotta figures arrive, the forms of style are changed, a much more round face with broad cheeks replaces the long face with eyes outlined as simple ellipse. Mud bricks take the place of simple mud workmanship and even burnt bricks come to be in use in drains and wells.

With the use of Mitra coins and the coins of the Kṣatrapas, we come across real farmsteads, through the grouping of the rooms around an inner courtyard. Burnt bricks are in normal use. There is a general impression of prosperity in the abundance and variety of structures. The shape of pottery is replaced by new types of earthenware. The mother goddess in a new style becomes popular. A terracotta amulet in the shape of a hand is an interesting find of this period as is also a biscriptual seal, written in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. Among other typical objects mention may be made of votive tanks, remarkable for their variety and artistic quality.

The Kuṣāṇa coins go well with a highly prosperous and sophisticated way of life. Closed and walled-in-farmsteads and systematic layout of buildings mark the construction activity. There are beautiful bronzes, the continuation of votive tanks, seals, plaques, stamped pottery, and an abundance of terracotta figures in typical Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa styles. Stone reliefs and stone figures of remarkable beauty are also met with.[30]

During recent years, between 1973 and 1976, another excavation was taken up at Mathurā by the Archaeological Survey of India. Initially, the area taken up was Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, but afterwards several other areas were also examined. The final analyses show that the excavations revealed the following cultural sequence—(1) 6th century B.C. to 4th century B.C., Painted Grey Ware Culture, (2) 4th–3rd century B.C., Northern Black Polished Ware Culture, (3) 2nd–1st century B.C., (4) 1st to 2nd century A.D., the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa Culture, (5) 4th–5th century A.D. A detailed report of the excavations has yet to come out. From the brief notes so far published, it is found that period IV yielded Kuṣāṇa and imitation Kuṣāṇa coins. A large number of terracottas of different varieties marked this phase and dispelled the theory, once cherished, that the Kuṣāṇa period was deficient in terracottas.[31]

The chronology in the excavations noted above is

primarily based upon the evidence of coins, supplemented by the evidence of pottery and other artistic products which can be reasonably dated. This dating again is determined to a large extent on the basis of the dates of the associated coins found at other sites in various excavations. The evidence of coins, therefore, as far as Mathurā region is concerned, is of considerable importance. These coins have, for the first time, dated a sequence of culture and have helped to place various industries flourishing for ages in the Mathurā region in their proper chronological and cultural perspective. But the coins not only showed succession of cultures in a chronological order with associated industries, but also unveiled certain patterns of socio-economic life which went with a particular class of coins and thus opened up grounds for further research in the field of social history.

The evidence of coins in stratigraphic context is significant from another aspect. As pointed out previously, the Mathurā region has yielded coins ranging from punch-marked to post-Kuṣāṇa variety in various stray finds. These could not be placed, so far, into their natural chronological and cultural context. But now, thanks to the evidence of coins in stratigraphic sequence, we can associate these unstratified materials with their counterparts found in stratified contexts and establish their relationship. A stray cast copper coin, for example, is no longer an unknown entity in the cultural assemblage of Mathurā. Armed with the evidence of the three excavations referred to above we can now place it within a broad period between 4th and 2nd century B.C. The unstratified mass of coins found in the Mathurā region which were so far unassociated with corresponding cultures can now be placed into their proper context and thus can now be made meaningful.

Before concluding, I would like to draw the attention of scholars to another interesting feature. Some of the coins of Mathurā, like the punch-marked and cast copper coins, have a pan-Indian denomination. It cannot be said with certainty which of these originated at Mathurā. But there are others which can reasonably be placed in the Mathurā region itself, like the coins of the local rulers of Mathurā or their immediate followers, the Śaka Satraps. The Kuṣāṇa coins might have been issued from different parts of the Kuṣāṇa empire, which embraced a large part of North India and even regions beyond. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that an important seat of the Kuṣāṇa empire was at Mathurā. A considerable number of coins of the Kuṣāṇas, in all likelihood, emanated from this centre and spread into adjoining regions. Finds of Kuṣāṇa coins in other parts of India, therefore, broadly coincide with the Kuṣāṇa rule in Mathurā. The find, therefore, of coins of local as well as Kuṣāṇa rulers, in other parts of India where they have been located in the stratigraphic context is of considerable significance, in so far as this associates the history of Mathurā with the life lived in those cultural strata. A comparative study, in this context of Rupar period IV,[32] Sirkap III and IV (structural phase),[33] Purana Qila, III, Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period,[34] Ahicchatrā IV (Dikshit's excavation)[35] and III (Banerjee's excavation)[36], Kauśāmbī III,[37] Hastināpura IV,[38] Bikaner III, Rangmahal culture,[39] Sohāgpur III,[40] Masaondih III,[41] Rajghat in period yielding coins of the Kuṣāṇas,[42] (regions not lying very far from Mathurā and perhaps situated within a broad based political and economic system), is likely to bring into focus a pattern of life which was shared by a large community of Northern India for a considerable period, and in which Mathurā's contribution was perhaps not insignificant.

ABBREVIATIONS

Report – A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report.*

Ann. Rep. A.S.I. – *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India.*

C.A.I. – A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India.*

C.C.I.M. – V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I.

C.C.A.I. – John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India.*

NOTES

1. H. C. Roychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (7th ed.) Calcutta, 1972, p. 117; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, p. 106, 118, 432; *The Mauryas and Sātavāhanas*, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Calcutta, 1957, p. 381, 383.
2. A. Cunningham, *Report*, Vol. I (Reprint), Varanasi, 1972, pp. 231–244; III, (Reprint) Varanasi, 1966, pp. 13–46; XVII (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969, pp. 107–112; XX (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969, pp. 30–39; V. A. Smith, *Jain Stupa and other antiquities of Mathura* (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969; *EI* I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 293 ff. *EI* II, Calcutta, 1894, pp. 195 ff.; *A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1911–12, pt. II, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 120–133; J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910.
3. Cunningham, *Report* III, p. 14.
4. Cunningham, *Report* III, p. 39.
5. Cunningham, *Report* III, p. 40, The name of the king is spelt differently as Rajuvula, Rañjubula and Rājūla.
6. Cunningham, *Report* III, p. 42.
7. Cunningham, *Report* III, p. 45.
8. Cunningham, *Report* XX, pp. 37–38.
9. A. Cunningham, *C.A.I.* London, 1891, pp. 85–90.
10. V. A. Smith, *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 190–197.
11. John Allan, *C.C.A.I.*, London, 1936, pp. 169–191.
12. K. D. Bajpai, 'A Coin of Satyamitra—a new ruler of Mathura', *J.N.S.I.* XXVIII (1966), p. 42.
13. R. R. Tripathi, 'Some rare copper coins', *J.N.S.I.* XXV (1963), p. 241.
14. *I.A.R.* (1965–66), 78.
15. Smith, *C.C.I.M.*, I, p. 190.
16. Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India, c. 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1974, pp. 153–154, 159–160.
17. For other references on the date of the local coins of Mathurā, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, p. 171; P. L. Gupta, 'The Coinage of the Local Kings of Northern India and the Dates of Kaniska', in *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leyden, 1968, pp. 114–120; T. P. Verma, 'Palaeography of Local Coins of Northern India', in *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 137–143.
18. Information from D. Mukherjee, Deputy Keeper, Numismatics, Indian Museum.
19. A. K. Srivastava, 'Mathurā as known through the Coins', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U.P.*, No. 11–12 (1973), pp. 30–36; 'Treasure Trove finds from Mathurā', *Bull. of Mus. and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 11–12 (1973), pp. 37–41; *I.A.R.* (1969–70), p. 58.
20. *I.A.R.* (54–55), p. 15. The brief report speaks of its shape and metal only, 'square copper'. The late M. Venkataramayya, one of the excavators informed the author that it was a variety of cast copper coin.
21. *I.A.R.* (54–55), p. 16. It is not mentioned what were the copper coins other than those of the Kuṣāṇa.
22. *I.A.R.* (54–55), p. 16.
23. For the report of this excavation and the views and facts gleaned in this paper, see Herbert Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh', *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II (1976), pp. 69–99; *I.A.R.* (66–67), pp. 41–43; *I.A.R.* (68–69), p. 40; *I.A.R.* (71–72), pp. 47–48; *I.A.R.* (72–73), pp. 33–34.
24. According to P. L. Gupta, these 42 squarish coins have symbols which indicate that they were very close to the Mauryan period and hence they should belong to the period of 180 to 150 B.C. See P. L. Gupta 'Copper Punchmarked Coins from Sonkh', *J.N.S.I.*, XXXVII (1975), pp. 1–12.
25. Allan, *C.C.A.I.*, p. civ.
26. *A.I.* nos. 10 and 11, p. 101.
27. *I.A.R.* (54–55), p. 14.
28. *I.A.R.* (69–70), pp. 4–5.
29. Allan, *C.C.A.I.*, p. cxxxviii, cxxxix.
30. Härtel, 'Sonkh'.
31. *I.A.R.* (73–74), p. 32; *I.A.R.* (74–75), p. 50; also Pl. XLVC.
32. Y. D. Sharma, 'Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar' *Lalit Kala*, (1954–56) nos. 1–2, pp. 121–129; *I.A.R.* (53–54), pp. 6, 70. Coins of Hagāmaṣa and Rajuvula, Satraps of Mathurā, which were found at Rupar, in addition to Kuṣāṇa coins in comparatively lower levels of period IV, 200 B.C. to A.D. 600, may indicate not only cultural and economic, but also a more positive relation, political and commercial, between Mathurā, and a township of east Punjab.
33. A. Ghosh, 'Taxila (Sirkap), 1944–45,' *A.I.*, no. 4, July (1947–January, 1948), pp. 41–84.
34. *I.A.R.* (54–55), p. 14, *I.A.R.* (69–70), pp. 4–5; *I.A.R.* (70–71), p. 10; *I.A.R.* (72–73), p. 8.
35. A. Ghosh and K. C. Panigrahi, 'The Pottery of Ahicchatra, District Bareilly, U.P.', *A.I.*, no. 1 (1946), pp. 37–40.
36. *I.A.R.* (63–64), p. 44.
37. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī (1957–1959)* Allahabad 1960; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XVI, Leyden, 1958, pp. xxxvi to xlv.
38. B. B. Lal, 'Excavation at Hastinapura and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej basins', *A.I.*, nos. 10 and 11, (1954 and 1955), pp. 5–151.
39. A. Ghosh, 'The Rajputana Desert—Its archaeological aspect', *Bulletin of the National Institute of Science in India*, no. 1 (1952), p. 41.
40. *I.A.R.* (61–62), p. 56.
41. *I.A.R.* (64–65), p. 43; *I.A.R.* (65–66), p. 51; *I.A.R.* (67–68), p. 47.
42. *I.A.R.* (64–65), p. 45.

16. Study of Local Coin Types of Mathurā with Particular Reference to Religious Motifs

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

The typology of early Indian coins is perhaps peculiar to the subcontinent. Some attempts have been made, now and then, to study the symbols of early Indian coins and to determine their religious affiliations. But all these attempts have been in vain, as they consider, in most cases, individual symbols, usually out of their group context. The obverse symbols of punch-marked coins are supposed to indicate their issuer and the place of their issue[1] and perhaps other connected matters. Their reverse marks are usually taken as shroff marks. Thus, most of the early coins do not seem to suggest a definite religious typology.[2] The early cast and die-struck coins follow the symbolic pattern of the preceding punch-marked coins. These also, therefore, must indicate the issuer, the place and area, etc., of their circulation through their marks.[3]

Thus, the indigenous rulers of the subcontinent do not appear to have inherited an established religious typology for use on their coins, particularly of the type used by the Indo-Greeks and their non-Indian successors. Distinct religious types were adopted by indigenous kings and political groups probably as a result of the impact of the Indo-Greek and the Śaka-Pahlava coinage just as the practice of inscribing coins, as well as the use of regal titles on their species was also adopted from the Indo-Greeks.[4] This adoption, however, was carefully drawn in accordance with the local numismatic tradition as a result of which the symbolic nature of coinage was retained in many cases. The only exception to this is provided by the coinage of Pañcāla which shows a long series of definite religious types.[5] But even in this case, the representations are in tune with the indigenous numismatic tradition.

The main difference between the Greek and Indian religious types is that whereas the former use divinities or attributes thereof on coins, the local kings, with the lone exception of the Pañcāla-Mitras, use single divinity, namely Lakṣmī or forms of Lakṣmī. Perhaps this may again be connected with the depiction of goddesses in later Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pahlava coinage. Possibly this was due to the fact that some of the local chieftainships were located around the Greek and Śaka-Pahlava kingdoms. It may be noted that whereas the Indo-Greek coins generally contain a religious type on the reverse, a practice which found favour with the Śaka-Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas, the same was not strictly followed by indigenous rulers. Deities on indigenous coins are found on either side of the coin, except in the case of the Pañcāla-Mitras.[6]

The known kings of Mathurā are classed into two groups: (1) the indigenous Hindu dynasties, and (2) the dynasties of Śaka rulers.[7] The indigenous rulers of Mathurā are again divided into two sub-groups—the Mitras and the Dattas.[8] They are Gomitra (I and II), Brahmamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Balabhūti (I and II), and Bhāvadatta, Kāmadatta, Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeṣadatta and Uttamadatta.[9] The second group of Śaka rulers is also divided into two sub-groups, (1) the Kṣatrapas Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, and (2) Mahākṣatrapas Rajuvula, Śoḍāsa and Toraṇadāsa (?). A new Kṣatrapa Vajatatama is also known from a coin.[10] Then there are two other later kings whose coins are also known from Mathurā; they are Śaśachandāta and Vīrasena.[11] They are taken to be post-Kuṣāṇa rulers and are usually omitted from a consideration of this type.

The known types of the kings of Mathurā may be listed as follows below:

(a) Obverse types:
1. *Lakṣmī types*
2. *Rude figure or standing figure type*
3. *Bull type*
4. *Lion type*

(b) Reverse types:
1. *Tree-in-railing*
2. *Elephant types*
3. *Horse type*
4. *Pallas type*
5. *Hercules type*
6. *Abhiṣeka of Lakṣmī type*

(a) Obverse types

1. *Lakṣmī type*: The representation of Lakṣmī on the coins of Mathurā is almost a regular feature. She is found represented on the specie of most of the kings of Mathurā. There are several variations of the type which are due, in most cases, to the symbols that accompany the goddess. The principal depiction of Lakṣmī has to be studied in association with the accompanying symbols (Fig. 16.1) even if their actual significance is indeterminable. Any attempt to disassociate the symbols from the principal type or design will be unrewarding. These variations in the Lakṣmī type indicate a gradual development of the type during the period of the local rulers of Mathurā.

(i) *Lakṣmī standing facing with lotus* (in l. or r. hand).

This variety of the representation of Lakṣmī is met with on the coins of Brahmamitra,[12] Dṛḍhamitra,[13] Sūryamitra,[14] Viṣṇumitra,[15] Puruṣadatta[16] and Balabhūti.[17]

Lakṣmī standing facing, holding lotus in r. or l. hand is shown between *SY1* on l. and *SY2* on r. (Fig. 16.1) on some coins of Brahmamitra.[18] *SY* refers to selected symbols on the accompanying chart. Another variety of his coins shows the goddess as above but the tree symbol on l. *SY1* is replaced by *SY3*.[19] On the coins of Dṛḍhamitra,[20] she is shown standing between *SY1* on l. and *SY4* on r. The symbols flanking the deity on the l. and r. on the coins of Sūryamitra[21] are exactly like those on the specie of Brahmamitra (of variety a). The coins of Viṣṇumitra,[22] depict her between the same symbols as on the coins of Dṛḍhamitra. Types of Balabhūti[23] are not clear.

The accompanying symbols help to relate the kings of this group of coins. That is, Viṣṇumitra and Dṛḍhamitra seem to be closely connected with one another on the one hand, and on the other, Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra seem closely connected. Brahmamitra is placed after Sūryamitra because he seems to have introduced later a change in typology by replacing the *SY1* symbol with *SY3*. King Balabhūti may or may not belong to this group. Symbols accompanying the goddess on his coins are not distinct.

It will be appropriate to refer to Mathurā inscription No. 181 (H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, unpublished papers, edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 206–7), referring to a nurse of Indrāgnibhadrā, daughter of *raño Viṣṇumītrasa*, son of ... *mamitra*. Viṣṇumitra of this record is identical with the homonymous king of Mathurā known from coins. His father ... *mamitra* is perhaps the same as Brahmamitra of the coins.

Another king of this group is Puruṣadatta.[24] Lakṣmī on his coins is shown standing between *SY1* on l. and *SY5* on r. He is connected with this group of kings on the basis of the two symbols on the l. and r. of the deity. But the symbol *SY6* found above the mark *SY7* on r. differentiates him from the remaining kings of this group (i.e., the Mitra kings).

(ii) *Lakṣmī or Goddess standing, facing, above a river with fishes* is another obverse variety of the Lakṣmī type. This variety has been used by Gomitra II, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta. Lakṣmī standing on a river with fishes *SY8* is first met with on some coins of Gomitra II.[25] The symbols flanking the goddess are *SY1* on l. and *SY2* on r. as found on the previous type of Brahamamitra and Sūryamitra. These symbols, as found in this group context on the coins of Gomitra II are not found used on coins of any other king of this group. However, the river with fishes over which Lakṣmī is shown standing connects Gomitra II with Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta. This depiction or Lakṣmī above the river with fishes flanked by *SY1* on l. and *SY6* on r. is on the coins of Uttamadatta.[26] Some coins of Rāmadatta[27] contain *SY5* symbol on the r. of the deity, the symbol on her l. being the same. This symbol was noticed on the coins of Puruṣadatta in the same position (i.e., on the r. of the deity). Hence it connects them both. Rāmadatta also seems to have introduced a slight change in the typology of his coins. Some of his coins show the goddess as standing above a river represented by a wavy line *SY9* instead of a river with fishes.[28] The symbols flanking her on l. and r. are the same as usual, but a star *SY10* mark is found below the tree mark on l. and a bull below the symbol on the r. Kāmadatta's coins combine the two types of Rāmadatta, probably his predecessor. Lakṣmī on the coins of Kāmadatta[29] is standing above a river with fishes and is flanked by all the symbols found on the Lakṣmī on river type coins of Rāmadatta. All the kings using this obverse type seem to be closely

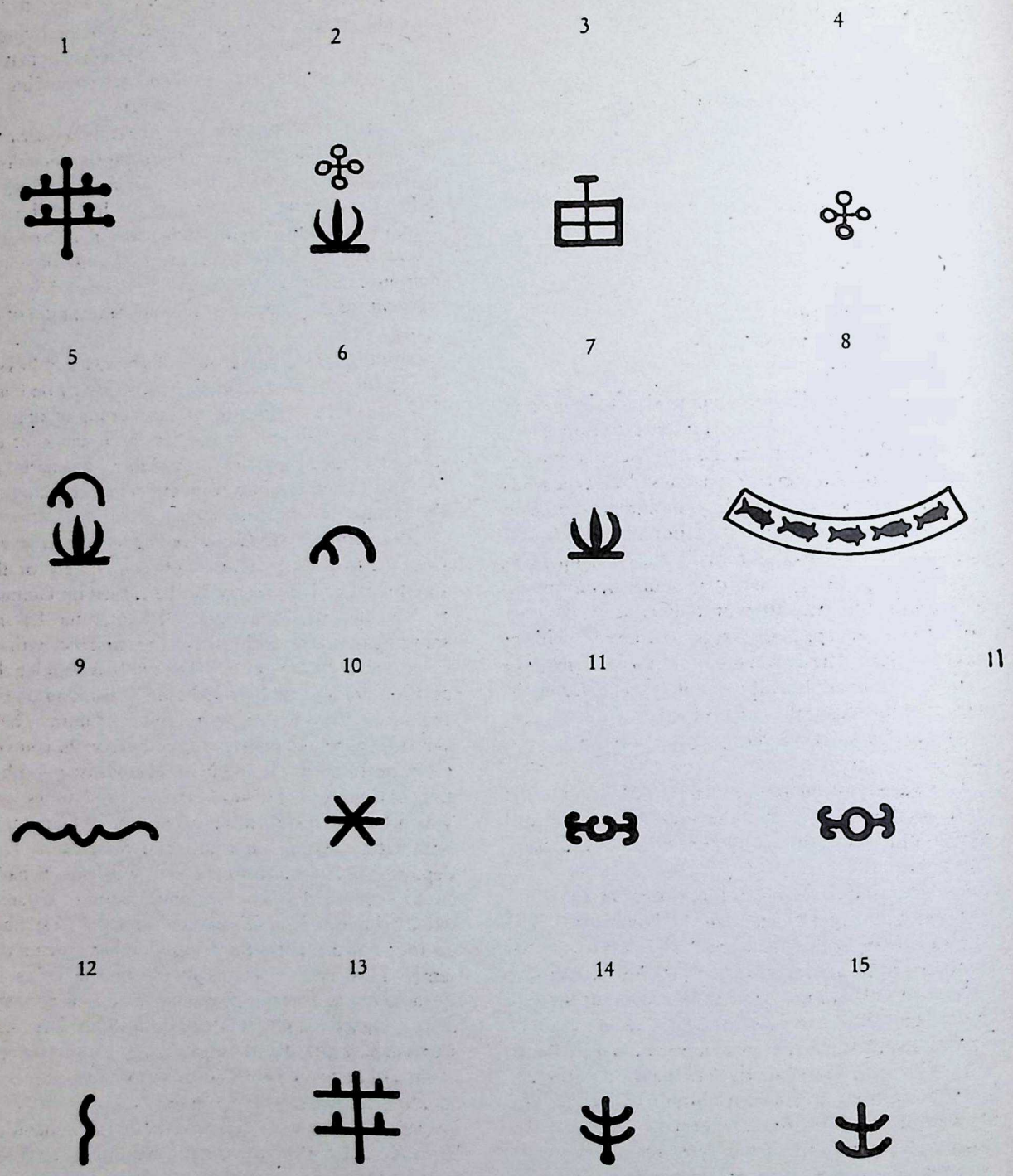


Fig. 16.1 Selected symbols (SY) on the Mathurā local coins.

Note: There is some variation in the form of SY 11; both variations are numbered '11' in the above chart.

connected. One may be tempted to identify the deity standing above a river with fishes or a simple river, with the personification of some river, probably Yamunā, in the context of Mathurā, but this may also indicate Lakṣmī's association with the sea, as she is said to have come out of the churning of the ocean.[30]

(iii) Yet another variety of *the Lakṣmī type* is met with on some of the coins of the Śakas of Mathurā. Here Lakṣmī is shown standing, facing, on *SY11*, between *SY12* on l. and *SY13* on r. Lakṣmī's association with *SY11*, *12* and *13* is found on coins of the Kṣatrapas Śivadatta[31] and Hagāmaṣa.[32] Coins of Śoḍāsa,[33] however, have dropped the mark *SY11* from below the deity. This dropping of the symbol was probably first initiated by his father, Rajuvula,[34] some of whose issues bear Lakṣmī standing facing between *SY12* on l. and *SY14* on r. It is also worth noting that the symbols hitherto flanking the deity on the coins of the Hindu Kings of Mathurā are altogether dropped. The symbol *SY12* may have been inspired by the river mark on some coins of Rāmadatta and the tree symbol may only be a variation of the conventional tree regularly found on the l. of the deity on the coins of the Hindu rulers. Some coins of Śoḍāsa, of this group, also contain a small *svastika* mark, like those of his father.

(iv) *Lakṣmī with tree* is represented on coins of Śivaghoṣa[35] and Toraṇadāsa[36] This type is also represented on some coins of Ghoṣadatta[37] and Bhāvadatta.[38] It is perhaps the same tree or its variation as found on l. of Lakṣmī but now it is often met with on her r. also.

2. Some coins attributed to a different Gomitra[39] but classified under Gomitra I and a Balabhūti[43] of a different dynasty contain a *rude figure* with arms uplifted. Other symbols, etc., are not clear, hence it is difficult to identify the figure.

3. Another type, *Bull* to r. before tree-in-railing and an Ujjain symbol at the end of the name of Gomitra II,[41] may not have any connection with Lakṣmī. But the bull appears on some coins of Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta in association with Lakṣmī and other signs. This bull need not be taken to represent Siva or Ṛṣabhanātha as it is not associated with definite Śaiva and Jaina symbols.

4. Another obverse type is the depiction of *Lion* to r. with a sort of *SY15* tree mark above it on some coins of Rajuvula,[42] and is sometimes also accompanied with a small *svastika* in the field. This Lion on coins of Rajuvula may or may not represent Buddha. The Buddhist association of Rajuvula, however, is indicated by the Buddhist Lion Capital at Mathurā.

Of all the foregoing types only the Lakṣmī types could be styled as religious. Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, in all likelihood, was probably represented on Mathurā coins more as the goddess of wealth than as a sectarian deity. The symbols accompanying her do not help us to determine her nature because their religious significance cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge. It is also difficult to suppose that the symbols were placed on coins to indicate religious preferences of their issuers. It is more reasonable to argue that the symbols signified the state, the king and the mint where legends are absent, and the state and mint, etc., where the name of the issuer is available. But there are too many symbols and it is difficult to imagine that the state of Mathurā and the mints changed that many times.

(b) The Reverse types

1. *Tree-in-railing type* is struck by Gomitra I,[43] Gomitra II[44] and a Balabhūti.[45] There is no other symbol on this type; at least none is visible. It may be connected with Gomitra II's obverse type-Bull to r. before tree-in-railing. But this type did not find favor with the later kings of Mathurā.

2. *Elephant types*: There are two elephant types. The first of these is 'three elephants with or without riders' type which is issued by Gomitra II,[46] Brahmamitra,[47] Sūryamitra,[48] Viṣṇumitra,[49] Dṛḍhamitra,[50] Balabhūti,[51] Śeṣadatta,[52] Puruṣadatta,[53] Rāmadatta[54] and Kāmadatta.[55]

The second, that is the 'single Elephant' type is used only by Uttamadatta[56] and Bhāvadatta.[57]

3. *Horse type*: A horse to left is depicted on some coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Mathurā like Śivadatta,[58] Hagāna with Hagāmaṣa,[59] Hagāmaṣa[60] and Vajatatajama.[61] This type is not used by the other group of Śaka rulers which may indicate that they possibly belonged to two different families.

None of the aforementioned reverse types seem to have any religious connections. The elephant-with-riders type precludes any possibility of its association with Lakṣmī, Indra or the Buddha.

The representation of the 'Horse' type might be taken as indication of the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by its issuers. But the same cannot be said about the Mathurā Kṣatrapas. They are not known to have performed any Brahmanical sacrifice. Hence their depiction of the horse on coins has a significance other than the performance of Aśvamedha. May we suggest that the Brahmanical kings, who depended militarily more on their elephants, depicted the elephant in different ways as an indication of their show of strength while the succeeding Śakas depicted the horse on their coins, as cavalry was their main source of military strength.

4. *'Pallas' type*: On some coins of Rajuvula,[62] Pallas the Greek goddess is borrowed from the Indo-Greek or Śaka-Pahlava coinage of the Punjab.

5. *'Hercules' type:* The depiction of Hercules[63] on some coins of Rajuvula is also taken from the same source. This is further confirmed by the depiction of the head of the king on obverse and a Greek legend (sometimes corrupt) on that side. The reverse of these types contains the king's name in the Kharoṣṭhī legend which again is a feature of Greek and Śaka-Pahlava coinage of the Punjab and north-west.

Both the 'Pallas' and 'Hercules' types are religious types. But it is difficult to say that both these Greek divinities were actually worshipped at Mathurā by the Śaka rulers. These coins being totally different in type and style from the Mathurā coins need not be treated as coins issued for circulation in the kingdom of Mathurā even if Rajuvula was king of this region. They were in all probability issued by Rajuvula for circulation in the parts of the Punjab to which he belonged and as such the religious significance, if any, of these two types, has no bearing on the religious conditions of Mathurā. Perhaps Pallas and Hercules types were issued more in imitation of Greek types than to signify any religious considerations.

6. *'The Abhiṣeka of Lakṣmī' type* is found on the coins of Rajuvula,[64] Śoḍāsa[65] and Toraṇadāsa;[66] the last named was perhaps a brother and successor of Śoḍāsa as Kṣatrapa in Mathurā. 'The *Abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī' type reverse is accompanied by the usual Lakṣmī type of Mathurā on the obverse of these coins. This is the only type of Rajuvula that is associated with Mathurā. The rarity of this type shows that he did not rule at Mathurā directly for long. It is possible that his son, Śoḍāsa, was soon after appointed Kṣatrapa of Mathurā and that he issued coins of this type introducing himself as the son of the Mahākṣatrapa and as the son of Rajuvula. The coins of Śoḍāsa, contain only Brāhmī legends as on the Mathurā type coins of his father. This indicates that Mathurā was the base of Śoḍāsa as Kṣatrapa. His coins of this type, issued in the name of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa are rarer. This shows that he left Mathurā soon after to succeed his father somewhere in the Punjab. Or, possibly, his reign was short. These Kṣatrapas of Mathurā are known also from inscriptions found in the region,[67] but they do not indicate that they came to power in Mathurā and expanded from there into parts of the Punjab.[68]

The religious type *Gajalakṣmī* or *Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī* was brought to Mathurā from the Punjab by Rajuvula. He imitated it probably from a type of Azilises[69] because this fitted well with the local numismatic traditions of Mathurā.

The suggestion put forward by B. N. Mukherjee that the *Abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī is used on a coin-type of Gomitra[70] is hardly tenable. It is in all probability a crude representation of the 'three-elephants-with-riders-holding-*aṅkuśa*' type. Similar depiction may also be found on two coins of Sūryamitra.[71] The regularity with which the Lakṣmī and Elephant types are used by the rulers of Mathurā shows that if the *Abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī motif were really introduced by Gomitra and followed by Sūryamitra, it should have been used more frequently by other kings as well. Since it is not depicted by any other king of the area, the suggestion of Mukherjee cannot be taken as valid. As we have mentioned above, the *Abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī motif was brought to Mathurā by Rajuvula from the Punjab and it did not originate locally.

The *Harivaṁśa* (85:2f) refers to the importance of Mathurā.[72] It is called an abode of Lakṣmī. This may indicate figuratively the overall prosperity of the kingdom. She may also be taken as the guardian deity of the kingdom. *Gajalakṣmī* was very popular with the Jainas. She figures in the list of fourteen great dreams seen by the mothers of the Tīrthaṅkaras.[73] The Śaka-Kṣatrapas possibly were trying to win over the local population by depicting the motif on their coins.

The local kings of Mathurā did not use coins to publicize their own religious leanings and beliefs. The symbols found on their coins are perhaps part of the royal insignia or marks of the mint and authentication. A religious interpretation of some of these marks, even if possible, confuses the significance of these signs.

On the basis of the occurrence of Lakṣmī on their coins, the local kings of Mathurā may be regarded as followers of Brahmanical religions, perhaps the predominant faith of the kingdom during their reign. Jainism and Buddhism also flourished side by side. It was perhaps with the establishment of the Kṣatrapa rule, particularly of the family of Rajuvula, that these religions started to prosper rapidly at Mathurā. Some members of Rajuvula's family had definite leanings towards Buddhism.[74] The Mathurā Lion Capital record refers to the erection of a stūpa over Buddha's relics and a monastery.[75] Such royal favors certainly helped the Buddhists to prosper at Mathurā. Due to the policy of tolerance followed by them, other religious groups were not hurt.

NOTES

1. This is indicated by a passage in the *Visuddhimagga* wherein it is stated that looking at a heap of coins lying on the tray of a master goldsmith another *ācārya* will know which *ācārya* manufactured them and at which place they were made, etc. Cf. D. C. Sircar, 'Buddhaghosa and Indian Numismatics,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, (henceforth *JNSI*) Vol. XIII, pt. II (1952), pp. 183 ff. 'The Issue of Punch-Marked Coins,' *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII (1961), pp. 297 ff.
2. This may be suggested even though some human figures may be recognized as those of deities on some punch-marked coins. The depiction of a human figure holding a *hala* and a *musala* on a punch-marked coin from Mathurā, as pointed out by P. L. Gupta (cf. his paper published elsewhere in this volume) belongs in this category.
3. If one holds that the different marks on coins stand for the issuer and their place of issue, etc., then it is difficult to suggest a religious interpretation of symbols like bull, elephant, horse, etc., to denote certain divinities, unless they are found together with definite religious symbols, in addition to the marks.
4. Cf. papers published in *Foreign Elements in Indian Coinage*, (edited by A. M. Shastri, being published by the Numismatic Society of India, B.H.U., Varanasi).
5. The religious types of Pañcāla, particularly of the Mitra rulers, usually depict a deity bearing the same name as that of the king. For example, coins of Agnimitra and Bhānumitra contain the depictions of Agni and Bhānu respectively. It is possible that the kings were worshippers of the deities they illustrated, but it is equally possible that such depictions were meant to help illiterate subjects identify the rulers of the coins concerned.
6. The practice of depicting the god or goddess on the reverse as a rule seems to have gotten established gradually due to its continuous use by the Indo-Greeks, Śaka-Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas.
7. John Allan, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, London, 1936, henceforth, *B.M.C., A.I.*, p. cviii. The order of the kings of Mathurā as used here should not be taken to indicate their chronological position. We propose to discuss the sequence of these kings elsewhere.
8. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, A. K. Narain, ed., etc., Varanasi, 1968, p. 41. This volume is henceforth referred to as *SPLCNI*.
9. It is possible that all these kings actually belonged to more than two families.
10. B. N. Mukherjee, 'A Unique Satrapal Coin,' *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II (1976), pp. 60–61, Pl. I.3. This coin of *Khatapasa Vaja* (or) *jā? tatajama* is reported from Kosam near Allahabad, and is attributed to Mathurā. It may be noted that the obverse of this coin contains a tree-in-railing symbol which is not found on the coins of the kings of Mathurā.
11. Narain, *SPLCNI*, p. 44, cf. also V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (this volume is hereafter referred to as *IMC*), Calcutta, Oxford, 1906, I, p. 191–92, for coins of Vīrasena. There is some doubt regarding their attribution to Mathurā, cf. Allan, *B.M.C., AI*, p. clv.
12. Allan, *B.M.C., A.I.*, p. 173; Smith, *IMC*, I., p. 194; B. B. Bidyabinod, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, Varanasi, 1973, Reprint, p. 42. This volume is hereafter referred to as *SCCIM*.
13. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 174.
14. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 174–75.
15. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 175–76; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 194.
16. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 176–77; Smith, *IMC*, p. 192.
17. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 178; Smith, *IMC*, p. 192.
18. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 26–30, p. 173.
19. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 31, p. 173, Pl. XXV. 13.
20. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 32, p. 174, Pl. XLIII. 16.
21. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 33–37, pp. 174–75, Pl. XXV. 17–21, Pl. XLIV. 9.
22. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 38–43, pp. 175–76, Pl. XXV. 15–16.
23. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 55–57, p. 178, Pl. XXV. 22–24; *IMC*, I., p. 192; Bidyabinod, *SCCIM*, p. 42.
24. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 44–51, pp. 176–77, Pls. XXIV. 1–4, and XLIV. 10; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 192, Pl. XXII. 10.
25. The river-with-fishes symbol is out of flan on some coins; cf. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 10, p. 170, Pl. XXV. 1. It is visible on other specimens, see Allan, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXV. 2, etc. For coins of this king, see also Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 194.
26. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 52–54, p. 177, Pl. XXIV, 15–17; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 193.
27. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 60–72, pp. 179–80; Pl. XXIV. 5–8, 12–13. Cf. also Smith, *IMC*, I, pp. 193–94; Bidyabinod, *SCCIM*, p. 42.
28. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 73–78, p. 181, Pl. XXIV. 9–11, 14.
29. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 79, p. 182, Pl. XXIV. 18. Kāmadatta's coins bearing the title *Mahārāja* (listed as nos. 80–84) may or may not be connected with those of his issues mentioned earlier.
30. P. L. Gupta also thinks that this is the representation of Yamunā. The deity, however, cannot be identified with the river Yamunā with certainty as her *vāhana* is *Kacchapa*. Any other river, in this context, is out of question. If the symbol is in fact associated with Lakṣmī and is not just a state symbol, it may also represent the ocean, as the abode of Lakṣmī.
31. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 85, p. 183, Pl. XXV. 26.
32. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 86–96, pp. 183–84, Pl. XXVI. 1–4; Smith, *IMC*, I, pp. 195–96; cf. also, Bidyabinod, *SCCIM*, p. 43.
33. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 135–142, 143–45, 146, pp. 190–91, Pls. XXVI. 14–17, 25; XLIII. 17; XXVI. 18; XLIII.

15. The coins contain a small *svastika*, at the end of the legend. Cf. also Smith, *IMC*, I, pp. 196–97.
34. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 113–14, p. 187, Pl. XXVI. 12–13; Smith, *IMC*, I. No. 3, p. 196.
35. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cxii.
36. Allan, *BMC, AI*.
37. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cx.
38. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cxi; cf. also Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 193.
39. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 5, p. 169, Pl. XXV. 3.
40. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 58–59, p. 178. Pl. XLIII. 19–20.
41. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 19–25, p. 172. Pl. XXV. 8–11.
42. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 115–34, pp. 187–89, Pls. XLIII. 21–22.
43. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 1–4, p. 169, Pl. XXIV, 20–21.
44. Allan, *BMC, AI*, no. 5, p. 169, Pl. XXV. 3.
45. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 58–59, p. 178, Pl. XLIII. 19–20.
46. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 170–71.
47. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 173.
48. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 174–75.
49. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 175–76.
50. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 174.
51. Allan, *BMC, AI*, nos. 55–57, p. 178.
52. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cx.
53. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 176–77.
54. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 179–81.
55. The depiction is illegible on no. 79, but coins bearing the title *mahārāja*, nos. 80–84, have it. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 182.
56. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 177.
57. Allan, *BMC, AI*, cxi; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 193.
58. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 183.
59. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. 184; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 195.
60. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 183–84; Smith, *IMC*, I, pp. 195–96; Bidyabinod, *SCCIM*, p. 43.
61. B. N. Mukherjee, 'Satrapal Coin', pp. 60–61.
62. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 185–86; Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 196; Bidyabinod, *SCCIM*, p. 43.
63. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 187–189.
64. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 187.
65. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 190–91; Smith, *IMC*, I, pp. 196–97.
66. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. cxii, Richard Salomon 'Re-identification of the Coin of Kshatrapa Toraṇaḍās', *JNSI*, XXXVII (1975) pp. 147–49, suggests that the coin is actually of Śoḍāsa.
67. Cf. Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions, Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription of the year 72, Mathurā stone Inscription (No. 26), Mathurā stone Inscription (No. 26A), Mathurā stone Inscription (26B); Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 114–19.
68. Allan states that 'the coins shows that Rajuvula ruled a much wider area than Mathura for he imitated Coinages other than the local type of his predecessors here. His commonest coins are drachms of light weight and very base metal copied from the coins of Strato I and II, one of the last Greek coinages. . . . These coins were struck over a wide area and their find-spots range from the valleys of the rivers forming the Indus to the Gangetic Doab', *BMC, AI*, p. cxv. Class II coins of Mathurā type are the scarcest of Rajuvula's types, *Ibid*. Had Rajuvula really been a king of Mathurā his Mathurā type coins would have been more numerous. This proves beyond doubt that Rajuvula's main base was somewhere in eastern Punjab, from whence he extended his kingdom over Mathurā and appointed his son Śoḍāsa to rule as its governor.
69. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, 1914, Pl. XIII. 332–33.
70. B. N. Mukherjee, "The 'Abhisheka of Lakshmī' Motif on Coins of the Mitra rulers of Mathurā," *JNSI*, XXXIX, (1977), pp. 155–56. The photograph illustrated by Mukherjee is the same as the obverse of *BMC, AI*, XXV. 1.
71. Mukherjee, "The 'Abisheka'," p. 56.
72. *The Harivaṁśa*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1969, Vol. I. Also, cf., the paper by Norvin Hein, published elsewhere in this volume.
73. Cf. J. P. Sharma, 'The Jinist Dream World: A Tentative Analysis,' *D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume*, (B.H.U., Varanasi, 1977), pp. 123 ff.
74. Sircar, *S.I.*, pp. 114 ff.
75. Sircar, *S.I.*, pp. 114 ff.

17. The Pattern of the Kuṣāṇa Copper Coinage and the Role of Mathurā

D. W. MacDOWALL

The location of Mathurā, like that of Delhi, in the upper Doab, in a key position astride the main routes of communication from the Indus Valley and the Punjab to the Gangetic provinces of India, gives it a key role in the numismatic, as in the artistic and political history of the Kuṣāṇa and later Kuṣāṇa dynasties. Although gold and silver coins can be widely distributed in the course of trade, and occasional copper coins are found far outside their normal area of circulation, the frequency of finds normally enables us to distinguish without too much difficulty the normal copper currency of a locality and the pattern of the denominations that it used.

To understand the role of Mathurā we must compare and distinguish its pattern of copper currency under the Kuṣāṇas from that of

(a) the main Kuṣāṇa provinces to the west,
(b) the Gangetic provinces to the east, and
(c) the territories north of Delhi.

THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE KUṢĀṆAS

The Nameless King, Soter Megas, who seems to have been the Augustus of the Kuṣāṇa Empire and the first king to rule an extensive empire stretching from Russian Turkestan to North India, was the first Kuṣāṇa king to introduce a standard currency throughout all the Kuṣāṇa provinces.[1] His general currency was in copper struck to a weight standard of 8.5 gm. At that time there was no gold or silver coinage; so that the system must have been based on a copper standard, a coin worth basically the copper it contained with a small premium for its guarantee of acceptability throughout the empire.[2] His successor Vima Kadphises added the large copper tetradrachm of about 17 gm, while he continued to strike the copper didrachm of 8.5 gm. When Vima introduced the gold dinar, the weight of the copper remained unchanged; so that presumably the gold dinar was at first simply a convenient multiple of the standard copper denominations. The position remained unchanged under Kaniṣka, but after the first issues of Huviṣka, the weight standard and metal purity of the gold dinar remained unchanged, while the weight of the copper tetradrachm was reduced by some 40% making the copper coinage now a token currency on the Roman model.[3] This is the period when we see the use of Graeco-Roman pattern books at Kuṣāṇa mints[4] and the use of multiple reverse types apparently with a different reverse[5] type to mark the product of each *officina*, again on the Roman pattern.[6] The reduction in the weight standard of Huviṣka's copper tetradrachms was applied in differing degrees at different mints and gave rise to an enormous number and variety of local imitations—presumably by entrepreneurs as anxious to make a profit from a token currency as the government was. There was considerable confusion in the copper coinage, although the gold remained at its old standard of weight and purity.

At the end of Huviṣka's reign there is a common copper issue with a single reverse type—a two-armed Śiva standing, holding a trident—that is struck to remarkably close weight standard of about 11 gm.[7] The broad flan issues of Vāsudeva with Śiva and the Bull followed the same weight standard.[8] But it was only with the later issues of Siva and the Bull, normally

attributed to Vāsudeva but really the first major issue of the later Kuṣāṇas,[9] that the problem was solved—by striking, as Soter Megas had done, the general coinage of about 8.5 gms that circulated throughout the empire and solved once and for all the problems of imitations, presumably because it had reverted back to a full value copper coin once more.

The later Kuṣāṇa copper coinage, like the currency of Soter Megas, seems to have been based on the copper standard with gold as a convenient multiple, not the guarantor of a fiduciary copper coinage. We, therefore, have a fundamental change in the economic basis of the later Kuṣāṇa copper coinage. Because the late Kuṣāṇa copper coinage was not dependent on the guarantee of a gold or silver coinage to back it, there was no need to have a clear statement of the name of the issuer. Because it was no longer produced by an officina organisation based on the Graeco-Roman pattern, as the issues of Ḳaniṣka and Huviṣka had been, there was no need for multiple reverse types in an issue to distinguish the product of different *officinae*. We must, therefore, regard the late Kuṣāṇa coppers as series of coins—not the issues of individual kings.

Although the later Kuṣāṇa coppers are often crudely struck, with part of the type off flan and rarely any legend, we can distinguish three major and successive series:

a) dumpy Śiva and the bull coppers, struck to a weight standard of 7 to 9 gm.
b) dumpy Ardokhsho coppers with an increasingly arched termination of the King's dress—from 5 to 8 gm.
c) crude Śiva and the bull coppers,—with a much cruder form of the standing Kuṣāṇa king—from 3 to 6 gm.

These represent three successive stages of the later Kuṣāṇa standard copper denomination, and are found in a series of overlapping hoards containing coins of successive issues that reinforce the evidence of metrology, type development and stratigraphy for the sequence. The change in the reverse type on the coppers from Śiva to Ardokhsho takes place when the weight of the denomination is reduced by some 10%. In the rare late Kuṣāṇa gold coins with Brāhmī legends from the Punjab, the change of reverse type from Śiva and his bull under Kaneṣko II to the enthroned goddess under Vasu is marked by a reduction in gold purity from *c.* 95% to *c.* 80%, as Maity has shown in his specific gravity analyses[10]—a reduction in real metal content closely parallel to that of the new type coppers with the Ardokhsho reverse.

In the provinces of Taxila, Gandhāra and Kāpiśa, the next stage in the standard copper denomination is represented by the large Kushano-Sasanian dumpy altar coins derived from the issues of Shapur II.[11] This coinage is found predominantly in the southern Kuṣāṇa provinces and must be dated after the time of Shapur II's campaigns in the east against the Chionitae and Cuseni from A.D. 350 to 358, before he made peace with his former enemies and took them with him on his campaign of 359 against the Romans, when he besieged Amida (Diarbekr). Copper coins of Shapur II are rare in finds, but coins derived from his type, with a squat fire altar, Sasanian portraits and sometimes names such as Koβo, that are not those of Sasanian kings, are numerous in the excavations at Taxila, Butkara, Hadda and Begram. They seem to be the Kidarite copper coinage of the later 4th and early 5th century A.D.

At Butkara they constitute a denomination of 2.5 to 3.5 gm, compared with the 4 to 5 gm for the crude Śiva series of the later Kuṣāṇas.[12] At Hadda, Peshawar and Taxila this denomination is in turn followed by another copper series, about 3 gm which seems to consist of 3 or more parallel lines—the remains perhaps of a standing king—the mid 5th century currency prior to the destruction of Taxila by the Hephthalites *c.* A.D.460.

The postulated sequence of these successive issues, based on a progressive reduction in the weight of the principal copper denomination, is reinforced by series of hoards—mostly unpublished so far. In each hoard, coins of the same obverse and reverse type (unlike the site finds) do *not* cover a wide range. In the Kabul Museum lump, and the 1946 Begram excavation hoards,[13] there are several coins with the larger Śiva flan of the earlier issue (normally struck at c.10 gm) that have been deliberately cut to reduce the amount of metal to the new weight standard of the dumpy Śiva coins, and all the coins in the hoard consequently have a clear point of concentration at 8.5 gm. Moreover, in several hoards we find coins of an earlier series remaining in circulation with those of a later issue. These overlapping hoards, listed in Appendix A, provide important additional evidence for the sequence of the series. Consequently in the central provinces of the empire, from the excavation coins found at Begram, Ghazni, Hadda and Taxila, and from hoards discovered in these same territories, we can therefore reconstruct eight principal and successive stages in the development of the main copper denomination of the Great Kuṣāṇas, the later Kuṣāṇas, and the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas (who followed the Kushano-Sasanians).

	Full gm.	Half gm.	Quarter gm.	Eighth gm.
GREAT KUṢĀṆAS				
1. Soter Megas		8.5		2
Vima	16 to 17	8 to 9	4	
Kaniṣka	16 to 17	8 to 9	4	2
Huviṣka (early)	15 to 16			
2. Huviṣka (mid)	12 to 13			
3. Huviṣka (late)	11			
Vāsudeva (spread)	10			
LATER KUṢĀṆAS				
4. Dumpy Śiva	7–9			
5. Dumpy Ardokhsho	5–8			
6. Crude Śiva	3–6			
KIDARA KUṢĀṆAS				
7. Sasanian head/ dumpy altar	2.5 to 3.5			
8. 3 or more lines	2.5 to 3			

The Distribution of Kuṣāṇa Copper Coins

Kuṣāṇa copper coins are found in large numbers at sites in Bactria, eastern Afghanistan, the Indus Valley, Kashmir, the Gangetic provinces of India and in some adjacent territories such as Nepal, the Tarim basin and Khoresmia. But there are some significant chronological variations in the pattern of distribution. The general coinage of Soter Megas is commonly found in Bactria, the Kabul valley and the province of Taxila, but rarely to the east of Mathurā. Copper coins of Vima Kadphises are found in these territories, in Khoresmia and in some hoards from the Gangetic provinces. Copper coins of Kaniṣka are found in all these provinces, in the Tarim basin and now much more commonly in the Gangetic provinces of India. So too are the earlier heavy coppers of Huviṣka. Although gold coins of Vāsudeva and the later Kuṣāṇas are sometimes found in eastern India, where presumably they have come by way of trade, except for one copper coin of Vāsudeva from Tewar (Trapuri) near Jabalpur, no copper coins of Vāsudeva or the later Kuṣāṇas (of either the Śiva or Ardokhsho series) are reported from the Gangetic provinces in the long list of finds of Kuṣāṇa coins from eastern India compiled by Dr. Gupta.[14] Moreover even though coins of Huviṣka are reported, where a full description with weights is given we find that only the early heavy copper tetradrachms of Huviṣka are present. Unlike the Indus Valley and the northern provinces, copper Kuṣāṇa coins from hoards and other finds in the Ganges valley are restricted to stage 1 of the Kuṣāṇa principal copper denomination—even when coins in a hoard are heavily 'worn out' i.e. have been in circulation for a long period.

The Kuṣāṇa presence in the middle Ganges, either as political ruler or as a major economic force providing the copper coinage, was clearly limited to the reign of Kaniṣka and the early period of Huviṣka. On the other hand, copper coins of Vāsudeva and the later Kuṣāṇas, which are found in large numbers in the Kuṣāṇa provinces of Taxila, Gandhāra, Kāpiśa and Bactria,[15] are well represented in Mathurā and the territory north to Seharanpur. Professor Härtel's excavations at Sonkh near Mathurā have yielded an important hoard of later Kuṣāṇa Ardokhsho coppers and both Śiva and Ardokhsho types are common at Behat near Seharanpur.[16] Indeed it was in his account of the coins found by Capt. Cautley at Behat, illustrated with good line engravings that these series were first published—even though they were incorrectly attributed.

Considerable confusion has hitherto surrounded these late Kuṣāṇa copper series. In both site finds and museum collections in North Bactria, Afghanistan and the Indus Valley these late Kuṣāṇa coppers commonly outnumber the copper Kuṣāṇa coins of the main dynasty from Vima to Huviṣka. For example in Masson's finds from Begram there are 1020 copper coins of the Śiva and Ardokhsho series compared with 627 coppers of the main dynasty from Vima to Huviṣka.[17] The position is similar at Taxila, Butkara and Hadda. They are sometimes described as coins of Vāsudeva I (with Śiva) and Vāsudeva II or Kaniṣka III (with Ardokhsho), but they are the issues not of two kings but of some three coin series that span a period of more than a century.

It has long been recognized that sometime after the reign of Vāsudeva the Kuṣāṇa gold coinage divides into two distinct branches. One of these, distinguished by the triratna symbol and the Śiva reverse type, evolves into the Kushano-Sasanian scyphate series, which circulated in northern and western Afghanistan. The second branch distinguished by the use of Brāhmī letters and the Ardokhsho reverse develops towards the first issues of the Gupta dynasty.[18]

As a few of the copper coins of the later Kuṣāṇas do have symbols and Brāhmī letters that are also found on the gold, Göbl argues reasonably enough that the copper issues *should* run parallel with the gold.[19] But one cannot classify site finds or hoard material in this way, because one cannot normally see such details. So, in his study of the coins from Butkara, Professor Göbl argues from his arrangement of the gold, that after the death of Vāsudeva I, the Kuṣāṇa empire broke up into two parts whose sovereigns were in competition or at war. The western kingdom with its centre at Kabul or Kāpiśa, he claims, was held by kings who adopted the Śiva bull-type, while the eastern part with a centre in

Gandhāra and the western Punjab adopted the type of the enthroned Ardokhsho.

Göbl is, however, puzzled by the presence of both copper types at Butkara, and is forced to suggest that coins from both rival kingdoms infiltrated into the Swat valley. He concludes, somewhat ruefully, that the Butkara finds give no wholly clear account as to what part of the divided Kuṣāṇa empire Swat belonged.

The general distribution of copper coins of the later Kuṣāṇas does not substantiate Professor Göbl's basic hypothesis. Coppers of the Śiva type, supposed to mark the north and west kingdom, are found with the Ardokhsho type at Mohenjo Daro and near Hyderabad in Sind, while copper coins of the Ardokhsho type, supposed to mark the southern and eastern kingdom, are found with the Śiva type in the excavations at Kalchayan, Termez, Ratun Rabat, and other sites in northern Bactria. Indeed both the Śiva and Ardokhsho types are found in quantity throughout the Kuṣāṇa provinces of Bactria, Kāpiśa, Gandhāra and the Indus Valley. Within these territories there is no significant difference between coins found in the north and west and in the south and east. Coins of both types are found in similar numbers in excavations in north Bactria, in the locally formed collection at Mazar-i-Sharif, in the D.A.F.A. excavations at Surkh Kotal, among Masson's finds from Begram, and the coins from IsMEO's excavations at Tepe Sardar, as at Taxila, in Swat and other Indus Valley locations, while neither type in copper is normally found in the Gangetic provinces of India to the east of Delhi.

LOCAL COPPER COINAGES DERIVED FROM THE KUṢĀṆAS

The important conclusion about the limited involvement of the Kuṣāṇas in the Gangetic provinces is heavily reinforced by another type of evidence—the form in which a number of local coinages subsequently copy the fabric, type and/or denomination of the Kuṣāṇa copper coinage that they follow. In the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coinage of the Tarim basin and in several of the local coinages of northern India attributed to the second and third centuries A.D, we can see clear evidence of Kuṣāṇa influence in fabric or type. It has not hitherto been recognized that their denominations are derived from one or another of the stages that we have distinguished in the development of the standard Kuṣāṇa copper denomination. The stage of the Kuṣāṇa coinage that these local series copy is normally that of the latest Kuṣāṇa copper coinage commonly found in the locality, and this gives a clear indication of relative chronology at least for the beginning of the derivative coinage and for the removal of Kuṣāṇa presence, that gave rise to the local independent coinage.

(a) *The Sino-Kharoṣṭhi Series.*[20] The Sino-Kharoṣṭhi coinage from the Tarim basin in Central Asia, attributed to the 2nd/3rd century A.D., is found in two denominations—a large one *c.* 15 gm with the legend one *liang* four *tchu* and a small one, its quarter, *c.* 3.5 to 4 gm. with the legend six *tchu*. Finds of Kuṣāṇa copper coins reported from Khotan and Kashgar consist of copper tetradrachms and drachms of Kaniṣka—the same denominations with the same approximate weight. The Sino-Kharoṣṭhi coinage seems to be derived from the Kuṣāṇa copper denominations of the time of Kaniṣka i.e. stage 1.
The position is similar in the provinces of the middle and lower Ganges and in Nepal.

(b) *The 'Puri-Kuṣāṇa' Coinage.*[21] The crude imitations of Kuṣāṇa copper coins from Bihar, Orissa and sites in ancient Kaliṅga copy the obverse and reverse types of Kaniṣka, with a standing king and a standing deity that seems to be derived from the statuesque figure Mao. In hoards from Manikaratna, Bharjakia and elsewhere Puri coppers have been found with coppers of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (stage 1). The weight of Puri copper coins—8 to 9 gm. at the beginning of the series—seems to represent not the standard denomination but a half of the 17 gm. tetradrachm of Kaniṣka.

(c) *The Ayodhyā Series.*[22] The bull and cock coins of the second and third century A.D. are found at Ayodhya and sites in the ancient Kingdom of Kośala. The large hoard from Tilavracot in Nepal contained 379 of these coins with a large number of Kuṣāṇa coppers—428 of Vima Kadphises, 1224 of Kaniṣka and 152 of the early period of Huviṣka (all of stage 1). Walsh records coppers of Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka found in Kathmandu (i.e. again Kuṣāṇa coppers of stage 1). The 1949 hoard from Buxar in western Bihar contained 10 Ayodhyā coins of this type with 23 coppers of Vima, 159 of Kaniṣka and 172 of Huviṣka. The hoard from Laghusa in the Saran district of North Bihar contained bull and cock coins of Ayodhyā with several hundred Kuṣāṇa coppers.
To the east and north of Delhi the local coinages that follow the Kuṣāṇas are derived from a later stage in the Kuṣāṇa monetary system, with either the reverse type or the denomination of stage 3—the last issue of Huviṣka.

(d) *The Kuṇinda Coppers.*[23] The anonymous coins of Kuṣāṇa fabric with the obverse type of a two-armed Śiva holding a trident and the reverse type of a deer, found in the territory east of Delhi and Saharanpur, are reported in two denominations, one of 16 to 18 gm. and the other *c.* 8.5 gm. These again seem to be derived from the copper tetradrachm and didrachm denominations of stage 1 (i.e. of Kaniṣka and early Huviṣka), but they utilise the type of Śiva with his trident that is the characteristic reverse of the latest coppers of Huviṣka in stage 3.

(e) *Coins of the Yaudheyas.*[24] Copper coins of the Yaudheyas of Allen's class 6 from the east Punjab have a distinctive Kuṣāṇa fabric and reveal the form of their Kuṣāṇa influence in reverse type—a standing goddess recalling the standing figures of Mioro and Mao on the coinage of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Sharan,[25] plotting find-spots, suggests that their territory lay from Rohtak and Sonepat to the Sutlej. The 1952 hoard from Pendarwa in Bilaspur district contained copper Kuṣāṇa coins along with Yaudheya coppers. A group of coins owned by N. C. Radbourne (apparently a hoard of unknown provenance) contained five Yaudheya coppers of class 6, with coppers of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva.
Their legend *Yaudheyaganasya jaya* 'victory of the Yaudheya tribe', reinforces the impression that the coinage was struck after the Yaudheyas regained their independence (presumably from the Kuṣāṇas). The weight of the denomination at 10 to 11 gm. is derived from stage 3—the late period of Huviṣka or the early issues of Vāsudeva.

The chronology of these coinages is very significant. At sites in the middle Ganges provinces, the Kuṣāṇa copper coinage, which seems to have replaced the earlier local copper coinages, is limited to the reign of Kaniṣka and the early period of Huviṣka. I do not wish to enter into the arguments about the extent of Kuṣāṇa territory in eastern India, but I should like to point out how closely this coincides with the evidence of the Chinese and Tibetan sources which tell of Kaniṣka's capture of Pāṭaliputra and Ayodhyā,[26] and with the epoch of the dateable sculptures dedicated by Bikṣu Bala at Kauśāmbī (K.E. yr.2), Sarnath (K.E. yr.3) and Śrāvastī (year lost).[27] Any Kuṣāṇa rule or dominant economic influence in these territories may have been limited to some 40 years at most.

To the east of Delhi the copper coinage of the Kuṇindas re-emerges with a denomination that copies the early coinages of Huviṣka, but a reverse type derived from his third and last issue; and to the north of Delhi the copper coinage of the Yaudheyas, commemorating their victory and independence, has a reverse type derived from the coppers of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, but a denomination standard drawn from the latest issue of Huviṣka. The assertion of independence by these tribes will thus be later—up to K.E. yr. 60 or more.

THE ROLE OF MATHURĀ

The evidence for the Kuṣāṇas' occupation of Mathurā is very different. Coin finds from the carefully stratified excavations conducted by Professor Härtel at Sonkh include coins of the Great Kuṣāṇas and their successors the later Kuṣāṇas up to the enthroned Ardokhsho series i.e. the second of the three major series of the copper coins of the later Kuṣāṇas. This in turn corresponds closely with the epigraphic evidence from Mathurā. We have a long series of inscriptions dated from year 2 to year 98 in the era of Kaniṣka and from year 4 to year 57 in a second and subsequent series of dates.[28] Moreover, whereas we have major local coinages of the post Kuṣāṇa period in the Gangetic provinces and for the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas prior to the Gupta conquest, we have no comparable series at Mathurā. It is clear that Mathurā long remained a bastion of the Kuṣāṇas, after they had lost control of the Ganges provinces and the territory north of Delhi.

The Purāṇas disclose the existence of nine Nāga kings who ruled at Padmāvatī, Kantipuri and Mathurā after the Kuṣāṇas and before the Gupta conquest *c.* A.D. 350. The house at Padmāvatī seems to be the most important one and has left an impressive series of copper coins.[29] Its main denomination under the earlier Nāga Kings at 2.5 to 3 gm has no obvious link or debt to any Kuṣāṇa copper denomination or type, though it could serve metrologically as half the later coins of the enthroned Ardhokhsho series at 5 to 6 gm. But one of the earlier Nāga kings, Bhava, is known from an inscription of Rudrasena I, who ruled *c.* A.D. 340–60 and is described as the daughter's son of King Bhavanaga. Trivedi argues from this that Bhavanaga probably ruled *c.* 310 A.D. We know that his later successor Ganapati was one of the kings uprooted by Samudragupta later in the 4th century A.D. But whatever our conclusions may be about the Nāgas, we can establish their relative chronology—parallel with the third copper series of the later Kuṣāṇas in Taxila and Gandhāra—the series that does not seem to be represented at Mathurā.

There is good independent evidence for the relation of the Guptas to the later Kuṣāṇas from their gold coinage. The 1915 Mithathal hoard from the Hisar district of Hariana[30] (now being restudied by Dr. Gupta), dated to the period A.D. 350–370, contains 4 coins of Kachagupta and 29 of Samudragupta, with 27 gold dinars of the later Kuṣāṇa kings Kaneṣko, Chhu, Vasu and Shaka. The earliest gold coinage of Candragupta I of the Kumāra devī type with the reverse of a goddess seated on a lion similar to the type of Kaneṣko has a weight standard of 7.7 gm derived not from Vāsudeva but from his successors Kaneṣko and Vasu; and its purity ranging from 80% to 100% covers not only the fineness encountered under Vāsudeva but also that of the later Kuṣāṇa kings Kaneṣko, Vasu and Chhu.

IMPLICATIONS FOR KUṢĀṆA CHRONOLOGY

Any satisfactory chronology of the Kuṣāṇas must be able to accommodate and explain

1) Rudradāman's claim in the Girnar inscription of A.D. 150 to have defeated the Yaudheyas, the warlike tribe between the Sutlej and Delhi—territory which was Kuṣāṇa territory at the height of the empire—a campaign between Śaka 52 and Śaka 72 (A.D. 130–150).
2) Ardāshīr's eastern campaign placed by Ghirshman in A.D. 224 immediately after Ardāshīr's defeat of Artabanus V, and by Harmatta between A.D. 232 and 238 (his two Roman wars) probably in 233.
3) The Tochi Valley inscriptions with a proved era dating from A.D. 232.
4) The claim in the *Res Gestae* of Shapur I (dated to A.D. 262) listing among the countries ruled by Shapur I Kushanshahr up to (but excluding) Peshawar.
5) The Eastern campaigns of Shapur II against the Cuseni in A.D. 356/7.
6) The description of the Bactrian Empire in Ammianus Marcellinus, who accompanied Julian on his Persian expedition that reached Ctesiphon in A.D. 363: 'the Bactrians in former times warlike and very powerful and always hostile to the Persians. Many nations are subject to these Bactrians'.
7) The reference in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription *c.* A.D. 360 of the Kuṣāṇa King Dairaputra Shāhi Shahanushahi who acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta.

In this study we have seen that Kuṣāṇa economic and/or political dominance in eastern India was limited to some 30 or 40 years in all; and that the Yaudheyas probably reasserted their independence *c.* K.E. yr. 60. On the other hand we have identified 3 major series of later Kuṣāṇa copper coins that span the period from the death of Vāsudeva to the invasion of Shapur II in A.D. 350 to 356. For much of that period Mathurā remained a Kuṣāṇa bastion for more than a century after the Kuṣāṇas had lost the Gangetic provinces. We can now understand the different descriptions of the extent of the Kuṣāṇa empire as described by the Chinese historians:

> In the Wei Lueh[31] compiled in the mid-3rd century A.D. we find that Chipin (Kashmir), Tahsia (Bactria), Kaofu (Kabul) and Tien Chu (The Indus Valley) belong to the Great Yüeh Chi (Kuṣāṇas).
> In the Hou Han Shu[32] based on Pan Yung's report in the earlier second century A.D. the Yüeh Chi territories include these provinces and P'an Chi to the east of Tien Chu and Gung-li South east of Tien Chu. i.e. two major provinces east of the Indus Valley.

CONCLUSION

Between the end of Vāsudeva I and the invasion of Shapur II we have, therefore, to accommodate three major but anonymous series of later Kuṣāṇa copper coins—the issues of an extensive and unified later Kuṣāṇa state which still controlled much of Bactria, Kabul and the Indus Valley although it had probably lost most of north west Afghanistan and eastern India and beyond Mathurā—a reduced but still significant empire corresponding to the mid-3rd century disruption of the Kuṣāṇa empire in the Wei Lueh.

We can see why those who argue for an earlier date for Kaniṣka in the early second century, and those who argue for a third century empire of the Kuṣāṇas are in a sense both correct. We can accept the obvious dating in early 2nd century A.D. from the growing number of numismatic syncronisms, and the clear evidence of the series of inscriptions which give a span of 80+ years from Gondophares to Vima Kadphises. But equally we can accept that the Kushano-Sasanian dumpy altar coinage dates from the time of Shapur II's expedition in A.D. 356; that the Kuṣāṇa king—the Devaputra Shāhi Shahanshahi is an important ruler at the time of Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription A.D. 350 to 358, and we can give full weight to Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Bactrian empire in the 4th century A.D. as being 'in former times warlike and very powerful, always hostile to the Persians. Many nations are subject to the Bactrians'.

We can see the context of Ardāshīr's eastern campaign *c.* A.D. 230—that it is a major invasion by the new Sasanian king at the end of Vāsudeva's reign. This in turn explains the claim of Shapur I in his *Res Gestae* to control some former Kuṣāṇa provinces up to but not including Peshawar. The reformation of the Kuṣāṇa empire after Ardāshīr's invasion explains the era of the Tochi valley inscriptions which is fixed by the Arabic dating to A.D. 232; and this should be the same as the second Kuṣāṇa era at Mathurā of Professor van Lohuizen and Professor Rosenfield.

APPENDIX A

SOME COPPER COIN HOARDS

	GREAT KUṢĀṆAS			LATER KUṢĀṆAS				KIDĀRA KUṢĀṆAS	
	Vima	Kaniṣka	Huviṣka	Vāsudeva	Dumpy Śiva	Dumpy Ardokhsho	Crude Śiva	Squat altar	3 or more lines
Sheemgalish Tepe	3	7							
Patiala, Punjab 1964	21	78	1						
Benares	12	60	91						
Buxar	23	159	172						
Dharmarajika Stupa P6			3	7					
Kabul Museum Lump				2	105				
Begram 1946 excavations				2	2	61			
Bambore 1972						600 +			
Sonkh, Mathurā						√			
Andandheri A						10	2		
B						13	83		
C						1	133		
D						1	190		
Miss Woodfield						7	48		
Shaartusk, Kafirnigan 1965						11	27		
Whitehead Hoard (unknown provenance)						√	√	√	
Tehsi Swabi, Mardan								3	4
B. M. Hoard (unknown provenance)								√	√

APPENDIX B

THE DISTRIBUTION OF KUṢĀṆA COPPER COINS

	GREAT KUṢĀṆAS				LATER KUṢĀṆAS		KIDĀRA KUṢĀṆAS	
	Soter Megas	Vima Kadphises	Kaniṣka	Huviṣka	Śiva types	Ardokhsho types	K.S. Altar types	Linear design
NORTH OF HINDU KUSH								
Khoresmia	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Kalchayan	*	*	*	*	*	*		
North Bactria	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Surkh Kotal	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
EAST AFGHANISTAN								
Begram	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Ghazni	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Hadda	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
Mir Zakah	*	*	*	*	*	*		
THE INDUS VALLEY etc.								
Sihaikhan Dheri	*	*	*	*	*			
Taxila	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Butkara	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Mohenjo Daro					*	*		
EASTERN INDIA								
Mathurā		*	*	*	*	*		
Pāṭaliputra		*	*	*				
Bhīṭā		*	*	*				
Vaiśālī		*	*	*				
Nepal		*	*					
N.E. INDIA								
East Turkestan		*	*					
Yotkan			*					

NOTES

1. D. W. MacDowall, 'Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushāna', *JNSI* Vol. XXX (1968), pp. 28–48.
2. D. W. Macdowall, 'The Weight standards of the Gold and Copper Coinages of the Kushāna Dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vāsudeva'. *JNSI* Vol. XXII (1960), pp. 63–74.
3. MacDowall, 'Weight standards', pp. 73–74.
4. Cf. R. Göbl, 'Roman patterns for Kushāna coins' *JNSI* Vol. XXII (1960), pp. 75–95.
5. Cf. D. W. MacDowall, 'The role of Mithra among the deities of the Kushāna coinage' in J. R. Hinnels, *Mithraic Studies*, Manchester 1975, especially page 145.
6. For a reconstruction of Roman mint organisation in the first century A.D., see D. W. MacDowall, 'The Organisation of the Julio Claudian Mint at Rome' in *Scripta Nummaria Romana, Essays presented to Humphrey Sutherland*, London 1978, pp. 32–46.
7. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford 1914, Volume 1, p. 199, no. 151. Plate XIX no. 151.
8. See D. W. MacDowall 'The Later Kushan Coinages' in F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, London 1978, p. 249, Fig 5.12.
9. MacDowall, 'Later Kushan', pp. 247–249.
10. S. K. Maity, *Early Indian Coins and Currency Systems*, New Delhi 1970, p. 55. His coins of the Śiva and Bull type are nos. 41 to 47, those of the Ardokhsho type are nos. 48 to 54.
11. D. W. MacDowall, 'The Kushano Sasanian Coinages' in F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, London 1978, pp. 248–251.
12. R. Göbl, *A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan)*, Rome 1976, pp. 30–33.
13. Both hoards are in the Kabul Museum and are being studied for publication by the author.
14. P. Lal. Gupta 'Kushāna-Murunda Rule in Eastern India – Numismatic Evidence', *JNSI* Vol. XXXVI (1974), pp. 25–53.
15. Coins from Taxila are published in J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge 1951, Volume II, p. 788. R. Göbl's publication of the coins from Butkara is cited in fn. 11. The author is currently studying material from various Afghan sites.
16. Professor Härtel has kindly provided information about the Sonkh hoard. For Capt. Cautley's finds at Behat near Seharanpur see J. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, London 1858, pp. 200–209.
17. C. Masson, 'Third Memoir on the Ancient Coins discovered at the site called Beghram in the Kohistān of Kabul'. *JASB* Vol. V (1836), p. 347 for the enumeration of coins collected in 1833, 1834 and 1835.
18. A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Kushano-Sasanian Coin Series'. *JNSI* Vol. XVII (1956), pp. 13 ff.
19. Göbl, *Catalogue*, pp. 47–48.
20. Cf. F. W. Thomas, 'Sino-Kharosthi Coins'. *NC* Sixth Series, Vol. IV (1944), pp. 83 ff. for references to earlier accounts of this series. I discussed the weight standard in 'Numismatic Evidence for the date of Kaniṣka' in A. L. Basham, *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden 1968, pp. 146–147.
21. J. Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London 1936, pp. 205–209.
22. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 129–139.
23. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 167–168.
24. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 276–278.
25. M. K. Sharan, *Tribal Coins—A study*, New Delhi 1972, pp. 65–147.
26. Cf. E. Zürcher, 'The Yüeh Cheh and Kaniska in the Chinese sources' in A. L. Basham, *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Leiden 1968, especially pp. 386 ff.
27. For references see the convenient hand list in the Appendix to J. M. Rosenfield, 'The Mathurā School of Sculpture'. A. L. Basham, *Date of Kaniṣka*, pp. 270 ff.
28. J. M. Rosenfield, 'Mathura School', pp. 270–277.
29. See H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*, Gwalior 1957.
30. Dr P. Lal. Gupta has kindly shown me his unpublished study of the coins from this hoard.
31. Zürcher, 'Yüeh Cheh', p. 371.
32. Zürcher, 'Yüeh Cheh', pp. 367 ff.

PART V

ARCHAEOLOGY

18. Mathurā as an Ancient Settlement

M. C. JOSHI

Famous amongst living Indian cities of ancient origin, Mathurā is closely associated with Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist traditions. In ancient literature it is variously mentioned as Madhurā (sometimes Uttar Mathurā), Mathurā, Mathulā, Mahurā, Madhupurī, Madhupura, etc. and according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] of Vālmīki it was built by the gods (cf. *iyaṁ Madhupurī ramyā Mathurā devanirmitā*). It would not be proper to infer much from this statement as the tradition itself is of mythical character and of a relatively late origin. Vraja,[2] another synonym of Mathurā region, however, is traditionally somewhat meaningful, for it specifies literally 'a land of roamers' and 'a station of cowherds'. One may not be totally wrong in believing that the origin of the term is associated with an early stage of occupation of the area by roaming pastoral groups, although more evidence may be necessary to strengthen such a postulate. A notable aspect of the traditional or literary accounts is that almost all of them refer to Mathurā's position close to the river Yamunā. Hence the identification of present Mathurā, which stands, on the ancient mounds, on the right or west bank of Yamunā with the historical town of the same name is almost certain.

The early inscriptional mention of Mathurā in Sohgaura plates and Hathigumpha inscription[3] pertains to the historical Mathurā; this is further confirmed by an epigraph of Huviṣka's reign from Jamālpur mound in the outskirts of the city referring to the children of actors of Mathurā.[4] A few other epigraphs also refer to Mathurā.[5]

Yet, on the basis of purely literary sources, despite their historical contents, it is difficult to visualize the growth of ancient Mathurā as a settlement. The only alternative, therefore, is to depend on the available archaeological material. However, it is also not easy to utilize the entire archaeological material and sculptures found since 1836, in Mathurā or around it, for in most cases, they were collected without keeping in view their stratigraphic or structural sequence or details of deposit. In this context Vogel's following remarks are significant:

'The number of Mathurā sculptures now available is very considerable; but, in the absence of plans, no information is forthcoming regarding the buildings to which they belonged. What is worse, in most cases it is impossible to decide from what particular mound the individual sculptures originate, as only in the case of inscriptions it was considered essential to note the exact find-place.

The attempts made by General Cunningham and Growse to identify some of the Mathurā sites with localities mentioned by Hsüan Tsang have signally failed. Both assumed that Kaṭrā marks the centre of the ancient city, whereas the site of ancient Mathurā is clearly indicated by an extensive elevation of the soil to the south-west of the town. Hence their identifications, based on a wrong location of the city, are inadmissible'.[6]

In spite of his realistic assessment of the situation, Vogel himself could not succeed in exposing the habitational character of ancient Mathurā.

During the post-Independence period, an attempt was made no doubt in this direction by Venkataramayya and Ballabh Saran of the Archaeological Survey of India (1954–55)[7], but their excavations were of smaller scale and unveiled mainly a cultural sequence of about

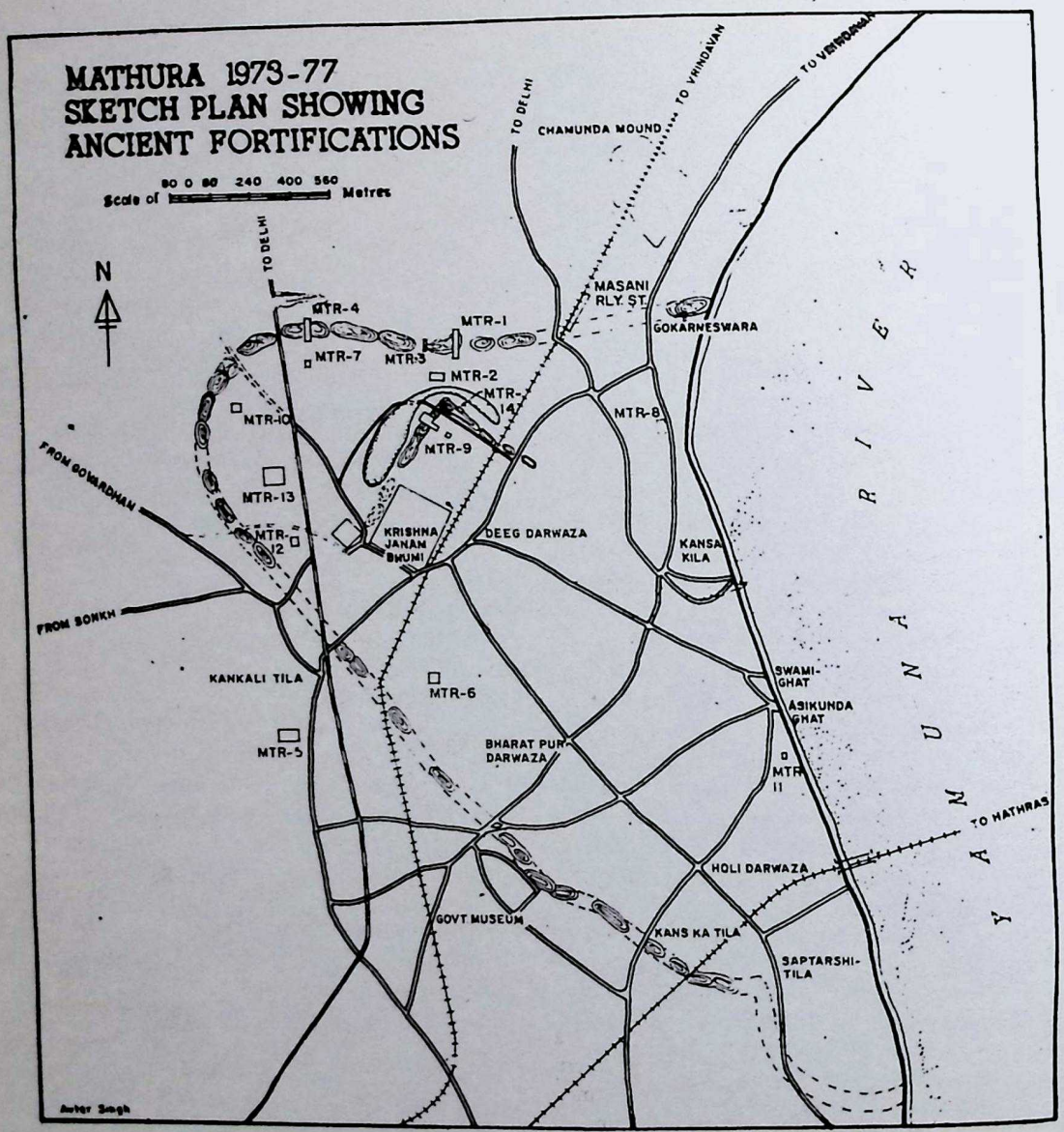

MATHURA 1973-77
SKETCH PLAN SHOWING
ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS
Scale of 80 0 80 240 400 560 Metres
N
TO DELHI
CHAMUNDA MOUND
TO VRINDAVAN
TO VENDRAVAN
MASANI RLY. ST.
GOKARNESWARA
MTR-1
MTR-2
MTR-3
MTR-4
MTR-5
MTR-6
MTR-7
MTR-8
MTR-9
MTR-10
MTR-11
MTR-12
MTR-13
MTR-14
FROM GOWARDHAN
FROM BONKH
KRISHNA JANAM BHUMI
DEEG DARWAZA
KANSA KILA
KANKALI TILA
BHARAT PUR DARWAZA
SWAMI-GHAT
ASIKUNDA GHAT
TO HATHRAS
HOLI DARWAZA
GOVT MUSEUM
KANS KA TILA
SAPTARSHI-TILA
YAMUNA RIVER
Avtar Singh

Fig. 18.1

a thousand years (600 B.C. to A.D. 600), according to their own estimate. Therefore, in the present paper, we have mostly relied on the results of our own excavations conducted at Mathurā on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1973–74 to 1976–77, at nearly fourteen sites in different parts of the city. These excavations unfolded a cultural sequence divisible in following five periods:

Period I: from *circa* sixth century B.C. to closing decades of the fourth century B.C.

Period II: from closing decades of the fourth century B.C. to *circa* second century B.C.

Period III: from *circa* second century B.C. to about the end of the first century B.C.

Period IV: from the beginning of the first century A.D. to about the third century A.D.

Period V: from *circa* fourth century A.D. to the close of the sixth century A.D.

Some later remains and antiquities were also found in a very limited area but we could not find regular sequence of post-Gupta cultures. It is now proposed to discuss the nature of habitation and associated material relating to the first four periods referred to above, on the basis of available evidence[8] and our observations (see Appendix). In this context we would like to mention that despite limitations of the excavations it was possible to obtain some idea of the growth of ancient Mathurā from around 600 B.C. onwards.

PERIOD I – THE BEGINNING

The excavated data suggested the beginning of the settlement at Mathurā right on the natural soil in the form of a small habitation during Period IA around Ambarish Ṭīlā (MTR-8), close to Yamunā, towards the northern end of the present city; the community used the Painted Grey Ware and associated pottery including Black-Slipped Ware, though in little quantity. The early settlers of Mathurā lived in huts and in some cases built them on mud platforms (Pl. 18.II.A). Evidence from the later levels of Period I (Period IB) indicated slight, although insignificant, growth of settlement. A notable feature of the Sub-Period was the emergence of nearly 17 sherds of the Northern Black Polished Ware along with Painted Grey Ware with some new designs suggesting an overlap of the two classes of pottery.

During Sub-Period IB, the availability of antiquities like the terracotta discs decorated with painted parallel strokes or incisions along the edges, gamesmen suggesting some kind of indoor game, terracotta *ghaṭa*-shaped and semi-precious stone beads, and a pestle, antimony rods of copper, a few iron implements, bone arrowheads and a circular object (ear-ornament) of a greenish glass were indicative of some general improvement in the living conditions of the community. The Northern Black Polished Ware sherds, terracotta toy bird and fragments of animal figurines and beads of semi-precious stone found from the Sub-Period suggested some kind of contact of the local people with the areas outside the Mathurā region.

PERIOD II – URBANIZATION

The tiny village (MTR-8) of Period I representing early Mathurā, turned by about the middle of Period II into an extensive settlement (about 3.9 sq. km. in area) fortified by a massive mud wall (*dhul-kot*) (Pl. 18.I), forming a longish crescent on plan (Fig. 18.1) with Yamunā on the east. There was perhaps some sort of a moat on three sides of the mud defence wall as suggested by regular silt deposits immediately outside it. The similarity of Mathurā's fortification with that of ancient Śrāvastī (nearly of the same Period) further seems to suggest that these were probably built as a result of some kind of elementary planning.[9] Within this Period, houses normally associated with ring wells, were built on compact mud platforms, probably in clusters, and roofs were supported by mud walls and bamboos or wooden posts (Pl. 18.II.B). The use of baked-bricks was confined to a few structures. In one case, large sized bricks (64×42×7/9 cm.) were used as veneering material on the face of a mud platform serving as a base of a house. At one site, some pits were found cut into the floor containing ash, fragments of animal bones terracotta (elephant) figurines, beads, along with a few full pots (dishes) possibly indicating some sort of ritual practiced during this Period.

The Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), the deluxe ceramic of the Period, was probably being produced locally. Similarly, the newly introduced terracotta figurines, dominated by mother goddess and elephant types, were being manufactured almost on a commercial scale. A number of beads of semi-precious and precious stones like topaz (?) were probably imported from outside. Other antiquities of note, which constituted the material culture of the Period, included square punch marked (copper) coins, terracotta discs, beads, gamesmen, skin-rubbers,[10] bone arrowheads, a legged-quern carved with *triratna* motif, stone pestles and a variety of copper and iron objects especially arrowheads.

It may be of some interest to mention that none of those sites which had yielded numerous Buddhist antiquities within the area of old Mathurā city, (like Kaṭrā, Saptarshi Ṭīlā, Bhūteswar, Govindnagar, etc.

or even Cāmuṇḍā Ṭīlā) seemed to be under occupation prior to the beginning of Period II.

An assessment of the size of habitations, structural remains and antiquities of Period II allow us to infer that around the early third century B.C. Mathurā became an urban centre probably due to economic and political factors connected with the Mauryan rule. It is tempting to speculate that the human figures of mother-goddess, elephant riders, etc. were deliberately introduced by Mauryan rulers to earn money[11] as mentioned by Patañjali (cf. '*Mauryaiḥ hiraṇyārthibhiḥ-arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ*'—*Mahābhāṣya* 5/3/99). The terracotta figurines, particularly those representing mother-goddess may have played some role in the foundation of the Mathurā school of sculpture though it cannot be categorically proven in the present state of our knowledge. However, it is more important in this regard to note a legged-quern with the *triratna* motif which shows an attempt to master the art of stone cutting and to introduce auspicious symbols on utilitarian objects.

PERIOD III – URBAN REFINEMENT

In this Period the settlement which was as large as the habitation of the preceding Period, continued to flourish within the mud fortification, although the massive *mud-prākara* (defence wall) itself did not function as a defensive or protective enclosure for the occupants. This inference is drawn on the basis of the deposit of Period III in a trench across the fortification showing a layer of loose earth and ash superimposed by a structure of mud and baked bricks, right over the mud defence wall of Period II (Pl. 18.III.A).

The structural remains, mostly available on plan, were built of both mud and baked and unbaked bricks. The early levels of Period III showed structural activity in mud medium represented by mud platforms and rammed floors (Pl. 18.III.B), in some cases finished with a layer of crushed backed bricks. It was only towards the latter half, and especially towards the end of this Period, that baked bricks were popularly used in the construction. Some of the large houses had brick-paved courtyards with bricks on edge border.

The people also used lime plaster as indicated by a floor (Pl. 18.IV), and by several pots which contained this material. The tiles were being used for roofing purposes. An interesting feature of the Period was longish (channeled) ovens which may have been used to keep the cooked food hot so that it could be distributed during festive community gatherings (Pl. 18.V.A). The ring wells which continued to form a part of residential complexes gradually lost their utility.

This Period witnessed the last phase of ring wells, the deluxe pottery (NBPW) of the preceding age and of the grey ware, and prolific use of utilitarian red ware ceramic industry. Some of the pots were found stamped with simple preliminary designs. The popularity of inscribed coins and seal/sealings during the second and first century B.C. reflect the general growth of literacy in Mathurā and elsewhere in India. Among the important seals recovered from the excavations, mention may be made of one in shell, reading *I(n)drayasā* and the other in terracotta with *triratna*-headed standard within a railing and a *svastika* with legend *yūpalaṭhikasa* on a side. The coins are represented by the issues of Indo-Greeks and Mathurā rulers but most of them were found in later deposits. Artistically, the figures on the local issues are also quite developed and interesting. Querns and pestles, bone arrowheads, borers and styluses, decorated wheels, toy-cart frames, terracotta skin-rubbers and beads of semi-precious stones and baked earth, the latter being shaped as *ghaṭa* and areca nut types were some of the other interesting finds of the Period. The miniature toy-cart frames found in the present excavation or earlier, and terracotta plaques with frontal depiction of cart must have been derived from the contemporary vehicular types which may have inspired the toy makers of ancient Mathurā.

The artistic refinement of this time is well represented; besides the carved ring stone[12] discovered earlier, it is seen in the human terracotta figurines which were prepared out of a single-sided terracotta mould in the form of plaques. The animal figurines, however, continued to be handmade. In fact, the reliefs on the terracotta plaques of Period III reflect the contemporary pan-Indian aesthetic consciousness and they may have even played some role in the development of the Mathurā school of art. A solitary stone sculpture with finished traits showing the frontal part of a lion was found embedded on a floor belonging to the latest phase of this Period. A product of the local school, it indicates a development of Mathurā sculpture before the close of the first century B.C.

The excavations also revealed that the Jain establishment outside at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, a few hundred metres outside the mud fortification, could have been founded only towards the later part of the Period III.

PERIOD IV – COSMOPOLITANISM

Period IV is a period of diversity. A significant structural development of this Period was the revival and enlargement of the mud fortification around the city. In addition, an inner fortification with possibly

semi-circular bastions and a moat on at least the western or north-western side was also built. Its remains were located in the northern area of Kaṭrā mound. Built of mud, it was externally strengthened by a short retaining wall of broken and overburnt bricks, tiles, clay lumps (Pl. 18.V.B) etc., and originally had considerable height. It was not possible to know the exact plan or the area covered by it. Keeping in view the joining point of its northern and western walls, which was marked by a circular bastion, it can be guessed that the inner fortification had roughly a quadrilateral shape around the central part of the city. It is not unlikely that the idea of a fort within a fortification with circular bastion may have been introduced under the north-western impact.

In the construction of houses, which were sometimes raised on platforms, mud, baked-bricks and brick-bats had been used besides older bricks. The structures had floors of compact mud, lime nodule and bricks. Tiles were a common roofing material. It appears that the use of stone was mainly confined to religious establishments.

It is interesting to note that some area, in the form of an oblong strip, west of the Kaṭrā and south of the Mahāvidya temple was not under occupation during this Period for some specific reason. However, this feature may not definitely indicate any decrease of population of the city, for there might have been double-storied structures to accommodate more people in the main part of the city.

The pottery and other antiquities found, reflected a varied pattern of life and greater communication with the outside world. In the immediate neighbourhood outside the walled city, probably tanks and wells were built for the use of travellers and the general public as suggested by inscriptional data. This was further confirmed by an impressive brick-built complex exposed at the site of the Jaina establishment of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (Pl 18.VI).

The ceramic tradition of the Period, was entirely represented by red ware with vases, storage jars, bowls, basins, lids, spouted jars as important utilitarian shapes. A practice of stamping the pots, perhaps bearing some ritualistic character, with varied motifs or auspicious symbols like fish, *triratna*, *śrīvatsa*, *svastika*, *haṁsa*, *śaṅkha* etc., besides floral and geometric designs, was very common. The thin sectioned Red Polished Ware which may have been brought from outside, was available in limited quantity; perhaps it was the deluxe pottery of the Period. It is interesting to note that the shapes in this ware were mainly represented by varieties of sprinklers which may have been introduced from Western India into Mathurā along with Rang-Mahal pottery tradition. An interesting specimen bearing positive proof of Roman (foreign) contact was found in a detached amphora handle.

The variety of treatment and technique is very well reflected in the terracotta figures[13] which have refined as well as homely character and are both in round and relief. It appears that the terracotta art of Mathurā during Period IV was very much influenced by the traditions of internal and external origin. The latter aspect is well represented by figures made by the use of two moulds, perhaps following the Roman technique. Like the contemporary sculpture the terracotta art of Mathurā also bears the impact of contemporary society consisting of locals and outsiders.

Other antiquities reflecting the luxuries of the Period are a comb and a stand of ivory, shell bangles, soapstone caskets, varieties of semi-precious stone beads with faceted character, gamesmen in form of tiny animals which may have been used for some kind of indoor game, like chess.

The development of the sculptural art in Mathurā during this Period is already well known. However, a significant image found in stratified context is the standing image of flaming Buddha which was found in a deposit belonging to the later part of Period IV (i.e. *circa* third century A.D.). The sculpture in red sandstone shows an imprint of Gandhāran art as do some other images of Mathurā.

The Period as a whole thus shows diversity in more than one respect bespeaking cosmopolitan (*sarvabhauma*) character of ancient Mathurā.

OBSERVATIONS

We admit that the broad features[14] of the growth of Mathurā from *circa* 600 B.C. to A.D. 300, as discussed by us, are somewhat sketchy and devoid of greater details. We do not claim any finality for them, yet, we believe that these cannot be totally incorrect, for they have some support from literary sources. For instance, the statement of Buddha, as preserved in the early Pāli literature[15], about the poverty of Mathurā, reflected in its dusty character, undulating ground and difficulties in obtaining alms, agrees with the character of Mathurā's earliest settlement i.e., an ordinary village of Period I.

Similarly, Patañjali's observation regarding Mathurā, namely that the natives of this city were more prosperous than those of Saṅkāsya and Pāṭaliputra becomes meaningful in the light of the remains of the Period III. Lastly, the following references about the city of Mathurā as available in the *Harivaṁśa*,[16] an early

Purāṇa, confirms to a considerable extent the archaeological evidence relating to Period IV:

Sā Purī paramodārā sāṭṭa-prākāra toraṇā
Sphītā rāṣṭra-samākīrṇā samṛddhbala-vāhanā 157
Udyāna-vana sampannā susīmā-supratiṣṭhitā
Praṁśu prākāra vasanā parikhākula mekhalā 158
Calāṭṭālaka keyurā prasādavara kuṇḍalā
Susaṁvṛtta dvāravatī cattvarodgārhāsini 159
.. ..
Ardhacandra pratīkāśā Yamunātīra śobhitā 160
Puṇyā-paṇavatī durgā ratna sañcaya garvitā 161

(*Harivaṁśa* I chap. 55)

It may be of interest to note that the verses quoted above distinctly refer to the crescent-shaped, well established, well demarcated prosperous and cosmopolitan city of Mathurā on the bank of Yamunā with its high defences and moats as known to the authors of *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Sarvashri A. K. Sinha, D. K. Malik, J. N. Gandhi and Avtar Singh, who were my field colleagues in the excavations at Mathurā, for helping me in various directions in the preparation of this paper. I especially owe my thanks to Shri Sinha with whom I often had discussions on the subject and associated matters for his constructive criticisms and suggestions.

NOTES

1. Vishva-Bandhu Shastri (ed.). *Vālmīkiya Rāmāyaṇam* Uttara-Kanda, Sarga 73, Sloka 5, Lahore 1947, p. 257.
2. V. S. Apte, *Students Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprinted, Delhi 1965, p. 542.
3. H. Lüders, *Brāhmī Inscriptions from earliest times to about* A.D. *409* nos. 1345 and 837, pp. 160–61 and 95.
4. K. L. Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Göttingen 1961, p. 62.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I (2nd edition), Calcutta 1965, p. 153; *Indian Archaeology—A Review 1972–73*, New Delhi 1978, p. 72.
6. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India 1906–07*, Calcutta 1909, p. 140–41.
7. *Indian Archaeology—A Review 1954–55*, New Delhi 1965, p. 15.
8. Mathurā being a living city, its principal portions, which are occupied by closely built structures could not be excavated. Even those sites which were subjected to excavations were found to be highly disturbed, especially in their upper deposits, by natural and human agencies.
9. K. K. Sinha, *Excavations at Śrāvastī, 1959*, Varanasi 1967, p. 10 and fig. 1.
10. These are rectangular and biconical cakes of terracotta with roughened surface. They are believed to have been used for cleaning the dirt deposited on the skin.
11. V. S. Agrawala, *Panini Kalin Bharatvarsha* (Hindi), Banaras V. S. 2011, p. 357.
12. V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varansi 1965, pp. 77–78.
13. M. C. Joshi and Dr. C. Margabandhu, 'Some Terracottas from Excavations at Mathurā—A Study', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* New Series Vol. VIII (1976–1977) pp. 16–32, pt. I–XII.
14. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (New Delhi), 1973–74 pp. 31–32, 1974–75 pp. 48–50; 1975–76 pp. 53–55; 1976–77 pp. 54–56. See also M. C. Joshi and A. K. Sinha, 'Chronology of Mathura—An Assessment', *Puratattva* no. 10 (1981), 39–44.
15. Krishna Datt Bajpai, *Mathurā* (Hindi), Lucknow 1955, p. 14.
16. *Harivaṁśa* (with commentary of Nilakantha), Bombay 1895, p. 79.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Period	Pottery	Structures	Coins	Seal & Sealings inscriptions	T.C.** Human Figurines	T.C. Animal Figurines
I A	Painted Grey Ware, a few sherds of Black-Slipped and crude black and red wares besides plain grey pottery in good quantity, the red ware being the principal utilitarian ware. Dishes and bowls were the most common shapes in P.G.W.	Mud floor with post-holes and a partially extant mud platform.	——	——	——	——
I B	Marked the overlap phase of P.G. Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware, the latter being represented by less than 20 sherds. Plain grey and red ware remained in currency. Absence of Black-Slipped and black and red ware.	Mud floors with and without post holes.	——	——	——	A bird with a transverse hole in the middle of the body and a hind part of an animal decorated with incised strokes on the dorsal side.
II	Replacement of P.G. Ware by N.B.P. Ware. Common pottery of the period being plain grey and red ware like that of Period I B.	Introduction of the burnt bricks, in a limited quantity. The principle building material being mud. Chief feature of settlement was the construction of mud fortification. Structural activity represented by mud floors with or without post-holes, U-shaped ovens. houses built on mud platforms and associated with ringwells.	A few copper (square) punch-marked coins.	——	Introduction of human figures. Types with diversity some bearing applique decoration, commonest being mother-goddesses and elephant-riders.	Majority of the terracotta figures were of elephants with solid or hollow body. Some of the figurines were found decorated with punched circlets. Notable types being horses, bulls, a ram and a composite figure of *vṛshavyāla*-all having rhomboid eyes.
III	Restricted use of N.B.P.W. Red Ware remained the major ceramic. Grey Ware of coarser type with darker slip was present in a limited quantity. The pottery mainly of utilitarian character is represented by bowls, basins, vases, lids, jars etc. Introduction of spouted vessels is a notabl feature of the folk.	Mud remained the popular building material. Evidence of greater use of burnt bricks only towards later half of the period. Floors of the houses were finished with layers of rammed earth burnt brick-bats. A floor plastered with lime was also found. Ringwells became a rarity. Popularity of channeled ovens. Tiles were used for the roofing. The mud-fortification of Period II fell in disuse.	Inscribed and uninscribed copper coins including the local coins.	Inscribed seals.	Human figurines being prepared out of single moulds. The males used to wear a particular type of turban over their head. The female figurines were adorned with elaborate headdresses, ornaments and drapery.	Hand modelled animal figurines representing bulls, dogs, birds with plain bodies. The eyes are marked with small discs applied over the face.
IV	Entirely of red ware comprising utilitarian shapes i.e. bowls, basins, vases, lids, (including knobbed as well as ink-pot type) storage jars, sprinklers, spouted vessels etc. Red polished ware sherds are in a limited quantity. Some of the pots were decorated with stamped and painted designs. Important stamped motifs being *triratna*, *śrivatsa śankha*, floral motifs, circles, loops and spirals. The painted designs were limited to horizontal bands over the neck and shoulders.	Burnt bricks continued to be popular as evidenced from their use in the construction of drains, walls, pavements, house floors etc. A burnt-brick tank cut into natural soil at Kaṅkālī Ṭila was the major construction of the Period. This period saw the revival and enlargement of the mud fortification abandoned in Period III, besides raising of an inner fortification which is roughly quadrangular on plan. Mud, brick-bats and older (baked) bricks were used in a number of structures.	Kushan copper coins.	Besides seals and sealings two stone inscriptions were also found from this Period.	The Period saw the use of double moulds in the modelling of figurines besides the continuation of methods, in practice during earlier Period. Several male and female figurines recovered included mould of yakṣi, *Rajapuruṣa*, Yakṣi figurines, *vamanakas* and other male and female figurines with foreign influence. Evidence of glazing over two vamanaka figures was also noticed.	Handmade as well as double moulded animal figurines.

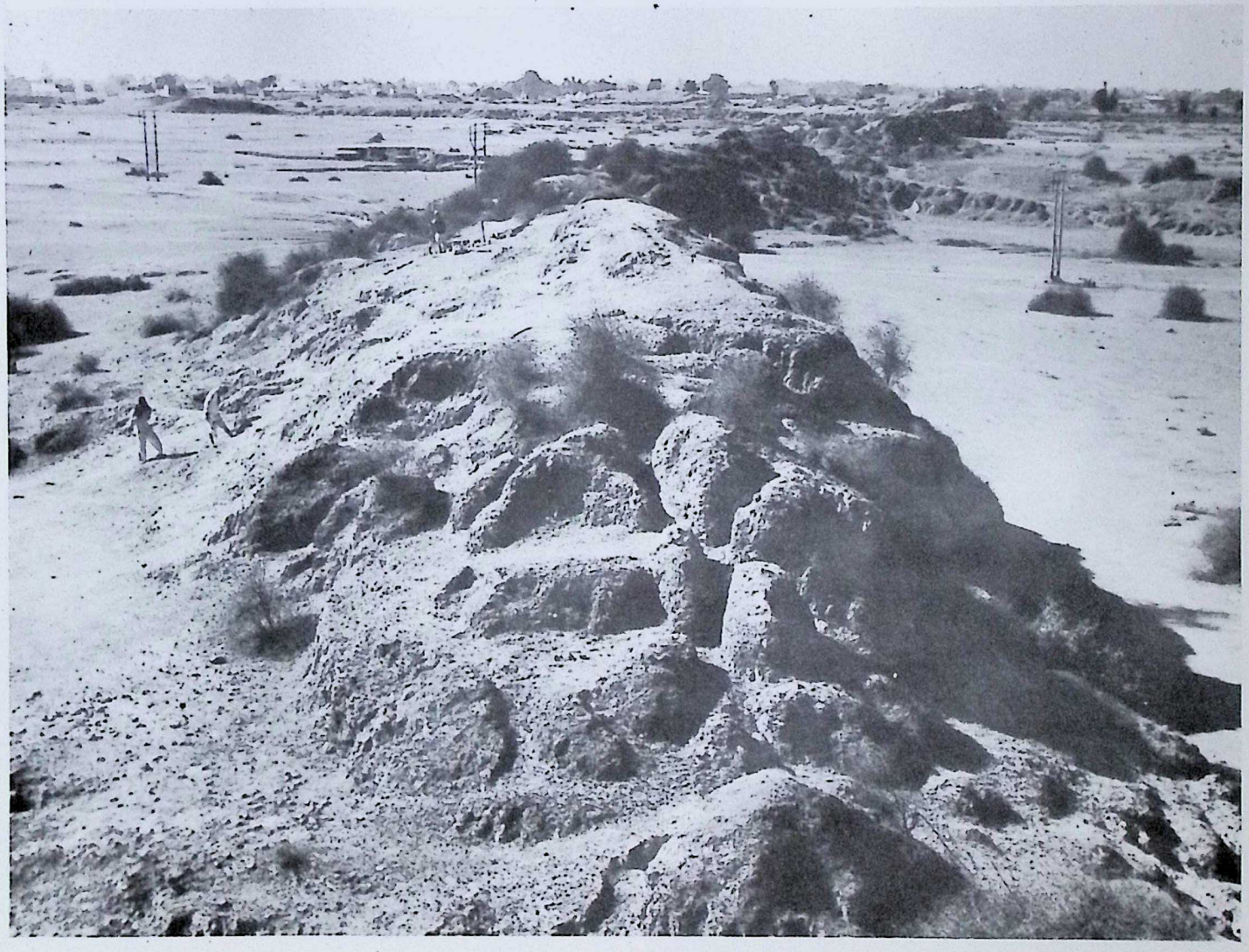
* Prepared by A.K. Sinha of Archaeological Survey of India.

**T.C. = Terracotta

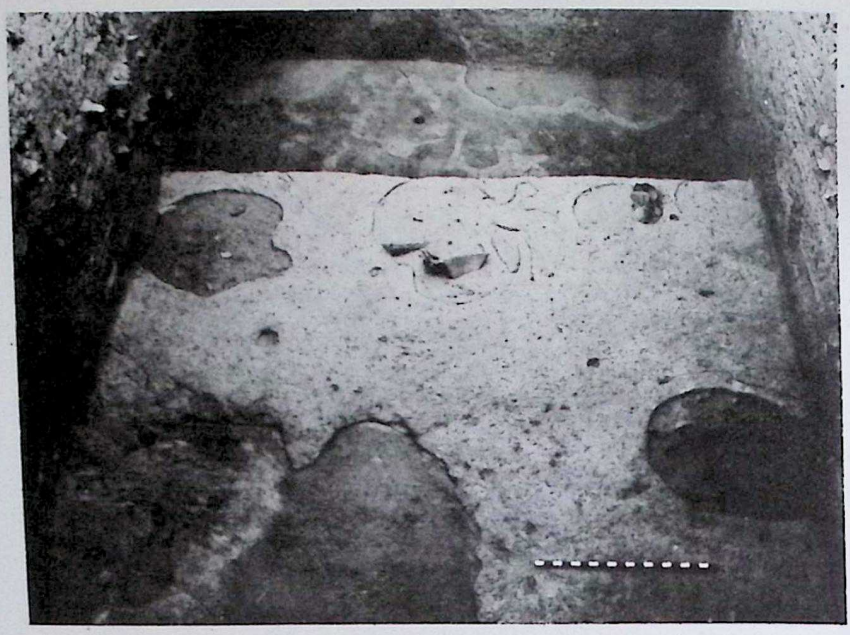
APPENDIX I*

Chart showing the periodwise distribution of important material from the excavations at Mathurā

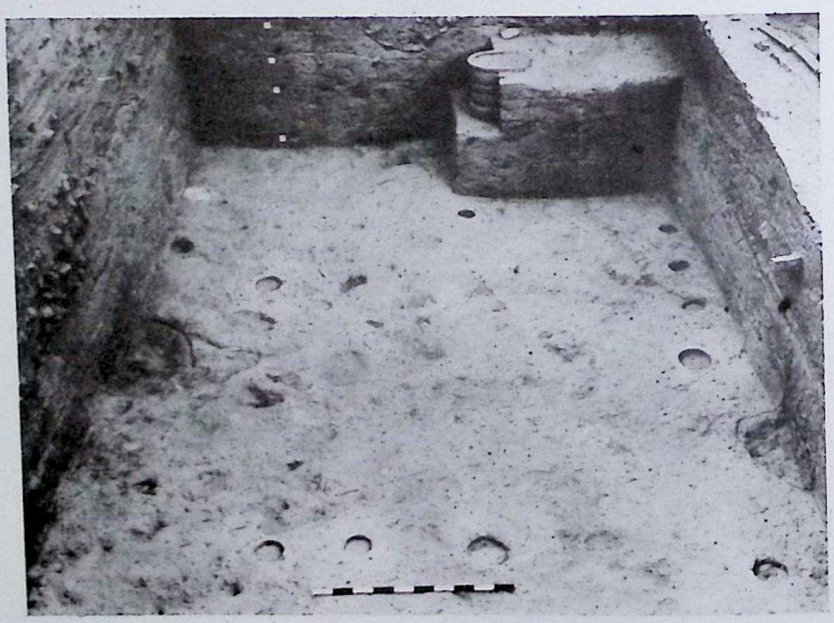
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
T.C. Gamesmen	T.C. Toy Wheels	T.C. Toycart Models	T.C. Discs	T.C. Semi-precious Beads	T.C. Shell Bangles	Stone Sculptures	Stone Pestles & Querns	Soap Stone Caskets	Bone Objects	Copper Objects	Iron Objects	Remarks
Simple type of gamesmen having flat circular base and almost conical top within an incised circlet.	——	——	Painted (in Painted Grey Ware tradition) as well as decorated (incised designs along the edges) discs.	*Ghata*-shaped terracotta beads.	——	——	Solitary pestle with roughly square cross section.	——	Represented by an arrow-head with working end pointed and the other showing hollow socket-hole for insertion of a shaft.	——	——	The habitation was in form of a small hamlet.
Continuation of the earlier type and emergence of a new type with a pedestalled base and knob-shaped conical top.	Discs with hole prepared out of pot-sherds.	——	The sub-Period witnessed discontinuation of painted type of discs. Only the incised decorated specimens remained in currency.	Beads of terracotta (*ghata*-shaped) and semi-precious stones.	——	——	——	——	Arrowheads in use during the Period comprised those with working end pointed and the other fashioned to a tapering tang and the specimens with one end pointed and the other flanged to a well defined tang besides the type represented in Period I A.	Antimony rods.	Arrowheads, a spearhead and slags besides a few indeterminate objects. Arrowheads are of simple type with the working end pointed and the other flanged to a tang.	——
Gamesmen of the type current in the Period I B were still popular, besides introduction of a new type-shaped like a human bust(?)	Plain as well as hubbed undecorated types.	——	The discs of this Period are decorated with incised designs along the edges as well as in the centre. Some of the discs have combination of the two decorations.	Beads in terracotta (*ghata*-shaped) and precious (Topaz?) and semi-precious stones including etched type were in common use.	Plain as well as decorated type of bangles.	——	Appearance of legged-querns of rectangular type was significant. Their legs being cut out at shorter sides. One of the querns is carved with *triratna* motif on its one side.	——	The continuation of the types in use during sub-Period I B and appearance of a new type with both the ends pointed. Other objects included awls and kohl-sticks.	Antimony rods, wire and fragments of vessels.	Objects included arrowheads, spearheads, knife, nails, chisel, a spoon and slags. The arrowheads current in Period I B remained in use besides emergence of a new type having double tang.	During the Period the habitation covered the entire area within the fortification.
Represented by a specimen shaped like a truncated cone.	Marked with the introduction of moulds for producing decorations on one or both the faces of the wheels.	Almost rectangular toy-cart frames with the yoke end comparatively narrower and raised edges.		Restricted use of *ghata*-shaped terracotta beads and introduction of areca nut-shaped beads. Beads of carnelian, agate, quartz, crystal, shell, ivory and glass were also in use. Etched variety of beads still remained popular.	Besides the continuation of bangles of terracotta, shell bangles were also introduced during this period.	Represented by a forepart of a lion, found embedded in one of the floors of the later levels of this Period.	The legs of the rectangular querns being cut out independently at each corner.	——	Double-pointed borers and arrowheads being the important objects.	Antimony rods and pendants are the important objects.	Represented by arrowheads, spearheads, daggers, nails and unidentified objects.	——
Animal shaped gamesmen.	Wheels representing the Period included both decorated as well as plainer varieties. The decorations over the faces of the wheels are cruder in finish.	——	——	Arecanut-shaped terracotta beads totally replaced *ghata*-shaped ones. Glass, crystal, agate chalcedony, shell, bone and ivory too were found in quite a good number.	Popularity of both terracotta and shell bangles.	Excepting a life size sculpture of flaming Buddha, all the other sculptures including jambs, a head of royal statue with seated tiny Buddha figures on the crown, a human head with moustache, foreparts of lion and elephant and Śālabhañjikā relief were recovered from the unstratified deposits.	Continuation of similar type of querns popular during period III. A mini-quern is decorated with floral motives. The pestles were normally of elliptical or lenticular in sections. Lower part of a rotary quern (*chakki*) with an iron rod fixed in the centre also is represented this Period.	Introduction of soap-stone-toilet objects representing caskets and lids.	Double pointed bone arrowheads, plain as well as decorated kohl-sticks and double ball pointed tools are the representative types.	Represented by antimony rods, pins, nail-parers and a few beads.	Arrowheads, spearheads, knives, nails and clamps are important objects.	——



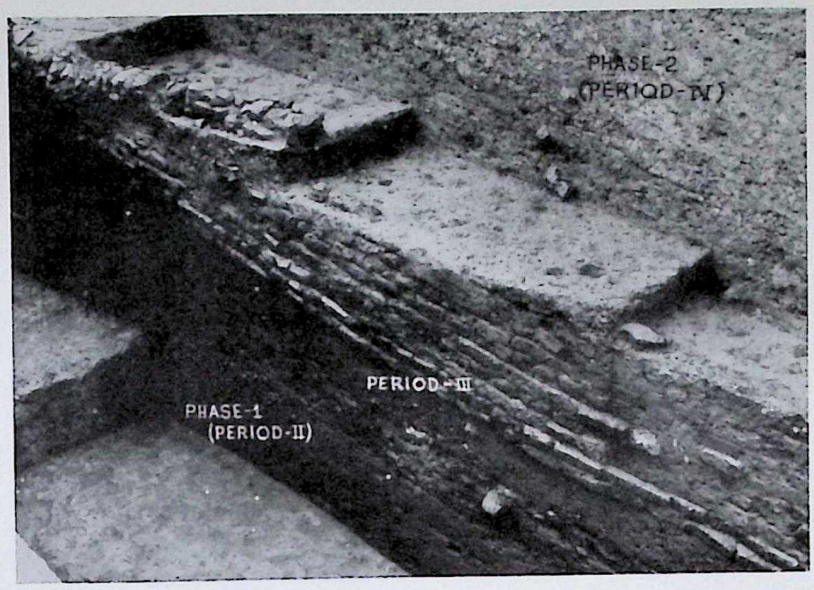
Pl. 18.I Mathurā: a general view of ancient fortification (Dhūl-kot)



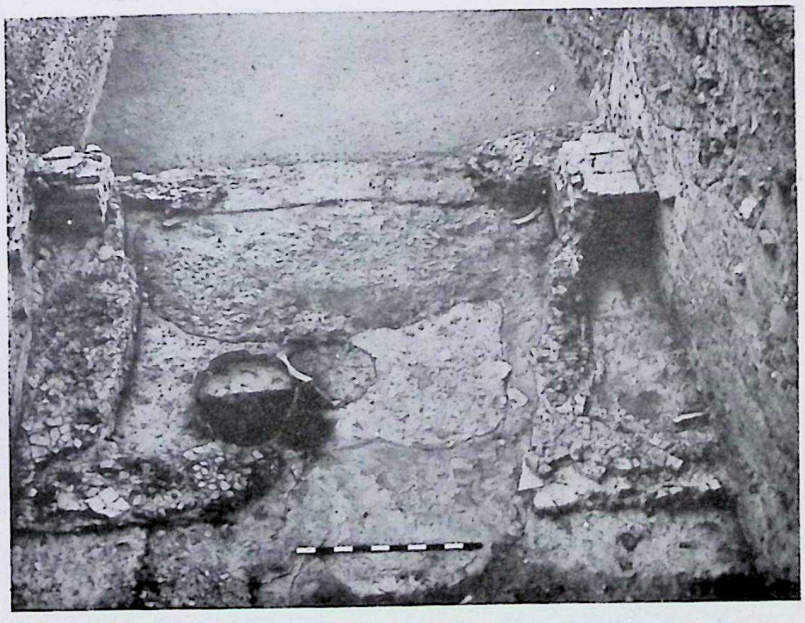
Pl. 18.II.A Mathurā: a mud floor, Period IA.



Pl. 18.II.B Mathurā: a mud floor with postholes, Period II

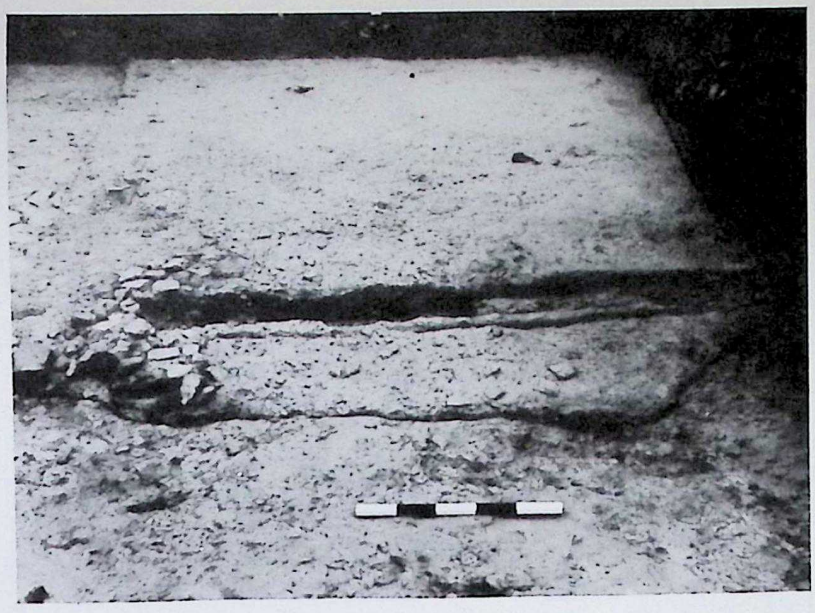


Pl. 18.III.A Phases of mud fortification, Period I and IV, and layer of ash and loose earth with structural remains of Period III.



Pl. 18.III.B Mathurā: Remains of a house, Period III.

Pl. 18.IV Mathurā: Lime-plastered brick floor, Period III.



Pl. 18.V.A Mathurā: a floor with channeled oven.

Pl. 18.V.B Mathurā: Inner fortification (section and retaining wall) Period IV.

Pl. 18.VI Mathurā: a tank complex, partial view. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā; Period IV.

19. Mathurā: A Protohistoric Perspective

JIM G. SHAFFER

Mathurā's importance as an Early Historic economic, political and cultural center is documented in early literature and by excavations at the site. Current interpretations equate Mathurā with other large centers of the Mahābhārata tradition such as Kauśāmbī and Panipat. For most South Asian scholars, establishment of Early Historic Period cities represented a second urbanization phase in the subcontinent. That is, little cultural connection is perceived between Early Historic and Protohistoric (i.e. Harappan) urban phenomenon.[1] Early Historic cities are usually associated with the 'Indo-Aryan invasions', introduction of iron technology and early Vedic literature.[2] Until recently, the archaeological record supported this paradigm since there appeared to be a cultural-chronological gap separating late Protohistoric Bronze Age cultures (Late Harappan) from Early Historic Iron Age cultures (Painted Grey Ware), and because initial occupations at many Early Historic cities were Painted Grey Ware (hereafter PGW) affiliated. Initial excavations at Mathurā[3] presented no exception to this paradigm since PGW pottery was found on the surface, and Plain Greywares (often associated with PGW) and polished black wares similar to those at Hastināpura (which had an initial PGW occupation) were associated with the first occupation. Thus, the earliest Mathurā occupation appeared to be a PGW related group.

Recent excavations at Mathurā,[4] however, located protohistoric ceramics, Black-Slipped (hereafter BSW) and coarse Black-and-Red Ware (hereafter BRW), in the initial occupation. The juxtapositioning of PGW and BRW ceramics at Mathurā and other sites (see below) indicates a cultural connection, rather than separation, between Protohistoric and Early Historic cultures. Moreover, this conclusion correlates with other recent archaeological reinterpretations for this area including: (1) Establishment of a continuous cultural developmental sequence linking Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods[5]; (2) Recognition that sometime during the Protohistoric Period the Chautang-Yamunā Rivers were integrated into the Gaṅgā River system[6]; (3) Alternative interpretations concerning the nature of the protohistoric Mature Harappan culture have been proposed[7]; (4) The accumulation of evidence suggesting an independent development of iron technology in the subcontinent[8]; (5) Fundamental questions have been raised about the current concept of 'Indo-Aryan invasions' as an explanatory model in South Asian culture history.[9] These developments have profound implications for interpreting the Early Historic Period and urban centers such as Mathurā of that era.

MATHURĀ: THE PROTOHISTORIC CONNECTION

Only the recent Mathurā excavations uncovered artifacts with a known protohistoric association.[10] Three sherds each of BSW and BRW pottery were found in Period I. By themselves six sherds would not be convincing evidence for a protohistoric connection if it were not for two additional factors: (1) BRW and PGW pottery have been associated with early occupations at several sites which continued to be occupied into the Early Historic Period; (2) The accumulating evidence that PGW pottery itself has a direct connection with the Protohistoric Period.[11] Furthermore, in light of these considerations other categories of material

culture may also have had protohistoric antecedents. Each of these issues will be discussed separately here.[12]

Black-and-Red Ware

BRW and PGW pottery have been associated with each other at the following sites (relevant occupations are marked with a '*'):

Alamgirpur[13]
- Period I: Harappan
- *Period II: BRW, PGW, BSW
- Period III: Historic red ware

Atranjikhera[14]
- Period I: Ochre Colored Pottery
- Period II: BRW, BSW
- *Period III: BRW, coarse BRW, BSW, PGW
- Period IV: Northern Black Polished Ware (hereafter NBP)

Allahpur[15]
- *Period IA: BRW, BSW, PGW (with increasing frequency)
- Period IB: PGW, NBP, BSW (limited)

Batesvara[16]
- *Period I: BRW, BSW, PGW
- Period II: NBP, BSW, red wares
- Period III: Historic red wares
- Period IV: Historic red wares

Jakhera[17]
- Period I: BRW, BSW, polished grey ware
- *Period IIA: BRW, PGW (proto-PGW)
- *Period IIB: BRW, PGW, BSW
- Period III: PGW, NBP

Jodhpura[18]
- Period I: Ochre Colored Pottery
- Period II: BRW
- *Period III: BRW, PGW
- Period IV: NBP
- Period V: Historic red wares

Khalua[19]
- *Period I: BRW, PGW, BSW, red wares

(A single occupation site)

Sardargarh[20]
- *Period I: PGW, BRW, red wares

(Excavations not yet published)

Noh[21]
- Period I: Ochre Colored Pottery
- Period II: BRW, BSW
- *Period III: BRW, BSW, PGW
- Period IV: PGW, NBP
- Period V: Kuṣāṇa
- Period VI: Medieval

In addition, Mughal[22] has reported BRW from surface collections at PGW sites in Bahawalpur, Pakistan. This evidence clearly suggests a chronological and cultural association linking BRW and PGW groups in the northwestern Gaṅgā River Valley where most of these sites are located.

BRW pottery has a widespread geographical (covering most of the northern subcontinent) and chronological (from mid-third to mid-first millennium B.C.) distribution. Given these broad time and space perimeters it is not surprising that distinctive variations within BRW are emerging. Two major BRW variants will be discussed here: (1) Northern BRW which includes sites mentioned above as well as those in the middle (e.g. Chirand[23]) and lower (e.g. Pandu Rajar Dhibi[24], Bahiri[25]) Gaṅgā Valley; and, (2) Southwestern BRW which includes sites in Gujarat, southern Rajasthan and Maharashtra (e.g. Ahar[26], Navdatoli[27], Eran[28], Nagda[29]). At present, the distinction between variants is based mainly on ceramic differences.

Northern BRW has a lower frequency of white painted BRW, and greater vessel shape correspondence with PGW. According to Dikshit[30] BRW pottery from these sites '...has no direct affinity with the white painted black-and-red ware complex at Ahar, except probably in the firing technique.' While basically agreeing with Dikshit it should be noted that some PGW vessel shapes have analogies among Southwestern BRW, and use of simple geometric motifs with large open spaces (white painted BRW) is stylistically comparable to PGW. Equally important is that occupations with both PGW and BRW have been located only in Northern BRW sites, specifically in the western regions. At Southwestern BRW sites, BRW occupations are followed either by Deccan Chalcolithic groups (e.g. Eran, Nagda, Navdatoli) or by an NBP occupation (e.g. Ahar). Even in the middle (Chirand) and eastern (Pandu Rajar Dhibi, Bahiri) Gaṅgā Valley, Northern BRW occupations are followed by ones associated with NBP or Early Historic red wares. It is feasible that whatever the relationship was between BRW and PGW groups, that it is definable only in the eastern Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh regions, the same regions which witnessed the emergence of Early Historic centers such as Mathurā.

The origin and chronology of BRW is, at present, obscure. Radiocarbon dates for BRW occupations indicate a chronology spanning the second to mid-first millennium B.C. However, the technique of black-slipping pottery may have considerable antiquity in the subcontinent. Mughal[31] associates black slipped pottery with his protohistoric Hakra Period in

Bahawalpur which stratigraphically precedes the Kot Diji Period, and is dated by him between 4000 and 3500 B.C. Hakra occupations have been identified at both Sarai Khola Period I[32] and Jalilpur Period I[33] where they are followed by Kot Dijian occupations. The Italian Mission uncovered an early occupation in Swat with possible Hakra affiliations (personal observation), and the Buzrahom complex in Kashmir appears to be a late Hakra manifestation. Burzahom Periods I–II[34] date between late-third and mid-second millennium B.C. which overlap with early BRW dates. Moreover, many material culture parallels exist between Burzahom and Chirand Periods I–II, however, no BRW pottery has been found in a Burzahom context. It appears that black slipped pottery may have characterized several early groups which settled these northern regions. Although data are insufficient to propose a generative link between Hakra and BRW potteries, there seems to be no reason to seek an intrusive origin for this ceramic technique.

The most extensive series of radiocarbon dates are for Southwestern BRW sites. It should be remembered, however, that none of these sites have BRW and PGW associated in the same occupation. At Rangpur, in late occupations, BRW is associated with Lustrous Red Ware, a Late Harappan type pottery, and dated by Possehl[35] to *ca.* 1200 B.C. (MASCA 1380–1400 B.C.—all bracketed dates are MASCA corrected dates). Lustrous Red Ware is also found in BRW occupations at Ahar where several dates are available. The dates, or range of dates, for selected sites with significant Southwestern BRW occupations are listed below.[36] Only dates relevant to BRW occupations are listed.

Ahar
Period I: 2144 ± 98–1270 ± 110 B.C.
(2580 ± 108–1490 ± 120 B.C.)

Kayatha
Period II: 1965 ± 110 – 1300 ± 135 B.C.
(2190 – 2310 ± 120 – 1510 ± 145 B.C.)

Navdatoli
Period III: 2299 ± 71 – 1443 ± 129 B.C.
(2850 – 2870 ± 81 – 1660 ± 139 B.C.)

Eran
Period I (BRW): 2044 ± 74 – 1365 ± 100 B.C.
(2420 – 2480 ± 84 – 1570 – 1600 ± 100 B.C.)
Period II (BRW, NBP):
1274 ± 180 – 1042 ± 108 B.C.
(1490 ± 118 – 1170 – 1190 ± 118 B.C.)

These dates, and others, suggest that Southwestern BRW dates from the end of the third to beginning of the first millennium B.C. At some sites (e.g. Navdatoli) BRW occupations are truncated by 'Deccan Chalcolithic' occupations during the mid-second millennium B.C.; however, at others (e.g. Eran) they persist until the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Although present data are inconclusive, a second millennium B.C. date may be proposed for Southwestern BRW.

Unfortunately, because of fewer excavations, the Northern BRW chronology is less well established. Presently, Chirand (Periods IB–II) is the only Northern BRW site with second millennium B.C. dates.

Chirand
Period I: 1755 ± 155 – 415 ± 125 B.C.
(2110 ± 165 – 430 ± 135 B.C.)
Period II: 1650 ± 100 – 715 ± 105 B.C.
(2000 – 2020 ± 110 – 800 ± 115 B.C.)

Several Chirand dates are stratigraphically incompatible[37] and without a definite excavation report, difficult to evaluate. However, given the limited sample, there is, at present, no reason to suspect that Northern BRW dates significantly earlier or later than Southwestern BRW.

More pertinent here are dates for occupations with both BRW and PGW pottery. Only the following dates are available:

Alamgirpur
Period II: 860 ± 100 A.D.
(930 ± 110 A.D.)

Atranjikhera
Period II 573 ± 200 B.C.
(BRW only): (660 – 720 ± 210 B.C.)
Period III (BRW and PGW):
1025 ± 110 – 535 ± 100 B.C.
(1150 ± 120 - 500 ± 110 B.C.)

Batesvara[38]
Period I (BRW, PGW) has no date but must be prior to Period II (NBP)
Period II: 640 ± 160 – 530 ± 110 B.C.
(780 ± 170 – 500 – 640 ± 120 B.C.)

Jodhpura[39]
Period I (Ochre Colored Pottery):
2230 ± 180 – 740 ± 110 B.C.
(2600 – 2800 ± 190 – 810 ± 120 B.C.)
Period II (BRW): No dates
Period III (BRW, PGW):
800 ± 150 – 320 ± 110 B.C.
(880 – 900 ± 160 – 400 ± 120 B.C.)

Khalua
Period I: 570 ± 160 – 485 ± 170 B.C.
(660 – 720 ± 170 – 440 – 470 ± 180 B.C.)

Mathurā[41]
Period IB (BRW, PGW):
510 ± 150 B.C.
(490 ± 160 B.C.

Period II (PGW):
660 ± 100 – 270 ± 100 B.C.
(790 ± 110 – 230 – 380 ± 110 B.C.)

Noh
Period III: 821 ± 227 – 490 ± 90 B.C.
(900 ± 237 – 470 ± 100 B.C.)

Available evidence dates the association and interrelationship linking BRW and PGW using groups to the first half of the first millennium B.C. This chronology is supported by dated PGW occupations[42] which generally range between 600–400 B.C. (740–420 B.C.) indicating that any BRW-PGW association should precede that period. Moreover, this chronological assessment agrees with M. C. Joshi and K. Sinha's[43] dating of Mathurā Period I to *ca.* 600–400 B.C. (740–420 B.C.). Stratigraphic and chronological evidence indicates a cultural affiliation between BRW and PGW groups in the northwestern Gaṅgā Valley sometime before 500 B.C.

Painted Grey Ware

Since Lal's[44] research at Hastināpur, and other sites in the northwest Gaṅgā Valley, PGW culture has generally been accepted as ushering in the Early Historic Period. Several circumstances of the archaeological record at that time contributed to acceptance of Lal's interpretations: (1) PGW groups constituted the initial occupation at many well known Early Historic Period sites (e.g. Mathurā, Hastināpura, Kauśāmbī, etc.) associated with the Mahābhārata tradition; (2) Little cultural similarity (i.e. ceramics) was definable between PGW and protohistoric groups (i.e. Harappan and Post-Harappan); (3) PGW was the earliest cultural complex associated with iron artifacts; (4) PGW C-14 dates were late (see above) and indicated a significant gap separating the protohistoric periods from PGW; (5) All the above combined with the Vedic literature and linguistic interpretations to indicate that PGW was an intrusive culture representing the initial Indo-Aryan movement into the subcontinent. This evidence was so convincing that many scholars[45] accepted not only the intrusive nature of PGW culture but also its correlation with the Indo-Aryan invasions despite dissenting opinions.[46]

Recent research has, however, significantly altered our perspectives on PGW culture. Specifically, J. P. Joshi's[47] excavations in the eastern Punjab, especially at Bhagwanpura, revealed a stratigraphic and cultural connection between PGW and a late protohistoric, post-Harappan, regional culture designated as Siswal C-D.[48] At Bhagwanpura Period IB, Joshi found PGW and protohistoric Siswal C pottery in stratigraphic association. Moreover, a limited number of vessel shapes and decorative motifs linking the two ceramic categories were defined. Joshi found similar stratigraphic situations at Dadheri IB, Nagar I and Kotpalon I. Although the nature of the relationship(s) linking PGW and protohistoric Siswal C have yet to be determined these excavations indicate there is no break in the archaeological sequence separating PGW from protohistoric developments. It is interesting to note, however, that none of these sites had a subsequent PGW occupation.

Like black-slipped pottery, the technology for production of fine grey wares has considerable antiquity in the subcontinent. In Baluchistan, Faiz Muhammad Greywares[49] are technologically similar to PGW. At Mehrgarh[50], in Periods VI–VII, it was dated to the first half of the third millennium B.C. It must be emphasized, however, that while Faiz Muhammad Greyware and PGW are similar in paste, firing and quality of manufacture, vessel shapes and decorative motifs are radically different and no generative link can yet be established between them. The important point is that PGW pottery does not reflect the introduction of a totally new ceramic technology.

At Pirak[51], a site on the Kachi Plain in Baluchistan, a sequence was defined which may parallel Bhagwanpura. In late Period II and III red and grey wares were manufactured in vessel shapes with direct analogies to those known for PGW. The paste used to make these potteries was, however, different from anything known among PGW. Associated with this pottery was a polychrome similar to that found at Mehrgarh Periods IV–V known as Kechi Beg Polychrome. At Mehrgarh this pottery dates to the end of the fourth millennium B.C., and was replaced by Faiz Muhammad Greywares. Pirak IIA–III has, on the other hand, been dated between 810 ± 125 – 785 ± 105 B.C. (900 ± 135 – 850 ± 115 B.C.), and was associated with iron artifacts. Kechi Beg Polychromes therefore, appear to have a wide chronological range. The excavators[52] note no sharp cultural break in the Pirak sequence which suggests, as at Bhagwanpura, that iron and greyware using groups of the Early Historic Period had direct cultural affiliations with protohistoric groups.

Unfortunately, C-14 dates are not available for Joshi's excavations. However, absence of later PGW occupations at Bhagwanpura and the other sites suggests that the interrelationship between PGW and later protohistoric Siswal C cultures occurred before the mid-first millennium B.C. Such a chronology is consistent with the dates from Pirak. Present evidence suggests that the chronology for cultural affiliations linking PGW and Siswal C was contemporary with that linking PGW and BRW—*ca.* (1000–500 B.C.).

Non-Pottery Protohistoric Connections

Iron

One important reason for correlating PGW with the Indo-Aryan invasions and the onset of the Early Historic Period was its association with iron. It appeared, until recently, that PGW groups were responsible for introducing iron into the subcontinent. It is increasingly apparent, however, that earliest iron use correlates instead with BRW indicating iron technology was an indigenous development.

At Ahar Period I, the BRW occupation, twelve iron artifacts were found, only one less than associated with the NBP occupations.[53] Eleven of these artifacts were utilitarian tools (points, chisels, axe/adze, pegs and nails) and one may have been an item of personal adornment (ring). Iron artifacts were associated with BRW at Ahar even if the excavators failed to discuss the topic. BRW pottery overlaps with Malwa pottery (Deccan Chalcolithic) in Nagda Period II which also had iron artifacts located in the initial deposits. A similar developmental sequence was found at Eran where BRW and iron artifacts were associated with Period IIA. The Malwa culture dates between 1700–1400 B.C. (2060–1600 B.C.), and therefore chronologically overlaps with Ahar I and Eran IIA. Thus, it appears that iron artifacts, including utilitarian tools, were present among Southwestern BRW groups by the last half of the second millennium B.C., almost a millennium before they are frequently found in PGW occupations 600–400 B.C. (740–420 B.C.).

Evidence for early iron use by Northern BRW groups is more limited. At Chirand, the initial BRW occupation (Period IB) was associated with a single iron blade. Radiocarbon dates place this occupation in the mid-second millennium B.C. In this same region, associated with so-called Neolithic pottery but not BRW, an iron sickle was dated to 1055 ± 210 B.C. (1190 − 1210 ± 220 B.C.).[54] At Bahiri[55], in West Bengal, BRW was associated with evidence for iron smelting from the earliest levels. Chakrabarti dates this initial period to *ca.* + 1000 − 500 B.C., but no C-14 dates are available. Again, iron technology in this region is initially associated with BRW and precedes PGW iron use by at least 500 years.

This association of iron artifacts with BRW in the late second millennium B.C. should *not* be interpreted as representing simply an earlier diffusion of iron technology into the subcontinent. BRW pottery, or any similar type ceramic, is unknown in regions west of the Indus Valley. This suggests that BRW pottery and associated cultural traits are entirely of an indigenous South Asian origin. Moreover, the nature and context of the iron objects involved are very different from early iron objects found in Southwest Asia. Most BRW iron artifacts appear to be utilitarian tools (points, chisels, sickles, axes, nails, knives, crow-bars, etc.). Similar utilitarian iron tools are not generally found in Southwest Asia until *ca.* 850 B.C.[56] The Iranian Plateau Iron I Period may date to the second half of the second millennium B.C. if MASCA dates are used.[57] However, most of these objectives are associated with burials unlike BRW iron artifacts which are found in general habitation contexts. A significant number of early Iranian iron objects are items of personal adornment (jewelry) and of the remainder (e.g. daggers), it is difficult to determine if they were utilitarian, ceremonial or status-linked objects because of their burial association. Therefore, the context and functional nature of early iron artifacts in Southwest Asia differ significantly from those in the subcontinent. The context, early dates and different functional nature of iron artifacts in the subcontinent, suggest that iron technology was an indigenous development and not diffused from some Western source.[58]

Other Objects

The continuous developmental sequence outlined here and the indigenous origin for iron technology make feasible other analogies linking Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods. Although analogies made below are *very general*, and do not take into account precise stylistic variations, the point to be emphasized is that there is continuity linking various material culture items from the Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods. Furthermore, these similarities reflect not only technological continuity, but may also indicate continuity in associated cultural values and behaviors.

G.R. Sharma[59], in his Kauśāmbī report, was one of the first to note architectural similarities between the Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods:

> The mud-packed rampart revetted externally with baked bricks in the so-called English bond in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, battered back to angles of 20° to 40°, bastions at intervals, rectangular towers and underground passage built on corbelled arch, are significant features of architecture at Kausámbī with prototypes for each one of them in Harappan architecture.[60]

Although Sharma draws parallels between Kauśāmbī's defensive structures and so-called Harappan citadels, which may not be defensive structures[61], the architectural parallels between the two are pronounced whatever the function. Construction of wood and mud

structures have often been used to distinguish PGW occupations from protohistoric ones characterized by mud brick. However, Joshi found PGW mud brick structures at Bhagwanpura; and wood and mud structures are frequently found at BRW sites. Architectural details and magnitude of structures may vary between Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods but there is little significant qualitative difference.

Among small, or miscellaneous artifacts associated with the Early Historic Period, especially the early phases (e.g. Kauśāmbī I-II, Mathurā I[62]) several protohistoric parallels exist. Objects with protohistoric parallels include: terracotta bangles, toy-carts and wheels, beads, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines; semi-precious stone beads (including rare etched carnelian examples); faience beads; square and circular stamp seals; and, shell bangles. Especially interesting are the terracotta figurines. Both handmade and mold made types are found with the latter becoming more frequent in later periods (the use of molds to make ceramic objects is also known in the Protohistoric Period). Except for horse and elephant figurines (generally mold made) zoomorphic figurines have direct analogies with those in the Protohistoric Period. Handmade female figurines also have many parallels in the Protohistoric Period. For example, the standing female figurine with elaborate flaring coiffure, appliqué necklace, broad hips and hip-sash found in Mathurā Period I[63] is similar to some Harappan figurines.[64] Although the parallels listed above should not be unduly emphasized they do, in light of ceramic and metallurgical evidence, contribute to the continuity linking Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods.

Another characteristic, long considered[65] to distinguish the Early Historic (i.e. NBP) from Protohistoric Period, was the reintroduction of urban centers. Traditionally, the abandonment of Harappan urban centers (i.e. Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Lothal, Kalibangan) was thought to end the first urban phase in the subcontinent, and it was thought that urban centers were absent until they reappeared sometime in the NBP Period. Mughal[66] has, however, located a few post-Mature Harappan sites in Bahawalpur which range between 15 and 31 ha. in size suggesting continued presence of urban type settlements. At least two large PGW sites are also known: a 14 ha. site in Bahawalpur[67] and a 10 ha. site in eastern Punjab.[68] Moreover, several large Early Historic and Medieval sites in the eastern Punjab have associated protohistoric (Siswal C-D) and PGW potteries.[69] Until these sites are excavated the conclusion that urban centers disappeared during the late protohistoric and initial Early Historic Periods is very premature. Given the continuities noted here the idea that urban centers persisted from the Protohistoric to Early Historic Periods must be entertained.

CONCLUSIONS

What does this new paradigm of continuous cultural development linking Protohistoric and Early Historic Periods contribute to our understanding of Mathurā and other contemporary sites? Fundamentally, this paradigm indicates that PGW culture, which was responsible for initial occupations at such sites as Atranjikhera, Hastināpura and Mathurā, represents an indigenous South Asian cultural development rather than a foreign intrusion. In other words, the concept of an Indo-Aryan invasion, which has been *assumed* to be a historical fact, is open to question, at least in its present form. Clearly, alternative explanations for establishment and growth of these important Early Historic cultural centers are demanded by this new data.

The initial PGW settlement of these important Early Historic sites must have been related to important drainage pattern shifts which affected northwestern India. Recent geomorphological and historical studies[70] indicate that the Yamunā River captured the Chautang River's headwaters, thereby diverting its flow eastward into the Gaṅgā River system sometime between 2000 and 500 B.C. On the basis of archaeological data Mughal[71] has proposed two major changes in drainage patterns affecting this area: (1) In the third millennium B.C. when the Yamunā and Chautang Rivers assumed their present course the new drainage pattern reduced significantly the amount of water in the area. (2) During the second millennium B.C. the Sutlej was captured by the Beas River leaving the entire course of the Sutlej and Hakra Rivers dry. Such changes in water resources must have affected late protohistoric groups (Siswal C-D) in this region. Indeed, Suraj Bhan[72] independently noted a northeast shift in the distribution of Siswal C-D sites in the eastern Punjab, and suggested they reflected changing drainage patterns. Survey data[73] indicates that many earlier protohistoric sites (Siswal A-B) were abandoned prior to the establishment of these later ones. Movement of social groups into the eastern fringe of the Punjab and the northwest Gaṅgā Valley, therefore, reflects a human response to changing geographical conditions, an attempt to be near perennial water, and not an invasion by a foreign group.

This physical relocation of settlements may have been accompanied by shifts in subsistence patterns. Rice has been associated with Siswal C-D occupations[74], and the known association of rice, water buffalo and pig with PGW occupations at other sites[75], suggest

these subsistence items acquired more importance with availability of more reliable water sources and, perhaps, by the higher watertable characterizing these eastern regions. Rice and water buffalo have higher water and labor requirements than earlier subsistence items (wheat, barley, sheep, goats and cattle) and their increased use may have contributed to changing settlement and socio-economic patterns.

The PGW is still the foremost candidate among archaeological cultures for representing 'Indo-Aryan culture' in the subcontinent.[76] However, if PGW culture represents an indigenous South Asian cultural development how does one account for the cultural traditions recorded in early Vedic literature of cultural invasions, conflicts and subsequent rise of early empires during the Early Historic Period?

To appreciate the cultural processes responsible for early Vedic literature and formation of early historic empires, it is necessary to reexamine some aspects of protohistoric Mature Harappan culture. In a recent paper[77] I argued that failure to define temples, palaces and high status burials in conjunction with the quantity, distribution and functional nature of metal artifacts suggests the concept and distribution of wealth in Mature Harappan culture was significantly different from that present in other contemporary Bronze Age societies. I also suggested that Mature Harappan culture may represent an example of an urban, literate society which did not develop hereditary, wealthy elites. If these hypotheses can be substantiated by further excavations, the Mature Harappan represents a unique social experiment in the Bronze Age world, and more pertinent to this discussion, Mature Harappan also presents a striking contrast to India's Early Historic cultures with their dominating political, social and economic hereditary elites. In other words, the cultural traditions described in early Vedic literature and documented in the archaeological record of the Early Historic Period represent not a cultural invasion but a fundamental restructuring of indigenous society in northern India.

The settlement relocation necessitated by drainage pattern changes and possible shifts in subsistence economy may have disrupted earlier traditional patterns of social organization and provided opportunities for developing alternative social arrangements. Furthermore, availability of new, relatively unexploited, natural resources may have presented opportunities for accumulating wealth and power along new avenues of social, political and economic organization, different from those present in earlier phases of cultural development. The extent of such cultural changes are apparent if one contrasts the picture of society presented in early Vedic literature with that of Mature Harappan culture suggested here. Moreover, there are two archaeological indications that significant economic and political changes were occurring.

The first change was the development of a monied economy sometime in the mid-first millennium B.C. Although units of measurement were known protohistorically there is no evidence yet available to indicate existence of a common exchange medium. The development of a monied economy may have precipitated economic reorganization, and accumulation of wealth and political power on levels and along avenues that were earlier impossible.

The second indicator that significant political changes were occurring is a pronounced increase in production of metal arrowheads and spear/lance heads. Protohistoric bronze equivalents of these objects were produced but in limited quantities. In the Mature Harappan occupations at Chanhu-daro[78], Harappa[79] and Mohenjo-daro[80],[81] the following frequencies were recorded:

Chanhu-daro	
Arrowheads	9
Spear/lance heads	7
Harappa	
Arrowheads	3
Spear/lance heads	28
Mohenjo-daro	
Arrowheads	23
Spear/lance heads	30

Total number of bronze tools (exclusive of vessels, jewelry, figurines, tablets and ingots) ... 597

Frequency:		
Arrowheads	36	6.0%
Spear/lance heads	65	11.0%
Total	101	17.0%

Moreover, this arrowhead and spear/lance head frequency does not appear related to scarcity of metals. Only one stone arrowhead and no spear/lance heads were found despite an extensive lapidary industry and readily available supply of stones. These low frequencies contrast significantly with what is known for the Early Historic Period. At Kauśāmbī, Sharma identified the following frequencies in the Early Historic occupations (PGW and NBP):

Total number of iron tools ... 678		
Arrowheads	370	55%
Spear/lance heads	58	9%
Total	428	64%

This fourfold increase in metal projectile point production, the known defensive architecture at several sites, and the military activities recorded in Vedic literature clearly indicate that military resolution of social conflict had reached unprecedented levels compared to the Protohistoric Period. The increased military activity may reflect social tensions generated by changing social and economic conditions, not the least of which was a restructuring of the economy based on money.

Clearly, social groups in northern India were undergoing significant internal social, economic and political changes in the first millennium B.C. which were eventually recorded in the Vedic literature and ultimately formed the bases for Classical India. Although interpretations presented here are tentative they demonstrate that archaeology and history have much to contribute to the study of each other. The contribution of such interdisciplinary interaction will depend, to a great extent, on our ability to develop new paradigms which attempt to explain data within the context of South Asia rather than in the context of events in other regions, or on the bases of past assumptions and old paradigms.

NOTES

1. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Simla 1973, p. 89.
2. W. A. Fairservis, *The Roots of Ancient India*, Chicago 1975, pp. 349–52.
3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1954–55*, 1955, pp. 15–6. Hereafter this publication will be cited as *IAR*.
4. M. C. Joshi and A. K. Sinha, 'Chronology of Mathura—An Assessment,' *Puratattva* Vol. X (1982), pp. 39–44; and, *IAR, 1974–75*, 1979, pp. 48–50.
5. J. G. Shaffer, 'The Protohistoric Period in the Eastern Punjab: A Preliminary Assessment' *Indus Civilization New Perspectives*, Islamabad 1981, pp. 65–102.
6. H. Wilhelmy, 'Das urstromtal an ostrand der Indusbene und das Sarasvati-problem,' *Seit. Gemophologie*, Supplementband Vol. VIII (1969), pp. 76–93.
7. J. G. Shaffer, 'Harappan Culture: A Reconsideration,' *Harappan Civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, New Delhi 1982, pp. 41–50.
8. D. K. Chakrabarti, 'Beginning of Iron in India: Problem Reconsidered,' *Perspectives in Paleoanthropology*, Calcutta 1974, pp. 345–56; and, J. G. Shaffer, 'Bronze Age Iron from Afghanistan: Its Implications for South Asian Prehistory,' *Studies in the Archaeology and Paleoanthropology of South Asia*, New Delhi (in press).
9. J. G. Shaffer, 'The Indo-Aryan Invasions: Cultural Myth and Archaeological Reality,' *The People of South Asia: The Biological Anthropology of India, Pakistan and Nepal*, New York (in press).
10. Joshi and Sinha, 'Chronology', p. 40.
11. Shaffer, 'The Protohistoric Period', pp. 65–102.
12. The discussion which follows is *not* intended to be an exhaustive study. Many detailed comments have been eliminated in the interest of space. More extensive discussions of this complex problem can be found in: Shaffer, 'Bronze Age Iron,' in press; and, 'Indo-Aryan,' in press. A more comprehensive study of this issue is in preparation.
13. V. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware: An Iron Age Culture of Northern India*, Delhi 1976, pp. 22–3. References to specific site reports are given in this source and will not be repeated here.
14. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 24–5.
15. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 23–4; and, K. N. Dikshit, 'The Allahapur Evidence and the Painted Grey Ware Chronology,' *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, Bombay 1973, pp. 148–53.
16. *IAR, 1975–76*, 1979, pp. 42–3.
17. M. D. N. Sahi, 'New Light on the Life of the Painted Grey Ware People as Revealed from Excavations at Jakhera (Dist. Etah),' *Man and Environment* Vol. II (1978), pp. 101–3; and, *IAR, 1974–5*, 1979, pp. 50–1.
18. *IAR, 1972–73*, 1978, pp. 29–30.
19. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 26–7; and, *IAR, 1965–66*, 1973, pp. 41–2.
20. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 28–9.
21. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 27–8.
22. M. R. Mughal, 'Archaeological Surveys in Bahawalpur,' *Pakistan Archaeology* (in press).
23. *IAR, 1963–64*, 1967, pp. 6–8; *IAR, 1968–69*, 1971, pp. 5–6; *IAR, 1969–70*, 1973, pp. 6–7; *IAR, 1970–71*, 1974, pp. 6–7; *IAR, 1971–72*, 1975, pp. 6–7.
24. S. P. C. Das Gupta, *The Excavations at Pandu Rajar Dhibi*, Calcutta 1964.
25. D. K. Chakrabarti and S. J. Hassan, 'The Sequence at Bahiri (Chandra Hazrar Danga), District Birbhum, West Bengal,' *Man and Environment* Vol. VI (1982), pp. 111–49.
26. H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari, *Excavations at Ahar (Tambavati): 1961–62*, Poona 1969.
27. H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari, *Chalcolithic Navdatoli (Excavations at Navdatoli, 1957–59)*, Poona 1971.
28. *IAR, 1960–61*, 1961, pp. 17–8; *IAR, 1961–62*, 1964, pp. 24–5; *IAR, 1962–63*, 1965, pp. 11–2; *IAR, 1963–64*, 1967, pp. 15–6; and, *IAR, 1964–65*, 1969, pp. 16–8.
29. *IAR, 1955–56*, 1956, pp. 11–9; and, N. R. Banerjee, *The Iron Age in India*, Delhi 1965.

30. Dikshit, 'Allahapur Evidence,' p. 151.
31. M. R. Mugal, 'New Archaeological Evidence from Bahawalpur,' *Indus Civilization New Perspectives*, Islamabad 1981, pp. 33–42; and, 'Archaeological Surveys,' in press.
32. M. A. Halim, 'Excavations at Sarai Khola, Part II,' *Pakistan Archaeology* Vol. VIII (1972), pp. 1–32, 77–112.
33. M. R. Mughal, 'New Evidence of the Early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur, Pakistan,' *Archaeology* Vol. XXVII (1974), pp. 106–13.
34. R. K. Kaw, 'The Neolithic Culture of Kashmir,' *Essays in Indian Protohistory*, Delhi 1979, pp. 219–28.
35. G. L. Possehl, *Indus Civilization in Saurashtra*, Delhi 1980, p. 19.
36. K. S. Ramachandran, *Radiocarbon Dates of Archaeological Sites in India*, Hyderabad 1975. Unless noted otherwise all radiocarbon dates quoted here are from this reference. All unbracketed dates are based on the 5730 ± 40 half-life.
37. Ramachandran, *Radiocarbon*, p. 35.
38. *IAR, 1974–75*, 1979, p. 75.
39. *IAR, 1975–76*, 1979, p. 82; and, *IAR, 1976–77*, 1980, p. 87.
40. *IAR, 1974–75*, 1979, pp. 75–6.
41. *IAR, 1976–77*, 1980, pp. 88–9; and Joshi and Sinha, 'Chronology,' pp. 40–2.
42. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, p. 135.
43. Joshi and Sinha, 'Chronology,' p. 40.
44. B. B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapur and Other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins,' *Ancient India* Vol. X–XI (1954–55), pp. 5–151.
45. Ghosh, *The City*.
46. D. K. Chakrabarti, 'The Aryan Hypothesis in Indian Archaeology,' *Indian Studies Past and Present* Vol. IV (1968), pp. 333–58; and, B. K. Thapar, 'The Aryans: A Reappraisal of the Problem,' *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras 1970, pp. 147–64.
47. J. P. Joshi, 'Excavations at Bhagwanpura,' *Mahabharata: Myth and Reality—Differing Views*, Delhi 1976, pp. 239–40; 'Overlap of Late Harappan Culture and Painted Grey Ware Culture in the Light of Recent Excavations in Haryana, Punjab and Jammu,' *The Indus Civilization: Problems and Issues*, Simla (in press); 'Interlocking of Late Harappan Culture and Painted Grey Ware Culture in the Light of Recent Excavations,' *Man and Environment* Vol. II (1978), pp. 98–100; and, 'A Note on the Excavations at Bhagwanpura,' *Puratattva* Vol. VIII (1978), pp. 178–80.
48. See Shaffer, 'The Protohistoric Period,' pp. 65–102 for definition and discussion of Siswal A-D.
49. W. A. Fairservis, 'Excavations in the Quetta Valley, West Pakistan,' *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. XLV (1956), pp. 169–402.
50. J.-F. Jarrige and R. H. Meadow, 'The Antecedents of Civilization in the Indus Valley,' *Scientific American* Vol. CCXLII (1980), pp. 122–33.
51. J.-F. Jarrige and M. Santoni, *Fouilles de Pirak*, Paris 1979.
52. Jarrige and Santoni, *Pirak*, pp. 356–82.
53. Shaffer, 'Bronze Age Iron,' in press.
54. D. K. Chakrabarti, 'Distribution of Iron Ores and the Archaeological Evidence of Early Iron in India,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. XX (1977), pp. 166–84.
55. Chakrabarti and Hassan, 'The Sequence at Bahiri,' pp. 111–49.
56. R. Pleiner and J. K. Bjorkman, 'The Assyrian Iron Age: The History of Iron in the Assyrian Civilization,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol. CXVIII (1974), pp. 282–313.
57. V. Piggott, 'The Question of the Presence of Iron in the Iron I Period in Western Iran,' *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, Malibu 1977, pp. 209–34.
58. Chakrabarti and Hassan, 'The Sequence at Bahiri,' pp. 111–49; and, Shaffer, 'Bronze Age Iron,' in press.
59. G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī, 1957–59*, Allahabad 1960.
60. Sharma, *Kauśāmbī*, p. 6.
61. G. F. Dales, 'The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro,' *Expedition* Vol. VI (1964), pp. 36–43.
62. *IAR, 1974–75*, 1979, pp. 48–50.
63. *IAR, 1974-75*, 1979, Plate XLIA.
64. E.g. Fairservis, *Roots of Ancient India*, p. 285.
65. E.g. Ghosh, *The City*.
66. Mughal, 'New Archaeological Evidence,' pp. 33–42; and, 'Archaeological Surveys,' in press.
67. Mughal, 'Archaeological Surveys,' in press.
68. Suraj Bhan and J. G. Shaffer, 'New Discoveries in Northern Haryana,' *Man and Environment* Vol. II (1978), pp. 59–68.
69. Suraj Bhan and Shaffer, 'New Discoveries,' pp. 59–68.
70. B. Ghose, A. Kar and Z. Husain, 'The Lost Courses of the Saraswati River in the Great Indian Desert,' *The Geographical Journal* (London) Vol. CXLV (1979), pp. 446–51; and, Wilhelmy, 'Das urstromtal,' pp. 76–93.
71. Mughal, 'Archaeological Surveys,' in press.
72. Suraj Bhan, 'Changes in the Course of the Yamuna and Their Bearing on the Proto-historic Cultures of Haryana,' *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*, Nagpur 1972, pp. 125–8.
73. Suraj Bhan and Shaffer, 'New Discoveries,' pp. 59–68.
74. Suraj Bhan personal communication.
75. Tripathi, *The Painted Grey Ware*, pp. 110–1.
76. Ghosh, *The City*, p. 6.
77. Shaffer, 'Harappan Culture,' *Harappan Civilization*, pp. 41–50.
78. E. J. H. Mackay, 'Chanhu-daro Excavations, 1935–36,' *American Oriental Series* Vol. XX (1943), pp. 1–338.
79. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Calcutta 1940.

80. E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, New Delhi 1938; and, Sir J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931.
81. For a critical discussion and reanalysis of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa excavations see: M. A. Fentress, *Resource Access, Exchange Systems, and Regional Interaction in the Indus Valley: An Investigation of Archaeological Variability at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1976.
82. Sharma, *Kauśāmbī*, pp. 45–7.

20. Pottery of Mathurā

HERBERT HÄRTEL

For a scientific research on the Pottery of Mathurā the material sources available have long been insufficient. The small collection of pots and sherds in the Government Museum Mathurā, for instance, proved to be of little help because of its unknown data and provenances. One is, therefore, thankful for the information to be obtained from the summary reports of the excavations performed by the Archaeological Survey of India in Mathurā City itself, published in *Indian Archaeology—A Review* for the years 1954–55, 1973–74 and 1974–75, and completed by M. C. Joshi in his paper, 'Mathurā as an ancient Settlement', appearing in this volume.

The results reported therein give a general idea of the development of pottery of Mathurā City which, as we may assume, reflects the pottery situation in the whole of the Mathurā District and adjoining areas. Since the relevant material, unearthed during the continuous excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1973 to 1977 at nearly fourteen sites, in different parts of the city, is understandably not yet completely analyzed, a more comprehensive and comparative study of the subject remains a desideratum. It is therefore but reasonable to introduce here the material from excavations at the mound of Sonkh, conducted under an agreement with the Government of India and with the kind permission of the Archaeological Survey of India, by a team of archaeologists from the Museum of Indian Art of Berlin (West) under my supervision from 1966 to 1974.[1] The Sonkh finds cover forty levels over a period of about 2500 years, starting with the Painted Grey Ware (PGW) and the Black and Red Ware (BRW) levels. The middle layers of the Painted Grey and Black and Red Ware yielded radiocarbon dates of 620 and 575 B.C. The excavation register reports 3120 pots and shape-retaining pottery fragments as well as 1294 special sherds with various decorations. The majority of the pots and sherds have been found in their original surroundings and in datable context. The Sonkh material, therefore, seems to provide a sufficient source for the attempt to draw a more condensed outline of the development of Mathurā pottery. Although far from being exhaustive, this short report intends to sum up the main types and shapes of the Sonkh pottery from the beginning, to the transition period from Kusāna to Gupta. Since the sequence of pottery types from Sonkh is determined by stratigraphic data, comparable material found in excavations outside of the Mathurā Distt. is deliberately not being discussed. To point out undoubted affinities of shapes from other places would in any case exceed the scope of this article.

To make the dull language of pottery description comprehensible, drawings and photographs are added in sufficient number to illustrate the objects.[2]

PERIOD OF PAINTED GREY WARE (PGW) AND BLACK AND RED WARE (BRW)

In the area of Sonkh, PGW pottery occurs simultaneously with BRW, with which it has in common the very thin wall and base and the burnished surface. The typical PGW has a grey core of very fine clay texture and is decorated with comb-painted geometric, abstract and symbolic ornaments (Fig. 20.1), swiftly flung on the outer and inner surface in black or dark grey colour, or even in brownish or greenish shades.[3]

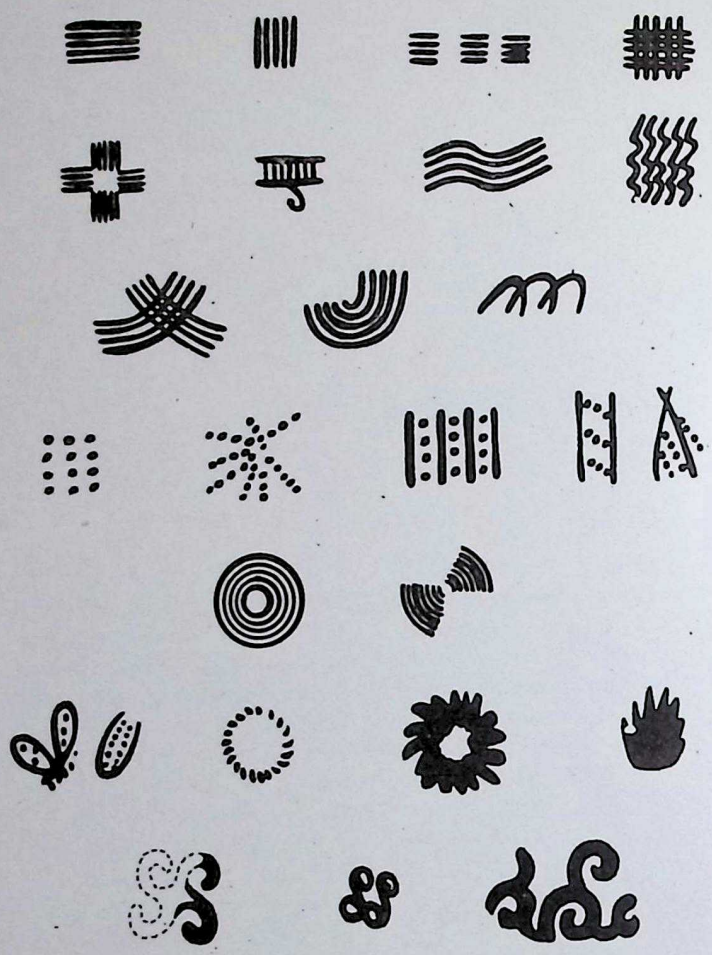


Fig. 20.1 PGW ornaments from Sonkh.

With this ware, dishes with convex bottom and carinated or incurved walls are conspicuous (Fig. 20.2; nos. 1, 2), accompanied by hemispherical bowls (Fig. 20.2; no.3; Pl. 20.I.A) and cylindrical cups (Fig. 20.2; no. 4) as the main shapes.

BRW consists, like PGW, of more or less hemispherical bowls (Fig. 20.2; nos. 2, 3), tulip bowls (Fig. 20.2; no. 5; Pl. 20.I.B) and other types of beakers. The Sonkh specimens of this ware carry no ornaments.

Some of the PGW and BRW vessels seem to be made on the potter's wheel, but others are made by moulding the base and building up the wall on a turntable. The wheel-thrown pots have either turned or beaten bases. Besides the fine grey and painted specimens there occurs a grey ware of cruder fabric and with an increased thickness of the wall. These types are wheel-thrown with roughly beaten or scraped bases. The bowls, dishes, cups and jars are occasionally covered with a black slip. In a few cases, the bottom shows, on the inside, stamped rosette ornaments. Ware of this kind is well known as Coarse Grey Ware. As for the finds from Sonkh, there seems to be no need to make a difference between Coarse Grey Ware and Blackslipped Ware.

Associated with the rather delicate PGW and BRW potteries are also storage jars (Fig. 20.2; no. 6), water jars (Pl. 20.I.C), bowls, jarlets and cauldrons of less refined clay and texture, of brick-red colour, either wheel-thrown or, definitely in the case of the storage jars, coiled and beaten, sometimes even showing ribbed paddle-marks.

The water jars of this period are, in general, globular with concave necks and out-carving rims, in a few cases stamped with a Ma-symbol or separate circle and

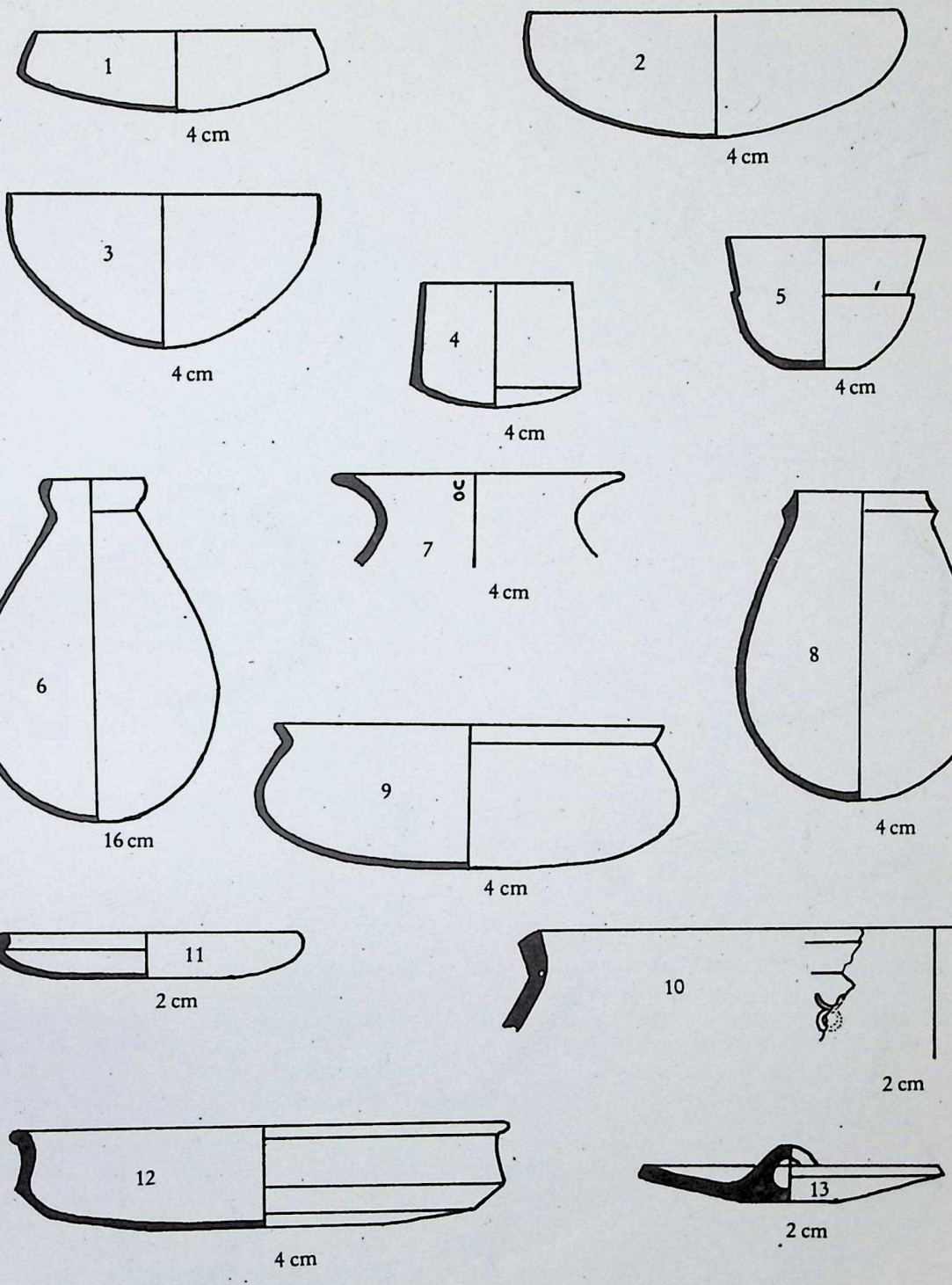
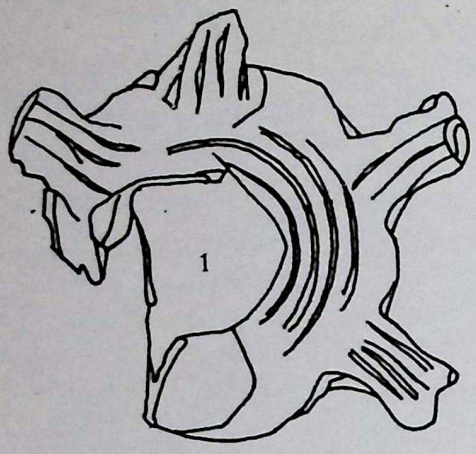
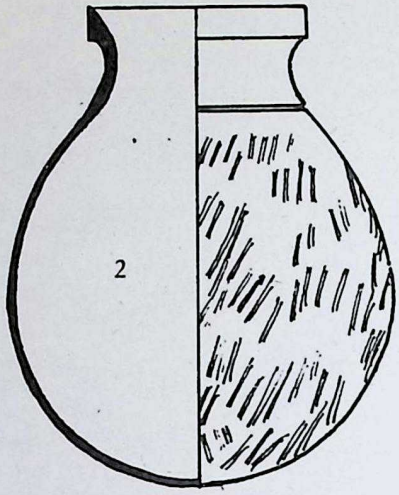

1
4 cm
2
4 cm
3
4 cm
4
4 cm
5
4 cm
7
4 cm
6
16 cm
8
4 cm
9
4 cm
11
2 cm
10
2 cm
12
4 cm
13
2 cm

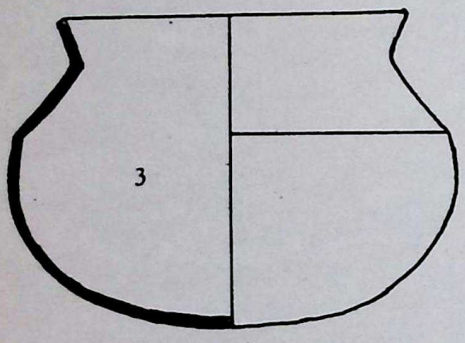
Fig. 20.2



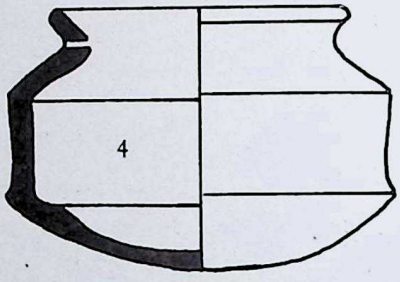
2 cm



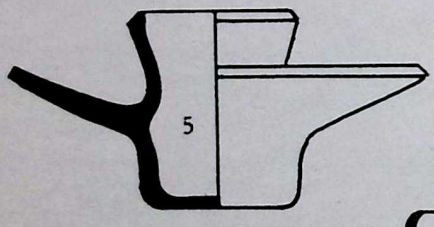
4 cm



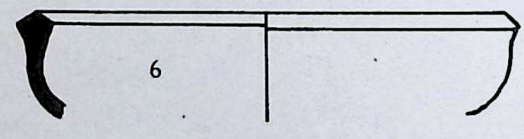
4 cm



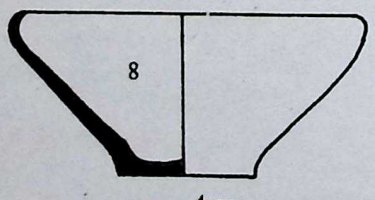
2 cm



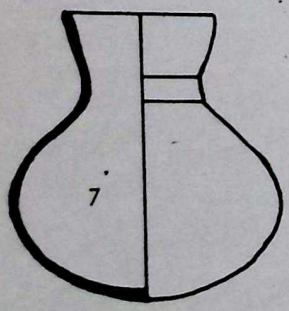
2 cm



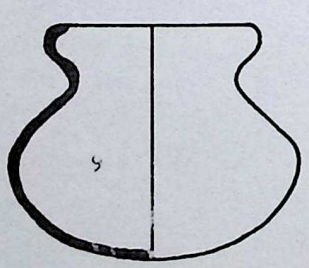
4 cm



4 cm



4 cm



2 cm

Fig. 20.3

semicircle, inside the rim (Fig. 20.2; no. 7). Some vessels are embellished with incised or impressed lines, or band, or with applied cordons.

THE MAURYAN RED WARES AND NORTHERN BLACK POLISHED WARE

The PGW, BRW and its contemporary associated wares were, to our knowledge, the earliest pottery products of Mathurā. With the next phase the Mauryan period opens and with it, the traditions of PGW and BRW terminate completely. The Coarse Grey Ware seems to become more frequent; the fashion of black-slipping increases in such a way that even grey terra-cotta figures get slipped.

On the whole, red ware becomes more dominant during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Storage jars are of the same manufacture and they retain the previous shapes. Pyriform or gourdshaped water jars appear along with globular ones. The typical pyriform jar has a rather wide carinated neck (Fig. 20.2; no. 8; Pl. 20.II.A). Cooking vessels with lenticular base, bulging or carinated wall and angular everted rim appear in early Mauryan times (Fig. 20.2; no. 9). The bottom of these vessels contains mica in minute particles, obviously in order to make the vessels fireproof. In one case, a Ma-symbol is impressed on the exterior of a cooking bowl (Fig. 20.2; no. 10). Slurry-daubing seems to appear for the first time.

Some rather peculiar types of small bowls and dishes are worth mentioning here. They have inward beaded or bevelled rims and they can be grey, black-slipped grey, or red (Fig. 20.2; no. 11). Another type of the 3rd century B.C. is a carinated dish with slightly convex base and everted or flaring rim, the base containing mica (Fig. 20.2; no. 12). This type can be traced up to the 2nd century A.D. A further interesting sample of this period is a shallow bowl with double carination and restricted rim (Pl. 20.II.B). Globular ointment jarlets continue from PGW times, in red ware.

A rather large lid in the shape of a curved dish with central loop-handle belongs here also (Fig. 20.2; no. 13).

Beginning with the Mauryan period, the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) makes its appearance. At Sonkh, quite a number of mostly very small sherds have been found. From rims, the shape of the vessels can at least be partially reconstructed. All available sherds belong to shallow bowls and dishes; most of them are rather large, with flat or convex bottom and angular, nearly straight, inclined wall and plain rim, which obviously retain elements of PGW. The paste is of very fine fabric and of grey, buff, or reddish colour. A typical feature is the thin light red or pink layer beneath the coating. The coating itself is black, dark steel-blue, or dark brown. It is lustrous and iridescent. Considering the extreme thinness of the sherds in relation to the size of the dishes one can rightfully call this ware the luxury porcelain of the Mauryas.

Two objects found in the Mauryan levels at Sonkh may point to the existence of animal-shaped and figuratively-adorned vessels in the 3rd century B.C. A rather peculiar-looking object, for instance, is the fragment of a tortoise-shaped vessel (Fig. 20.3; no. 1). It is of red clay, the trunk seems to be wheel-thrown with presumably six leg- or neck-like appendages. The surface is red-slipped and decorated with incised grooves. It may have been used as a lamp. A small female terracotta head of brown colour originates from late Mauryan times (Pl. 20.II.C). At the point of fracture throw-marks are visible. The head presumably had been attached to the neck and shoulder of a pot, comparable to a complete anthropomorphic vessel in the reserve collection of the Mathurā Museum. Another wheel-thrown human shaped vessel of probably Mauryan period (Pl. 20.II.D), with arms, nipples and male genitals adds to the figurative pottery types of this time.

POTTERY OF THE ŚUṄGA CULTURAL PHASE

In the 2nd century B.C. the style of Mathurā-pottery did not undergo sudden changes. As for storage jars, there is hardly any evidence of their shape. A single fragment of a rim shows the features of Fig. 20.2; no. 6, suggesting the continuation of the old types. Many of the pyriform water jars, which already appeared in Mauryan times, are now decorated with ribbed paddle-marks (Fig. 20.3; no. 2; Pl. 20.III.A).

Cooking vessels with carinated wall become dominant (Fig. 20.3; no. 3). Worth mentioning are small thick-walled jars with or without criss-cross pattern on their shoulder and perforations in the neck (Fig. 20.3; no. 4). Another typical sample is the 'jar cum-bowl', that means the lid is in the shape of a small jar or beaker with a slanting flange (Fig. 20.3; no. 5). In the same levels we again find the slightly concave lid with central loop-handle (Fig. 20.2; no. 13).

The NBP-Ware terminates; the black-slipped Grey Ware survives in the form of bowls with in beaded rims, or large bowls with faceted rims (Fig. 20.3; no. 6), also jars with funnel neck (Fig. 20.3; no. 7). But the shallow grey bowl with convex bottom and nearly straight wall is replaced by the funnel-bowl with narrow untreated flat base and up-curved or inflected, later on also carinated, rim of red ware (Fig. 20.3;

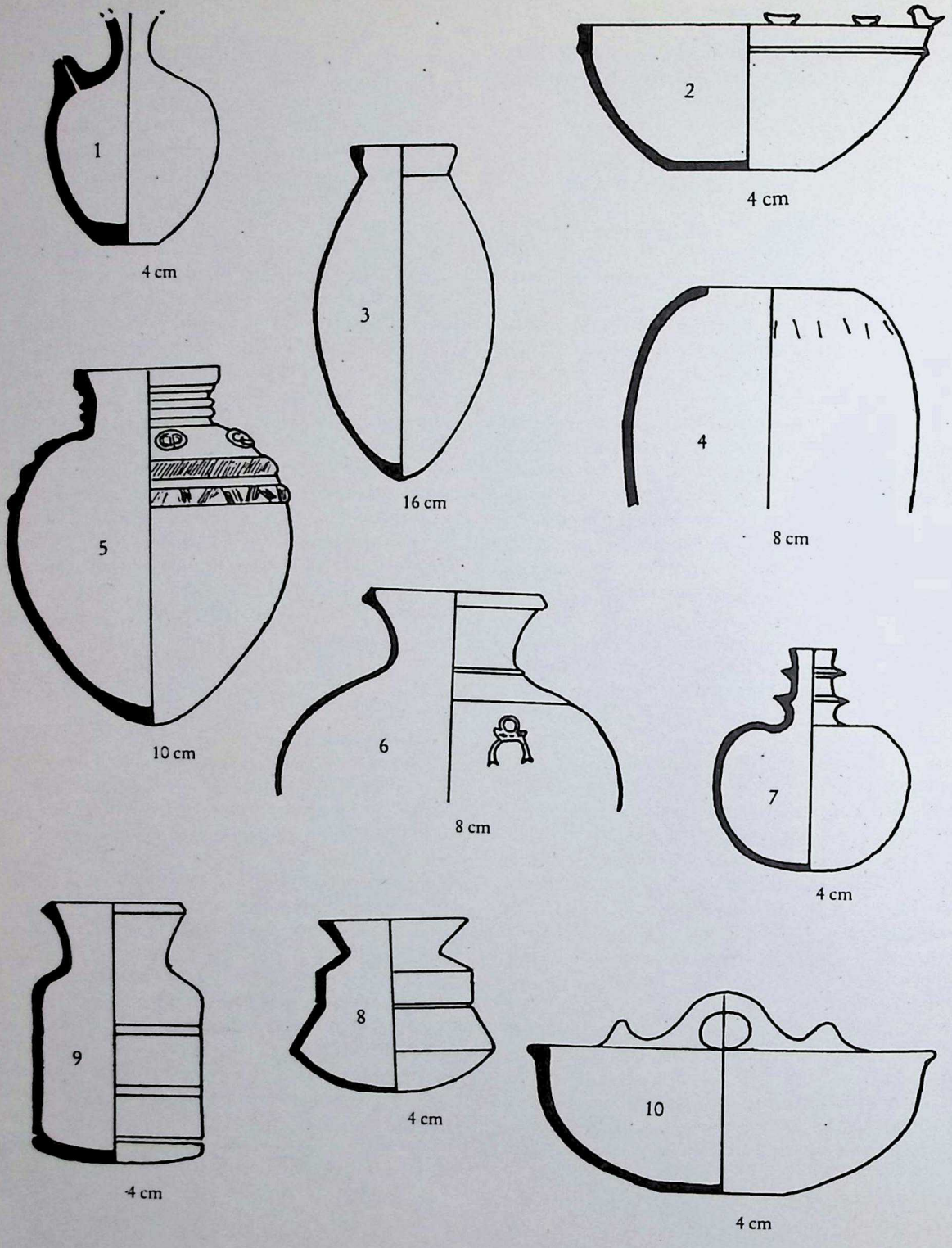


Fig. 20.4

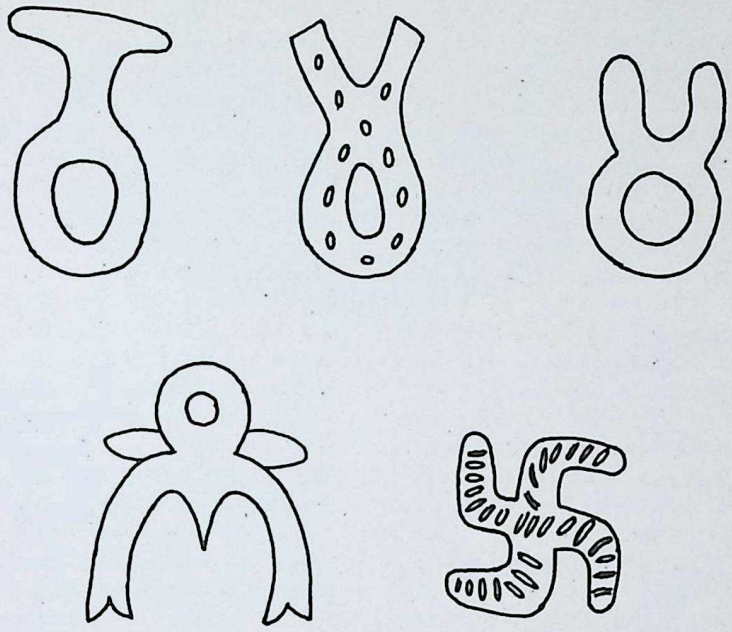


Fig. 20.5 Simple forms of ornaments from Mitra levels.

no. 8). This type of bowl appears in ever increasing quantity up to the Kuṣāṇa age and later. Its frequency as the typical food bowl causes us to call it 'common bowl'.

A great variety of small vases and jars with flat bases develops. Jars with bow-rims are peculiar to this period (Fig. 20.3; no. 9). A small globular ewer with flat base and narrow neck, unfortunately having the rim missing, is the oldest spouted vessel so far known in this region. (Fig. 20.4; no. 1; Pl. 20.III.B).

In level 28 at Sonkh, which is a level belonging to the time of Gomitra, the first of the Mathurā Mitra-kings dating to the end of the 2nd century B.C., votive bowls and tanks appear for the first time. The simplest form is a wheel-thrown small bowl with tiny finger-cups for lamps and, occasionally, small birds attached to the rim (Fig. 20.4; no. 2).

POTTERY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE MITRAS OF MATHURĀ.

With Gomitra, the period of the Mathurā kings with -mitra ending names begins. In their time, that is, from the end of the 2nd century to the second half of the 1st century B.C., many pottery types continue: as for instance, the oblong storage jar without decoration, the pyriform jar with or without paddle-marks, the common bowl, the jar-shaped lid and the carinated cooking vessel.

Others, like the jar with bow-rim, the cooking vessel without carination, the slightly concave lid with central loop-handle, and above all, the Coarse Grey and Black-slipped Grey wares *do not survive*.

New are a storage jar, elliptical in section (Fig. 20.4; no. 3; Pl. 20.III.C), a big oblong but neckless jar with crudely incised vertical strokes (Fig. 20.4; no. 4) and ovoidal storage jars with appliqué cordons and symbols (svastika, nandyāvarta and lotus rosette) (Fig. 20.4; no. 5; Pl. 20.IV.A). Simpler forms of the Ma-, nandyāvarta- and svastika symbols occur on a number of sherds from the Mitra levels at Sonkh (Fig. 20.5). In this connection a water jar with incised svastika and nandyāvarta (Fig. 20.4; no. 6) is to be mentioned. The pyriform jar now often shows a gently upward curving long neck (Pl. 20.IV.B). New are also a bottle with an apple-shaped trunk and a slender deeply profiled double-carinated neck (Fig. 20.4; no. 7), and a bottle with a hemispherical bottom, a conical shoulder and a

corrugated neck (Pl. 20.IV.C). A small waisted jar with flat or convex bottom and funnel-rim is noticeable (Fig. 20.4; no. 8). Furthermore we have the barrel-jar with grooves (Fig. 20.4; no. 9; Pl. 20.IV.D), the bowl or dish with 'eared' loop-handles (Fig. 20.4; no. 10), another with 'eared' spout (Fig. 20.6; no. 1) and a small cup-shaped libation vessel with long spout (Fig. 20.6; no. 2).

Two fragments of a bowl and a jar deserve special attention because of their peculiar spouts, which are chevron-shaped and pointing downwards (Fig. 20.6; nos. 3, 4). The bowl seems to have been standing on legs or stilts.

An interesting pottery item of this period is a fragment of a vessel, showing a handle in the shape of a monkey with upturned tail (Fig. 20.6; no. 5).

Votive tanks reach the peak of their evolution now. Typical are square or round basins (about one square foot large) with a small hut on a platform which is supported by the wall and poles. Often a staircase is leading from the bottom to the platform.

Occasionally a lotus stem with flower arises in the basin which for pūjā would be filled with water. On the bottom, aquatic animals like tortoise, fish or snake can be depicted. Normally birds and finger-cups for lamps are attached to the margin of the walls (Pl. 20.V.A).

A rather uncommon piece is a votive tank in the form of a narrow yard with four houses clustering around it (Pl. 20.V.B). Three of the houses are fully preserved. They have domed roofs, each with three peaks, which correspond to the pinnacles on the stable structures. The houses encircle a small courtyard, their outer walls merge together with the wall of the vessel. Originally, the vessel rested on supports as indicated by some markings at its base. The remains of a step in front of the outer entrance show that a staircase led up to it. Although the features characteristic of a tank can only be made out at its corners and by its fractured edges, the use of this terracotta object as a votive tank cannot be doubted.

Simpler votive tanks are just equipped with a ladder (Pl. 20.VI.A). Other objects of a potter's work are pinnacles (Pl. 20.VI.B) of the steep, tiled roofs of the houses in the Mitra levels of Sonkh, either made in one piece or with a separate, loose lid on top.

POTTERY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE DATTAS AND KṢATRAPAS OF MATHURĀ

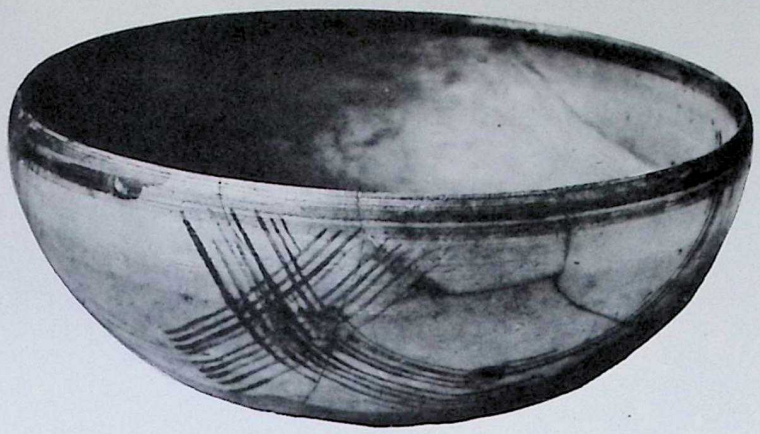
The time from the last quarter of the first century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D. is characterized by definite stylistic differences in the pottery products from the foregoing period. Storage jars develop the shape of the Mitra vessels (cf. Fig. 20.4; no. 5) or are of a new type, the distinctive features being a short neck and beaded, sometimes even undercut, rim (Fig. 20.6; no. 6). Conspicuous are globular water jars and ewers with corrugated necks or corrugated rims (Fig. 20.6; no. 7; Pl. 20.VI.C). In this period, or more precisely, in the latest phase of Kṣatrapa structures at Sonkh, the fashion of *stamping* the vessels with nandyāvarta, rosette or other symbols begins.

Among the small vessels, a bell-shaped cup with protruding foot (Fig. 20.6; no. 8) shows affinities with Central Asian and Bactrian goblets in clay or metal of the same era. It is comparable also to a Kṣatrapa metal goblet from level 23 at Sonkh. Other new shapes are a beaker with concave wall and saggar base (Pl. 20.VII.A), another beaker with bulging wall and grooved vertical rim (Pl. 20.VII.B), a small double-carinated jar appearing in great quantity (Fig. 20.6; no. 9), a bowl-lid with central grip-hole (Fig. 20.7; no. 1), and an elegant globular bottle with a slightly bulbous long neck and smooth red slip (Fig. 20.7; no. 2). The small spouted libation vessel turns up again, but this time with double-spout and fish-tail handle (Fig. 20.7; no. 3).

Votive tanks continue to appear in various types. A remarkable specimen of a Kṣatrapa tank from Sonkh shows a group of Mātṛkās sitting alongside the walls and carrying, as far as preserved, a child in the left arm (Pl. 20.VII.C). The number of Mātṛkās must have been seven or, if all the four sides were set with figures, even eight. The tank hails from level 23, to be dated in the end of the 1st century B.C. or to the very beginning of the Christian era. To our knowledge, this is the oldest extant depiction of a Mātṛkā group.

POTTERY OF THE KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

The pottery of the time between the second half of the 1st and the end of the 3rd century A.D. is rightly labelled 'Kuṣāṇa pottery'. In general, a number of shapes of the preceding period show further development and in addition, quite a number of new types appear. The most characteristic feature of the pottery in the era of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty is the stamping of storage vessels, jars and ewers with symbolic, floral or geometric ornaments. Many different forms such as śrīvatsa, nandyāvarta, pūrṇaghaṭa, cakra, svastika, haṁsa, rosette, leaf, circle etc. turn up as decorative patterns (Fig. 20.8). Besides the stamped ornaments, the first ornamentally moulded small bowls (Fig. 20.7; no. 4), jars or ewers have been found at Sonkh. They are first met with in the middle Kuṣāṇa levels, the specimens being rather crudely executed, showing



20.I.A. Ø 21,6 cm

12,5''

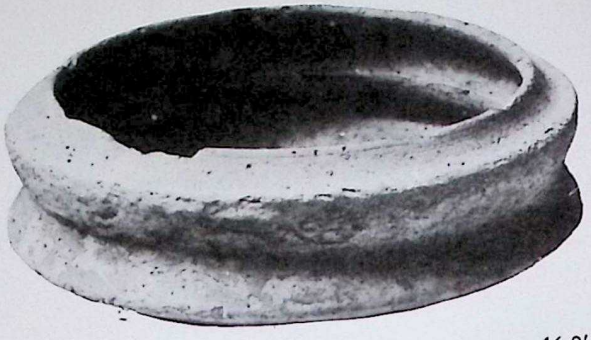
20.I.B.

21,0''

20.I.C.

Plate 20.I.

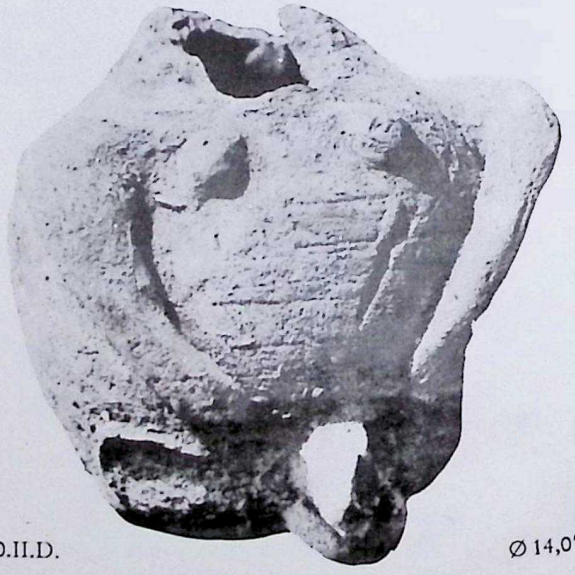
20.II.A. 16,0''



20.II.B. 16,0''

H. 5,8''

20.II.C.

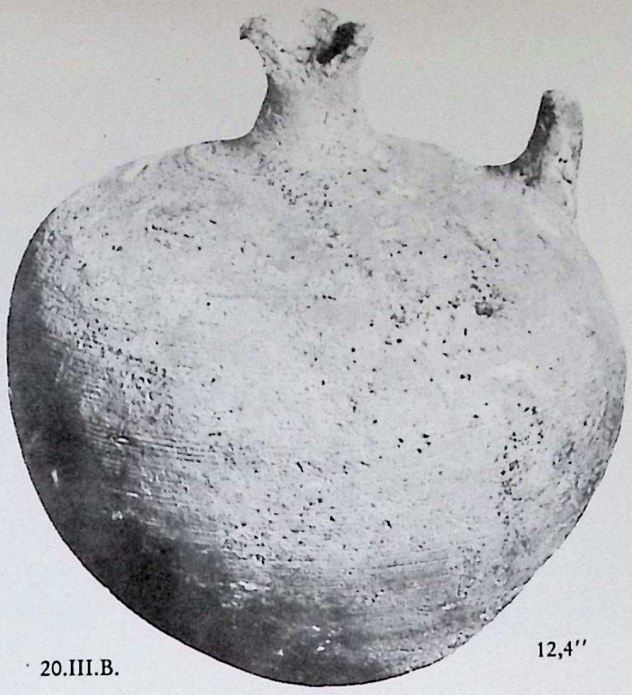


20.II.D. Ø 14,0''

Plate 20.II.

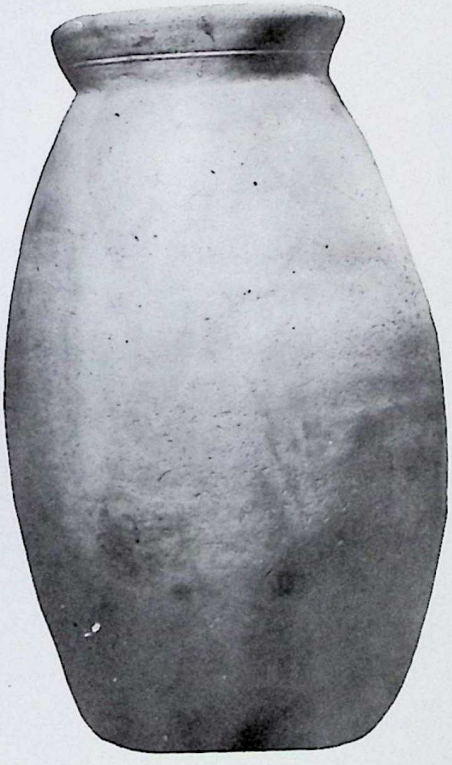
20.III.A.

21,2''



20.III.B.

12,4''



20.III.C.

52,0''

Plate 20.III.

20.IV.A. 50,0''

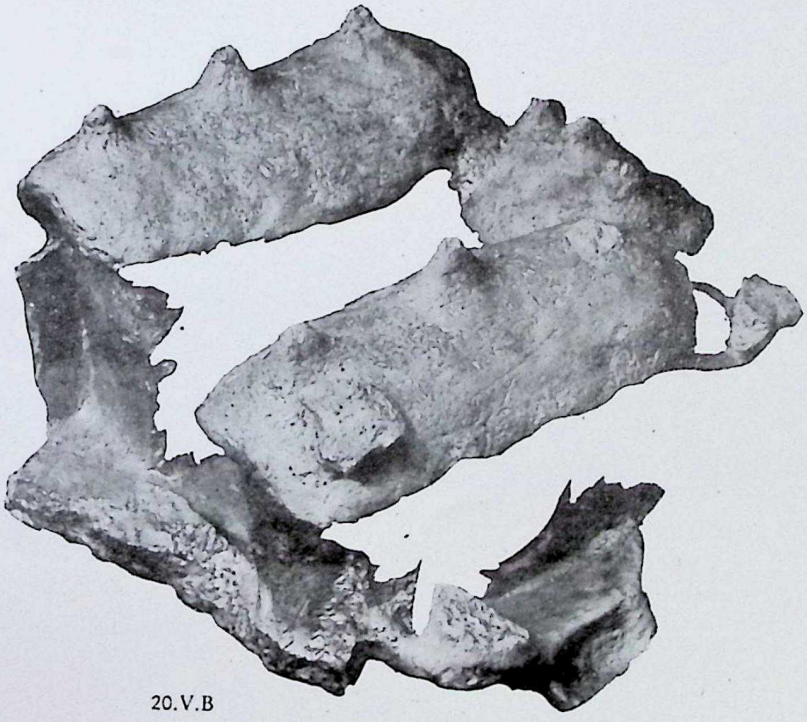
20.IV.B. 24,2''

20.IV.C. 18,6''

20.IV.D. 13,2''

Plate 20.IV.

20.V.A. H. 14,5'' W. 32,0 L. 36,0



20.V.B

Plate 20.V. H. 12,0'' W. 18,5 L. 19,5

20.VI.A. ∅ 20,5''

14,1'' H. 37,0''

20.VI.B

20.VI.C. 20,8''

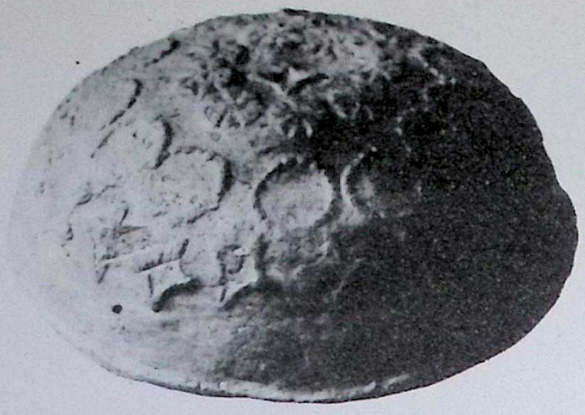
Plate 20.VI.

20.VII.B. 10.7''

20.VII.A. 8.8''

20.VII.C. H. 14,8'' W. 26,0''

Plate 20.VII.



Ø 8.1''

20.VIII.A

20.VIII. B.

H 15,0''

20.VIII.C

Ø 21,6''

20.VIII.D.

16,9'

Plate 20.VIII.

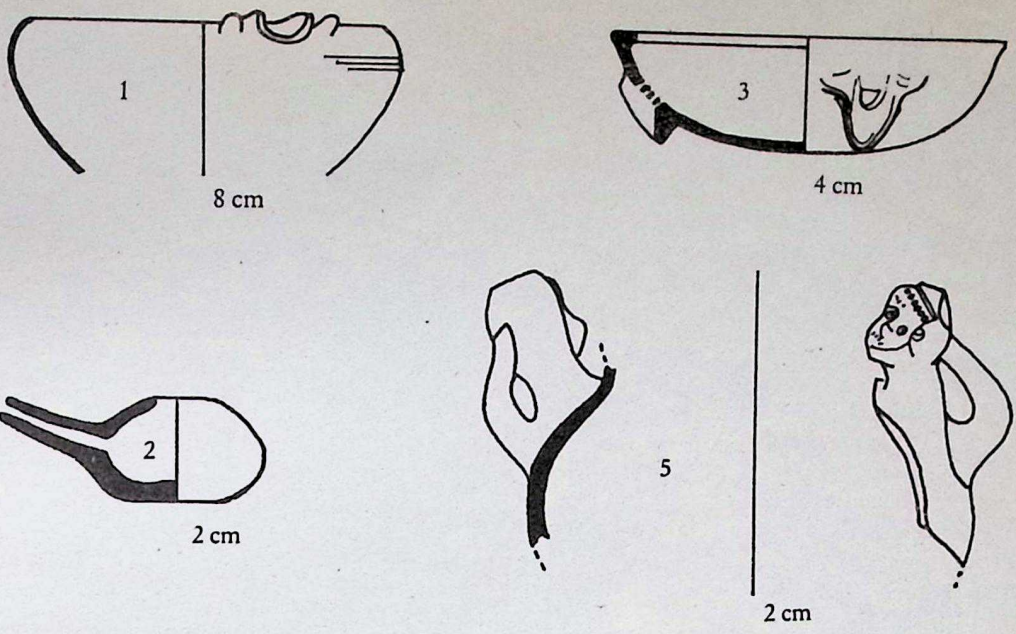


Fig 20.6

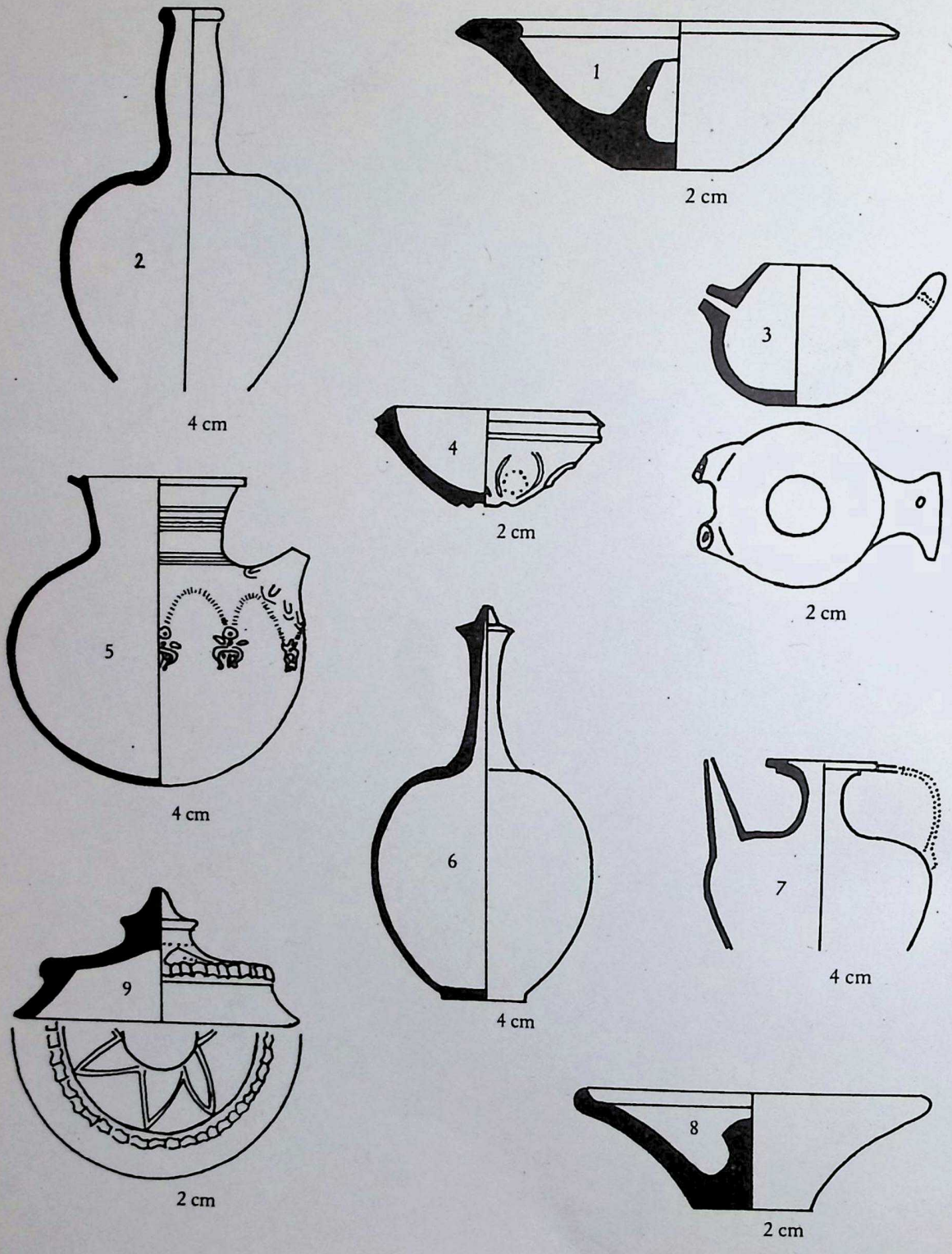


Fig. 20.7

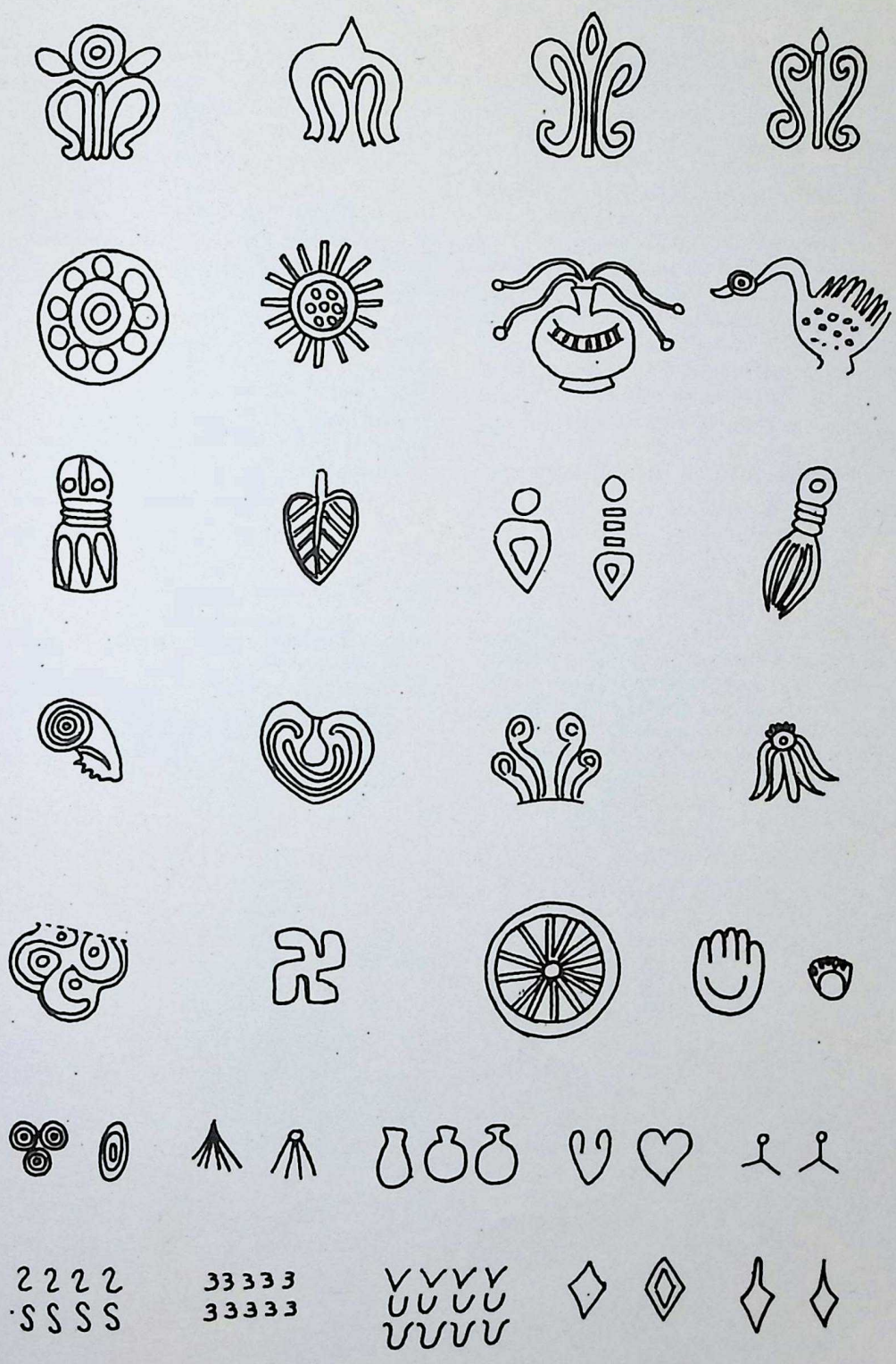


Fig. 20.8

lotus and other ornaments on the exterior of bowls (Pl. 20.VIII.A), but in time, the ornaments rise to a high standard of craftsmanship, culminating in the vessels from the end of the Kuṣāṇa period (Pl. 20.VIII.B).

The globular water jars with corrugated rim or neck are now very often spouted (Fig. 20.7; no. 5; Pl. 20.VIII.C), the spout sometimes being shaped as a makara's or a horse's, bull's or bird's head.

The smooth ovoidal bottles with long neck continue, and additionally there appear bottles with the sprinkler neck, well known from other parts of northern, central and western India (Fig. 20.7; no. 6). Rather outside the usual style or styles of the Mathurā Kuṣāṇa potteries is a saddle-shouldered, narrow-necked ewer with a steep and long tapering spout, a flaring rim and a loop-handle (Fig. 20.7; no. 7).

Although there are still bowl-lids with central grip-hole, the majority are now bowl-lids with central knob, with a distinct flange (Fig. 20.7; no. 8). Another type of lid is a shallow bell-shaped one with a pointed knob and incised and indented decoration (Fig. 20.7; no. 9).

The votive tanks of the period are of the general type, consisting of a wheel-thrown bowl with flat base and profiled rim, sometimes with aquatic animals like a cobra or a fish depicted on the bottom of the inside, and with birds and lamp-cups on the rim (cf. Fig. 20.4; no. 2).

As for the so-called Kuṣāṇa glazed pottery, a number of fragments from pinnacles stem from undisturbed Kuṣāṇa levels at Sonkh (Pl. 20.VIII.D). The glaze is a blue-green copper glaze, originally shining and semi-transparent, now corroded and opaque. This glaze is based on lead, with copper and iron combinations as colouring agents.

NOTES

1. For a preliminary report on the excavations see H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at *Sonkh*,' *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, Delhi 1976, pp. 69–99. Reprinted as 'The Excavations at Sonkh, An Exhibition at the National Museum New Delhi,' 1977.
2. In the final excavation report on Sonkh, the pottery will be described and treated by Mr. H. J. Paech of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art. I am indebted to Mr. Paech for the preliminary groundwork and the technical drawings of the pottery shapes.
3. The ornaments of all the pottery and sherds from Sonkh have been exhaustively dealt with in an unpublished thesis submitted to the Freie Universität Berlin by Mrs. Annette Achilles-Brettschneider, titled "Die 'Besonderen Scherben' von Sonkh" in 1980.

21. The Māṭ *devakula*: A New Approach to Its Understanding

GÉRARD FUSSMAN

One of the main religious buildings near to Mathurā still remains an enigma for the archaeologist as well as for the historian of religious thought. This is the Māṭ shrine, situated nine miles north of Mathurā city, on the opposite (left, eastern) side of the Yamunā river, and excavated in 1911–1912 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna. It is not difficult to explain why, up to now, nobody has been able to give a truly admissible interpretation of what was, in the first and second centuries A.D., one of the most impressive buildings in the Mathurā country.

As we all know, archaeology is not always able to tell the functions of religious buildings. It lays bare walls and foundations, sometimes statues and cult objects. But very often it cannot explain what were the proceedings inside the building, and even less what was the inner meaning of these proceedings. Just by seeing the ground-plan of a catholic church, you could not conceive what a mass is. That holds true for every archaeology, but more so for bad archaeology. And the Māṭ shrine was excavated by a very amateurish excavator, digging more for statues than for recovering history. It was a time when world archaeology was still in its infancy (here I mean the excavation techniques), and when Indian archaeology still waited for Sir M. Wheeler to come. Poorly excavated, the shrine was too much excavated; nothing was left for a further dig by a more experienced excavator. The ground plan was drawn, as it seems, after the actual excavations, from what remained to be seen, and not under the guidance of the excavator. There was no final report, just two short papers by outstanding archaeologists, who did not witness the dig themselves (J. Marshall, *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1911/12, 1, 1914, pp. 14–16; J.Ph. Vogel, *ASI Ann. Rep.*, 1911/12, 2, 1915, pp. 120–127).

The clue to the enigma could have been contained in the inscriptions found during the excavations. They were excellently published and commented upon by one of the best experts in early Indian epigraphy, the late German Professor H. Lüders (*Mathurā Inscriptions*, unpublished papers edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 131–147). Still, they remain elusive. Of the five inscriptions brought to light, two only can be translated without any question-mark: the one engraved upon the statue of Kaniṣka, and the other engraved on the head with a conical cap. On the torso, so often said to be that of *mahākṣatrapa* Caṣṭana, only the beginning of the epigraph can be read out; it reads *Mastana*[.], and no one can tell for sure if it is the beginning of a proper name. The deciphering and understanding of the proper names to be read on the so-called colossal figure of seated King Vima Kadphises is fraught with uncertainties, and the translation of the Huviṣka pedestal inscription remains tentative, not only because its right side is missing, but also because the wording of the remaining part is not wholly understood.

Still, from what we know about it, the Māṭ sanctuary was truly impressive. It stood isolated, far from the city. It was built from big Kuṣāṇa flat bricks. The main part of the edifice was a rectangle about 100 feet (30 m.) from east to west and about 59 feet (18 m.) from north to south. At the N-W. end, some remains of a circular structure, thought to be the proper shrine, were to be seen. Inside this structure, and probably not far from the place where it originally stood, was discovered the lower part of the seated 'Vima' statue. The remaining

statues, almost all of them statues of kings or Kuṣāṇa dignities were found not at their former place, but scattered in the S-W. part of the building. Outside, to the south, were remnants of foundations, maybe of dwelling rooms (so Vogel) or of a *sabhā* used for feeding *brāhmaṇa* and possibly alluded to in the Huviṣka inscription (so Lüders). To the west was a big tank, referred to in the 'Vima' inscription (*puṣkariṇī*). The Vima and Huviṣka inscriptions call the temple a *devakula*, but we are still at a loss to understand what a *devakula* means. If it is a 'house of gods', as it is to be literaly translated, who were the gods revered inside? If it is a 'gallery of former king statues' (see below), why is it so named?

In his book released in 1967, but ready for press in 1962, J. Rosenfield could sum up this puzzling evidence as following.

'The direct evidence from the site itself can be reduced primarily to the following:

Royal and divine images were commingled, the former predominating.

The royal images were all of men dressed in the Indo-Scythian costume.

The building was considered a sanctuary.

Vima, Kanishka, and Huvishka were the only Kushan rulers known to have been involved there.

The actual patrons of the shrine were local Kushan functionaries.

The shrine was built, allowed to deteriorate, then refurbished in a period of about a half century.

The shrine was violently sacked at an undetermined time, but probably within the Kushan period or not long after it.

Any further explanation of the shrine must come from the less satisfactory form of analogies suggested by similar sites outside India itself.' (J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 151).

In fact, at the very moment when J. Rosenfield was writing this book, the further evidence which he expected would shed some light on the Māṭ shrine was already discovered. But it was not fully understood, nor fully published. This further evidence, to my mind, comes from the Surkh Kotal temple excavations, begun in 1952, closed in 1965, the final report of which was released in 1983.

For the convenience of the reader, I sum up in a tabulated form (see page 195), all the evidence linking the Māṭ and Surkh Kotal shrines. Some of these links are weak indeed, but, put together with most impressive ones, they cannot be disregarded altogether.

The results of the Surkh Kotal excavations are not very well known in India, because most of the preliminary reports are written in French. These preliminary reports, and the short account in Rosenfield's book, are now outdated: the fresh scrutiny of all the evidence, which I did when writing the final report, paved the way towards a better understanding of the finds. Moreover, since the last dig in Surkh Kotal (1963), there was a lot of work done by epigraphists on the Surkh Kotal Bactrian inscriptions, and important excavations occurred in Bactria: Aï Khanum, a city of Greek times, Dilberjin and Dalverzin, two Kuṣāṇa towns. Thus, you need not wonder at the discrepancies between the last preliminary report, written by the then head of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, D. Schlumberger, who conducted the whole Surkh Kotal dig (*Journal Asiatique*, 1964, pp. 303–326), and the final report I was entrusted to write after the death of D. Schlumberger.

For a better understanding of what was meant by the term *bago-lañgo*, i.e. *devakula*, it will not be useless to dwell a little upon the Surkh Kotal excavations; only then will it be possible to know how *bago-lañgo* is to be interpreted, what role the kingly statues played in it, what gods were revered there, and, in consequence, what kind of temple the Māt *devakula* could have been.

THE SURKH KOTAL TEMPLES

Surkh Kotal is the name given by the French excavators to a hillock in Southern (Afghan) Bactria, near to the Afghan town of Pul-e Khumri. There was a walled town on the hill, and a lower town down in the plain, the remains of which are now buried under meters of alluvial deposits brought in every year by the spring floods. The upper town is a small one; the length of the ramparts is about 1 kilometer. It was not thickly populated and is little excavated. Most of its surface is occupied by the Kaniṣka temple which is a huge monument, built inside a fortified enclosure named by D. Schlumberger *peribolos*, which is the classical word for the enclosure of a Greek temple. The length of this peribolos was, at the beginning, 167.5 meters; its width is 87.5 meters. There are towers every 15–20 meters. Wall and towers are built of mud bricks with timber reinforcements. Part of the peribolos is on the top of the hill, part on the eastern slope. The top of the hill is generally flat, and was made flat where it was not. Here the fortified peribolos encompasses a courtyard 75 × 70 meters. This court is surrounded by a portico, with wooden columns on stone bases. In the rear wall of this portico, square niches, which once contained clay figures, maybe of gods, were to be seen.

In the eastern part of the courtyard stands the older

Links	Māt	Surkh Kotal
Spot	Māṭ, Northern India, near by Mathurā, which was not a Kuṣāṇa capital town.	Surkh Kotal, Afghan Bactria (i.e. outer Iran), nearby ancient Baghlan, which was not a Kuṣāṇa capital-town.
Site	Isolated mound.	Isolated hillock, nearby the town, but not inside it properly speaking.
Name of the building	*Devakula*, lit. 'house of gods' (Skt.)	*bago-lañgo*, lit. 'house of gods' (Bactrian).
Overseer	a *Bakana-pati*, 'master (of the house of the) gods' (Iranian!)	unknown
Built under	Vima Kadphises.	Kaniṣka (maybe begun under Vima).
Repaired under	Huviṣka, year unknown	Huviṣka year 31.
In the name of	Huviṣka.	Huviṣka.
by	A *mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*, 'general in chief' (Skt.) of Iranian stock.	A *Kanārang*, 'general in chief' (Bactrian) of Iranian stock.
Size	Big.	Gigantic.
Facing	East.	East.
Water	Nearby the shrine were dug a tank (*puṣkariṇī, taḷāga*) and a well (*udapāna*).	Pure water was needed; a canal ran at the foot of the temple; after, a well was dug.
Stone finds	Mainly effigies of Kuṣāṇa kings, one of them being a Kaniṣka statue, another one most probably a Vima statue. Found scattered in the S-W. part of the shrine.	Among other things, three big effigies of Kuṣāṇa (kings?), one of them exactly the same as the Kaniṣka one in Māṭ. (Pl..21.I). Once standing in the S-W. part of the shrine.
Inscriptions	'Royal' inscriptions in poor Sanskrit.	'Royal' inscriptions in Bactrian, official language at least of the Iranian part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.

and bigger temple, the so-called temple A, facing East, built of mud bricks with timber reinforcements. It rested on a large brick podium 47 × 40 meters, framed by a stone revetment adorned with small pilasters bearing corinthian capitals. Above was a square central room, the *cella* or *naos* or *garbha-gṛha* of the temple, surrounded on three sides (north, west, south) by a corridor which was soon blocked, opening on the east, i.e. on the slope of the hill and the plain below. All around the cella and the corridor, on the surface of the podium, were found remains of foundations of columns. This temple was what is called in Greek architecture a peripteral temple. The columns of the peristyle were made of stone bases (of which only two fragments were found), with wooden shafts. Inside the cella stood a square stone platform, 0.90 meter high, 4.25 × 4.25 meters, with a huge column base at each of the four corners. The walls of the cella were adorned with pilasters.

At the top of the hill, there were small exits on each side of the peribolos. But there was no peribolos wall in the front of the temple, the three doors of which opened on the east. Indeed, the main access was from the east. People were coming from below by a huge staircase, the stairs of which are about 7 meters wide. From the soil of the plain to the floor of the cella, the difference of level is about 60 meters, which were ascended by four flights of steps. The lower flight was outside the peribolos and led to the main gate. From that gate, the remaining 52 meters were ascended by three successive flights of steps, the landings of which were three immense terraces, 70 meters wide, built or carved in the slope of the hill.

The front wall of the peribolos was like a fortress

wall, built of mud bricks with timber reinforcements on a stone glacis, with at least two, and probably four towers. Between the glacis and the mud bricks two layers of stone were to be seen. The lower layer was inscribed. It is SK 1, the founding inscription of Kaniṣka, which was about 50 meters wide, running all along the front wall of the peribolos, only a part of which was recovered. Down the hill, 10 meters away from the first step of the lower flight of the staircase, ran a beautifully stone-faced irrigation canal.

Later, a fourth terrace was built at the bottom of the hill, encasing the lower flight of stairs. Two temples were added at the top of the hill, named B and D. The canal received a new and worse stone facing. A deep well, like a *bavlī*, was built on its right bank. (Pl. 21.II.A).

THE FINDS

Most of them are well known and I need not dwell on them. In stone we have three statues, all three showing men from the steppe in native dress and hieratic pose. One of them is the exact likeness of the Kaniṣka statue of Māṭ. There is also a huge stone *bas-relief*, which may be interpreted as an enthroned deity (or king) with a small Victory (*Nikè*) near by. It is badly defaced. The clay sculpture is preserved only in fragments, some of them reminding us of Gandhāran clay sculptures.

In stone also were found corinthian capitals, attic stone bases, pilasters, and blocks of frieze the location of which can only be surmised.

The Indian scientists appear to know less about the inscriptions. They are called by numbers.

SK 1 is the founding inscription by Kaniṣka, the location of which we described already.

SK 2 is an unfinished inscription, dated in a pre-Kaniṣka era; it may come from outside the sacred area.

SK 3 is only a fragment the location of which was not found.

SK 4 is the more important one. Three intact copies of it were found. Two of them (A and B) were discovered, reused and scattered in the facing of the well; the third one (M = Monolith) was affixed on the front wall of the so-called *terrasse de base*, the fourth and lower one.

Except SK 7, which is in an unknown language and script I named *kambojī*, all these inscriptions are written in beautifully carved Greek letters. But the language is not Greek. It is a little known Iranian language. W. B. Henning surmised it was the language of Bactria in Kuṣāṇa times and called it 'Bactrian'. Since SK 4 is the lengthiest text we get in the whole Bactrian language, you can surmise that its deciphering is not an easy task. Important contributions towards a better understanding of these documents were made by the late A. Maricq, W. B. Henning and E. Benveniste and now by my colleague and friend I. Gershevitsch. They help us to understand better the chronology and destination of the Surkh Kotal buildings.

THE CHRONOLOGY

Much remains problematic, but here are the conclusions I deem the best as I wrote the final report of the excavations.

The Surkh Kotal temple A and its peribolos were called 'Victorious-Kaniṣka shrine' (SK 4) or 'shrine of the Victory (*Śrī*) of Kaniṣka'. They were built by Kaniṣka, whose name they bear and whose coins are mostly found in the lowest layers of the excavation. The reused unfinished inscription (SK 2) belongs to the times of Vima Kadphises, but no building assignable to this king, where SK 2 could come from, was ever found in the excavated part of Surkh Kotal. No statue assignable to Vima was found, but there was a Kaniṣka one and two unidentified other statues. The founding inscription SK 1, above the stone glacis of the former front wall, was probably ordered to be written there by Kaniṣka or by a Kaniṣka official.

The architect of this *devakula* = *bago-laṅgo* bore a Greek name, Palamedes (SK 3). And the buildings show many features reminiscent of ancient Greece: stone facing with Greek mouldings, portico, peristyle, attic bases, pilasters, corinthian capitals, monumental inscriptions in Greek letters and so on. D. Schlumberger thought that the mud bricks and the plan were Iranian. It is only partly true. The Aï Khanum excavations show that the Bactrian Greeks used extensively mud bricks for their buildings. And the plan of the temple appears now to be an often-used Greco-Bactrian plan.

After a while, water began to fail and the shrine was deserted by the gods. In the year 31, Nokonzok the Kanārang (*ṣena-pati*) had new walls built around the shrine (?) and a well dug (SK 4). We have no data from the dig to tell which were the parts so repaired by Nokonzok. But we know for certain that the fourth and lowest terrace was added by him to the former sanctuary. Many doubling walls may also be ascribed to him. As for the well, the final report shows that it was not the one excavated by D. Schlumberger and M. Le Berre. Its location is not known. Year 31 is under Huviṣka.

After some years, how many we cannot tell, temple A, the only one built by Kaniṣka and repaired by Nokonzok, ceased to be used. On the deserted top of the hill were built temples B and D, B outside the sacred enclosure, D between the proper shrine and its

Pl. 21.I Stone effigy of a Kusana king found in Surkh Kotal. From Māṭ parallels, he is Kaniska. Cliché DAFA.

Pl. 21.II.A Surkh Kotal: the canal and the later well seen from West. Cliché DAFA.

Pl. 21.II.B Frieze block F 10 showing Śiva standing behind Nandin,
Surkh Kotal Temple A cella. Cliché DAFA.

peribolos. Their walls are of mud bricks, without any stone facing nor any column. The plan reminds us of the plan of temple A. In the walls of these two temples were found reused stones coming from the deserted temple A and its peribolos.

The three temples, A, B and D were destroyed by a gigantic fire sometime between 250 and 300 A.D. For a while there remained only mud walls emerging from a thick layer of ashes. The only people to come there were *śaiva* pilgrims whose *triśūla* are found engraved on the stone steps of the staircase. The evidence brought forth by the dig could make us surmise that these *śaiva* came there when B and D were in use. But as B and D were fire-temples, this hypothesis does not hold much water.

Some years later (20?, 50?, 200?) the cella of temple A was reused on a very small scale. The ashes were levelled, a light shed was put on four small reused stone bases of columns, the large unfinished stone inscription SK 2 was brought from elsewhere, to be used as an altar or to support a cult statue.

When temple A was no more in use, either in connection with temple B or with the poor reoccupation of the former cella of temple A, the canal received a new and very poor stone facing, with every kind of reused stone block, and a big *bavlī* was dug, the one we excavated on the right bank of the canal. Inside this well, a staircase numbering 30 steps made of stone, between stone-faced walls, led to the level of the water. There were found, for instance, the 53 blocks composing the inscriptions SK 4 A and B; they were scattered in the stone facing, often upside down, and clearly reused by people who did not know their significance.

Afterwards on a deserted spot, came the Muslims.

WORSHIP

For every shrine built on the Surkh Kotal hilltop, pure water was needed. The SK 4 inscriptions tell us that when the acropolis (i.e. the temple A) came to be waterless, the gods were removed from their seats, and the acropolis was abandoned. One of the most important works of Nokonzok was thus to have a well dug (which we did not find) and to ensure that water would not be lacking. For temples B and D, we have no data from the excavations. If they were Iranian fire-temples (below), we know from the Zoroastrian texts that pure water was needed for the worship. We know also for certain that the later well we dug out at the bottom of the hill was only for the use of the shrine; it was impossible to fetch water from it, except for people coming downhill from the temple. Which temple is not known; as said before, it could have been temple B or the late reoccupation of the cella. In any case, we must remind our readers that pure water is needed as much for Iranian 'Zoroastrian' rites as for Hindu worship.

Evidence from Surkh Kotal is not sufficient for supporting the conclusion that temple A was a spot of *śaiva* worship, although it was later used as a spot of *śaiva* pilgrimage. However, it would not be surprising if temple A were a *śaiva* temple, because we have now much data about the *śaiva* worship in Kuṣāṇa Bactria. There are the Vima Kadphises coins as well as the Śiva paintings found in Dilberjin, near by Bactra, in Afghan Bactria. But the *triśūla* to be seen on the steps of the staircase are most probably later than the fire. We collected evidence showing that the bottom of the fourth flight of stairs was deeply buried under rubbish when the *triśūla* were engraved. These *triśūla* could go along with temples B and D, it is true, but these shrines do not seem to be Hindu ones. So, we must surmise that the *śaivas* came here only to worship one of the big stones statues, revered as an icon of Śiva, or, one of the fallen stones of the demolished temple was considered as a *liṅga*. They may even have discovered a true sculpture showing Śiva and/or Pārvatī, a likeness of the three frieze blocks found, during the dig, in the lower rubbish strata inside the cella of temple A. (Pl. 21.II.B). So we can only tell that these *triśūla* were engraved either before or after the fire, but at a time when temple A was no more in use, and before the building of the later well, in which some of them were found clearly reused.

Temples B and D were built at the same time, with the same technique and from the same standard plan. D was almost razed to the ground and no data about the worship here was found during the excavation. But it can be surmised that it was an Iranian fire-temple, like the temple B, in which we collected much evidence. In the cella of temple B was found a fire-altar, with ashes on the top. These ashes were not thrown out, but were stored in a backyard; there were dug out many layers of thin and white ashes coming from the fire-altar. There can be no doubt that temple B was a true Iranian fire-temple. No effigies nor inscriptions were discovered, so we don't know which god was worshipped there.

As for the Kaniṣka temple A, D. Schlumberger stuck fast to the thesis that it was a fire-temple of the Kaniṣka dynasty. Neither the late A. Maricq nor his architect M. Le Berre believed it. Nor do I. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Surkh Kotal temple A was ever a fire-temple. Its plan is not exactly the same as the plan

of the later B fire-temple; no fire-altar, no sacred ashes were found. Not even remains of fire or smoke were found. The ascription of the cella to a fire cult was only a surmise D. Schlumberger made because in 1952 the plan of the shrine could be taken as the plan of an Iranian fire-temple. Later discoveries in Bactria proved it is not so. The plan of temple A was extensively used since Greco-Bactrian times and later in the Kuṣāṇa period for building houses, palaces and temples. It cannot be taken as evidence for a fire-temple, not even as evidence for Iranian influence.

What we know for sure is that the temple was named *bago-laṅgo*, 'house of god(s)', old Iranian *bagadānaka*, Skt. *deva-kula*. It was named after Kaniṣka; nearby stood statues of Kuṣāṇa Kings. Water was needed for the gods (in plural: SK 4). No word looking like 'fire' was ever found in the lengthy Surkh Kotal inscriptions, though it was searched for.

We know also the exact location of the three stone statues. They did not stand in the cella; they did not rest on the stone platform; they were outside the proper shrine, in the courtyard at its South-eastern corner, on the top of the hill. On the other side of the proper shrine stood the defaced bas-relief. So the royal effigies were not cult statues; the Surkh Kotal Kaniṣka temple was a dynastic temple, but it was not a temple of a Kuṣāṇa king, revered as god.

Who were the gods SK 4 tells us about? Their names do not seem to be given in the extant inscriptions. In the niches of the portico stood clay effigies which could have been theirs. They are much broken and give no iconographic clue as to their identification. From their location in the shrine we can tell these gods were not the foremost to be worshipped there. They were attendant gods, *parivāradevatā-*, as are found in every Hindu temple and many Greek or Iranian ones. In the cella, no cult statue was discovered. D. Schlumberger thought a fire-altar stood on the stone platform. This cannot be proven and does not appear to be the best hypothesis. Sculptured stones, seemingly coming from something built on the platform, were picked, many of them from the lowermost layers in the cella. Two of them show a naked man standing behind a humped bull (Pl. 21.II.B); one pictures a naked man and a woman standing behind the same kind of bull. All Indologists will recognize Śiva and Pārvatī standing behind Nandin. We may thus tell that among the gods (*bage*) alluded to in SK 4 were Śiva and Pārvatī, but it is not enough to warrant that temple A was a Śiva shrine. These frieze blocks are decorative stones, in subordinate position, not cult icons. It is true that they may have been part of a base supporting a *liṅga*. But we did not find any trace or fragment of a *yonipīṭha-*, nor of any conduct letting out the bathing (*snāna-*) water. This *argumentum e silentio* would not be decisive, because a Bactrian Śiva temple built in the 1st century A.D. need not be built exactly as a mediaeval Hindu temple. But if Surkh Kotal were a Śiva temple, why is not the name of Śiva mentioned in SK 4? That ascertained fact compels us to deny that temple A was ever a Śiva temple, although it contained Śiva effigies.

There are so many similarities between the Surkh Kotal *bagolaṅgo* and the Māṭ *devakula-* that we may ask whether the word *devakula-* could give us a clue for a better understanding of Surkh Kotal. As is well known, Skt. *devakula-* always means 'temple, house of god(s)' but in one occurrence, in Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka-*, it clearly means 'gallery of former kings' statues'. What can be the link between these two discrepant meanings? I believe I discovered it when studying the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit work *Mahāvastu*, written sometime in the first centuries A.D. In MV I, 223, 4–10, the *bodhisattva-* Dīpaṅkara, son of king Arcimat and heir apparent to the kingdom, as soon as born, is led to the shrine of an unnamed goddess (*devīye kulam upanītaḥ*) to pay worship at her feet. In a parallel passage, MV II, 26, 3–5, the Buddha-to-be Gautama Śākyamuni, as soon as born, is to be led to the *devakula-* of the goddess *Abhayā* to pay worship at her feet (*padanandana-*). The meaning is clear. In these two passages, a *devakula-* is a true house of god. In it stands a cult icon of the god or goddess. Who is the goddess *Abhayā-*? Her name is synonym of Śrī, 'royal Fortune'. The *devakula-* spoken of in *Mahāvastu* is thus a temple of some Śrī, specially linked to the royal family, to whom the newly born king-to-be (for a Buddha-to-be is always born as a king-to-be, and even as a *cakravartin*-to-be) must first pay worship to ensure prosperity for him, his family and his kingdom. A *devakula-* being a royal family shrine, we understand why in Bhāsa's drama statues of former kings are standing inside: they are the former husbands of the kingdom 'Śrī'; they are not proper gods.

A *devakula-* is a temple. If it is a dynastic temple, it is not a temple of dead kings revered as gods. The same was said before of the Surkh Kotal temple A. Could we say it was a Kuṣāṇa Śrī temple? The Hindu concept of Śrī is to be translated by Greek *Nikè*, 'Victory', and *Tukhē* 'Fortune', or by Bactrian *Pharro* and *Oanindo*, deities who are depicted on the reverse of Kuṣāṇa coins. On the defaced bas-relief, D. Schlumberger recognized a small *Nikè* standing nearby an enthroned king. We discovered no remains ascribable to a Śrī icon

to be worshipped in the cella. But we have evidence for its existence in the first line of SK 4. *Eido ma lizo Kaneṣko-Oanindo-bagolaṅgo* may be translated either as 'this acropolis is the shrine of Kaniṣka the Victorious' or 'this acropolis is the shrine of the Victory of Kaniṣka'. From what we stated above, the latter translation seems definitely to be the best.

We cannot ensure that the Māṭ *devakula-* was a Kuṣāṇa Śrī temple. Judging from the Surkh Kotal evidence, it could have been, but no data was found during its excavation which can be adduced as a proof. At least, I feel we can take for granted that it was a true temple, with a cult god(dess) statue or painting or even a *liṅga-*. The fragmentary Lüders' *Mathurā Inscriptions* § 99 points to this *devakula-* as being a Hindu temple: Brāhmaṇas are regular guests there. The easier interpretation of the same text would make it as having been built by the grandfather of Huviṣka, i.e. probably Vima Kadphises, a *śaiva* devotee, as told by the same inscription and as known from his coins. A little Durgā statue was found in the ruins of the temple, and it is no scandal to think with the late V. S. Agrawala, that the Māṭ *devakula-* was the shrine of Vima's *iṣṭadevatā-*, i.e. Śiva. But there is no decisive proof to make it sure; Durgā could have been a *parivāradevatā-*, like Śiva and Pārvatī in Surkh Kotal. At least we now understand what a dynastic shrine is: it is a shrine where the king, his family and high officials worshipped the deity who protects the king and his family, not the temple of the godlike king.

SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mathurā evidence: to be found easily in John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, 1967.

Surkh Kotal excavations: D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre, G. Fussman, *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, I, Les temples: architecture, sculpture, inscriptions*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, tome XXIV, Paris, 1982.

Surkh Kotal inscriptions: W. B. Henning, 'The Bactrian Inscription', *Bulleting of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIII (1960), pp. 47–55.

E. Benveniste, 'Inscriptions de Bactriane', *Journal Asiatique* (1961), pp. 113–152, Pl. I–V.

I. Gershevitch, 'Nokonzok's well', *Afghan Studies*, 2 (1979), pp. 55–73.

I. M. Sterlin-Kamenskij, 'Baktrijskij Jazyk' (The bactrian language) in V. I. Abaeb, M. N. Bogoljubov and V. C. Rastorgueva ed., *Osnovy Iranskogo Jazykoznanija, Sredneiranskie Jazyki*, (Foundations of Iranian Linguistics, The Middle-iranian Languages), Moskva, 1981, pp. 314–346.

Art history and so on: D. Schlumberger, 'Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec', *Syria* (1960), pp. 131–136 et 253–318.

22. Etched Beads from Mathurā Excavations—A Note

C. MARGABANDHU

Excavations at Mathurā during 1974–77 have unveiled a large variety of beads of semi-precious stones[1]; the beads etched with various decorations seem to be quite interesting[2], They occur in a variety of patterns of which a few from Mathurā are recorded and studied.

The decorative patterns etched on beads of carnelian and agate at Mathurā are not many, but those found represent specific types and possess dating value.

The aim of this short paper is to study the patterns and their geographical extent, and to determine their cultural and chronological range. Incidentally the patterns also reveal how these types of techniques have travelled long distances thereby shedding light on cultural contacts between those places.

The practice of etching beads in India is as ancient as Chalcolithic times. Beads of carnelian and agate in general, and chalcedony and quartz rarely, are found decorated with white patterns. This was done with alkali-like soda for which the juice of a plant called *kirar* was employed. As a matter of fact, the process of etching was a living practice in Sehwan, upper Sind and south-east Punjab about a century ago where the carnelian industry was flourishing.[3]

Most of the beads found at Mathurā belong to type I of Dikshit's classification based on the method of their manufacture.[4] Beads of this type are by far the most common; they exhibit white patterns on the natural surface of the stone. The light red colour of carnelian and the black agate have a pleasing look with the white colouring of the etching depicted on them.

The decorative patterns etched on the beads are quite interesting. Six patterns of etchings are found to be commonly used at Mathurā. These patterns of beads are also found used in many of the sites of Gaṅgā Valley. Some of the patterns are common to all or some of the sites.

The general and commonly used patterns at Mathurā are classified by Dr. Dikshit[5] as the Northern Group of decorative patterns, which comprises 'beads from several historical sites in the Gangetic Valley and also on the north-west frontier'.

Taxila[6] is an important site which has yielded all these patterns occurring during the time of the fifth century B.C. at Bhir mound to the first century A.D. at Sirkap. In the Gaṅgā Valley these beads occur mostly at many sites datable to about the third century B.C. and the fifth century A.D.

Following are the patterns etched on the beads found at Mathurā.

Pattern No. 1: Spherical beads etched with large number of minute dots all over the body in rows or in spiral lines.

Pattern No. 2: Spherical or barrel-shaped beads with a pentagonal design within marginal bands.

Pattern No. 3: Barrel-shaped beads decorated with elongated loops having rectangles or diamonds within zonal bands at the margin.

Pattern No. 4: Barrel beads with three zonal bands, the central one being hatched with small serrated lines.

Pattern No. 5: Tablet-shaped beads decorated with a design of cross in striped lines.

Pattern No. 6: Barrel beads decorated with zonal bands.

All these patterns etched on beads found at Mathurā are discussed below. Efforts are made to place them in

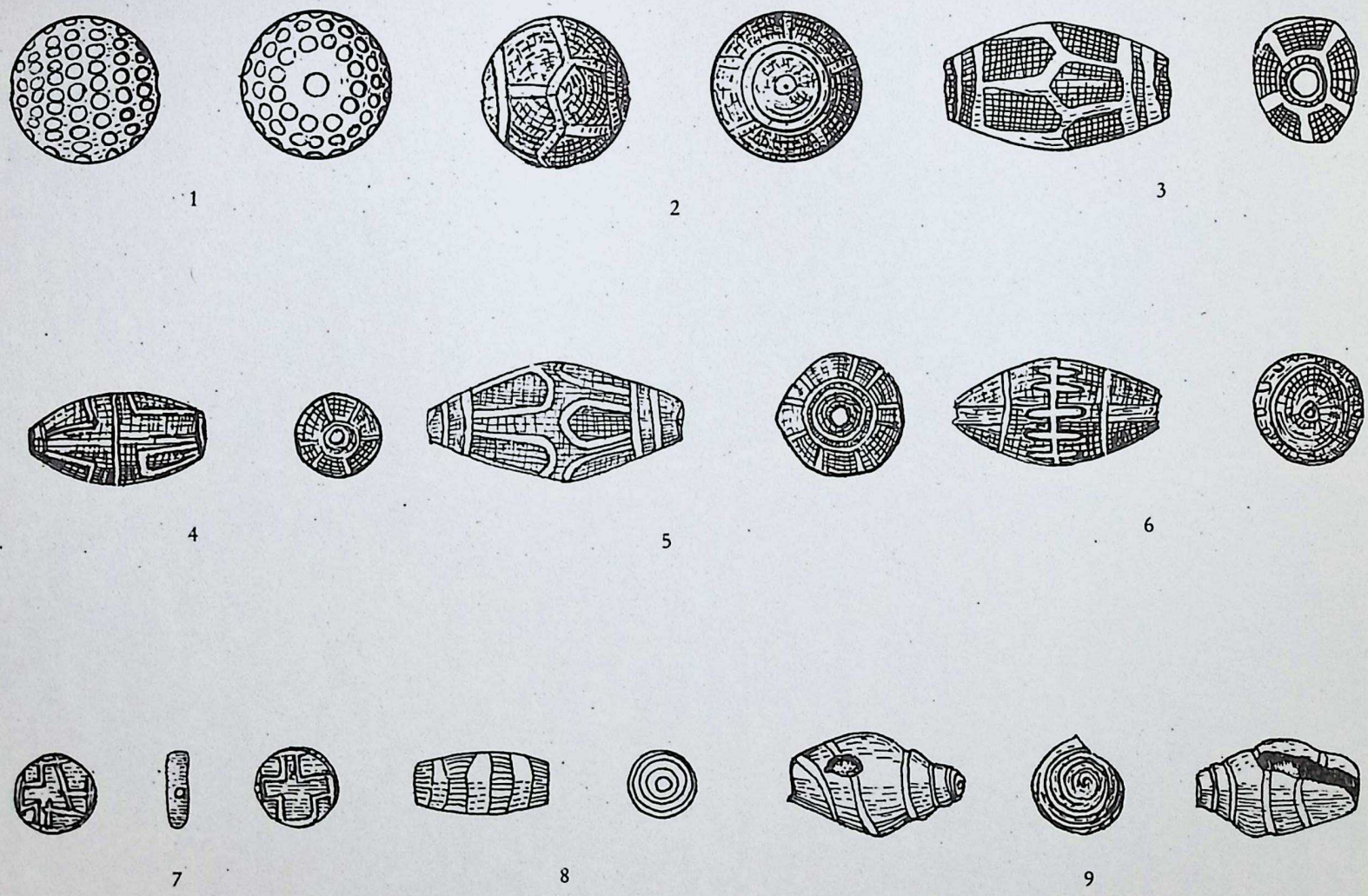


Fig. 22.1 Etched beads from excavations at Mathurā.

cultural contexts relevant to those occurring in contemporary sites near and far.

Pattern No. 1: (Fig. 22.1; no. 1) Spherical beads etched with minute spots or dots all over the body are quite popular at Mathurā where the pattern is found on carnelian beads. The dots are found uniformly arranged in rows executed all through in concentric circles. At Mathurā, the pattern is known in levels of the early first century A.D. and up to the end of the third century A.D.

Its availability in the Gangetic Valley is noted in large numbers. As surface finds[7], the pattern has been recorded from many sites in northern India but their chronological context is questionable.

Hence the occurrence of the pattern in stratified levels recorded from many sites reveals interesting cultural data.

Some sites nearer to Mathurā situated to the east and north-east are to be recorded. Kauśāmbī[8] has yielded beads in carnelian datable to the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. At Vaiśālī,[9] the pattern occurs during the time of the second and first century B.C. Tilaura-kot[10] is an important site which has recorded many beads with this pattern made in agate, carnelian and chalcedony. The decoration found in beads exhibits minute care and skill. This site has yielded evidence that bead-manufacture was a local industry. The excavator[11] herself observes 'it is evident that lapidary art has attained a fairly high level. The lapidarists exercised judicious selection of the material within their reach and improved on the natural form of the minerals by careful shaping with a sense for proportion and polishing. The bead-maker also exhibited a keen sense of decoration and great deal of skill in the manufacture of etched beads of chalcedony agate and carnelian'. Beads with this pattern occur here during the time-span of the third century B.C. through the third century A.D. made in all the three materials in Type I and II processes of the technique of manufacture of beads.

At Rajghat[12] (Vārāṇasī) this pattern occurs in carnelian beads datable to the time of the first and the third century A.D. Further east at Kumrahar[13] (near Pāṭaliputra) it is found upto the fourth and fifth century A.D.

To the north of Mathurā, at Alamgirpur[14] its earlier occurrence in levels of the third century B.C. is to be emphasized.

Taxila[15] in the north-west is another site which has yielded beads with this decoration during the time-span of the fourth century B.C. through the first century A.D. They are made in agate, carnelian and chalcedony in Type I and II processes in the technique of the manufacture of beads. Nearer Mathurā to the south-west, the occurrence of the pattern has also been recorded at Rairh[16] (District Tonk) at the time of the first century A.D.

At Mathurā the pattern has been reported in levels of the first two centuries of the Christian era; this together with the pattern's earlier prevalence in the east and north-east of Gaṅgā Valley and Taxila, indicate its earlier origin elsewhere and its later spread and use at other places. Mathurā seems to be not only at the receiving end but also it played a role as a trade-centre in the distribution of the material objects.

Pattern No. 2: (Fig. 22.1; nos. 2, 3) Spherical or barrel-shaped beads with a pentagonal design within marginal bands is a popular variety at Mathurā found more in barrel-shaped beads than in spherical ones. In carnelian the pattern in white is made on red background and in agate on black background. As for those in agate, the white etchings on the natural black background add a lustre to the beads that looks quite impressive. The geometrical proportions of the pentagons are so well arranged that the beads when put together resemble a magical composition on a black backdrop.

At Mathurā, these etched beads occur in both materials and shapes from the known early levels of the period *circa* the fourth and the third century B.C. to the first century B.C.

This pattern corresponds to pattern Nos. 6, 6A (etched in spherical beads) and pattern No. 14 (etched in barrel-shaped beads) of Dikshit's classification of beads.[17] As a matter of fact many sites of the Gaṅgā Valley have recorded this pattern from the fifth–fourth century B.C. and it seems to be quite popular during the Mauryan times. It is generally a pattern which was found to occur mostly in the Early Historic sites of north India (including Taxila) and hence classified by Dikshit under Northern Group of decorative patterns. Recent excavations at many sites reveal its distribution in sites south of the Narmada River especially in Sātavāhana times.

Barrel beads with the design (pattern No. 14 of Dikshit) occur from Mauryan times onwards at Ahicchatrā,[18] Hastināpura,[19] Nasik,[20] Rajgir,[21] Taxila,[22] Tilaura-kot,[23] Tripura,[24] and Vaiśālī.[25] They occur more frequently and are common from the second and first century B.C. and first century A.D. at places such as Bahal,[26] Kauśāmbī,[27] Nagari,[28] Rajghat,[29] Rairh,[30] Sambhar,[31] Sonkh,[32] Taxila,[33] Tilaura-kot,[34]

Vaiśālī[35] and Ujjain.[36] Dikshit,[37] in addition, records many of them from the surface of north Indian sites. The early spherical beads (Dikshit's pattern Nos. 6, 6A) have been reported from Ahicchatrā,[38] Bangarh,[39] Rajgir,[40] Tilaura-kot[41] and Taxila[42] from Mauryan times. Apart from these sites, Maski[43] and Rairh[44] have also yielded them. Moreover Dikshit[45] lists many sites in Gaṅgā Valley where they have been reported from the surface.

The prominence and wide distribution of this pattern mainly in north Indian sites from early fourth century B.C. and its further spread to the sites of central India and Deccan is a fact that attracts one's attention. What makes this pattern popular in various bead-manufacturing centres is not clear; perhaps it can be attributed to the growing contacts between the regions by way of trade and commerce, and the opening of a number of trade-routes in the Early Historical times. Dikshit[46] significantly ascribes the migration of this pattern due to the advent of the Sātavāhanas in central India and northern Deccan.

Pattern No. 3: (Fig. 22.1; no. 5) Beads decorated with elongated loops and rectangles within marginal bands consist of variations in design and are reported at Mathurā datable to the third and second century B.C. These represent pattern Nos. 16 and 17 of Dikshit's classification of the beads.[47]

Dikshit's two patterns are mostly confined to a few sites from the Gaṅgā Valley. The patterns are found etched in both carnelian and agate beads and the barrel-shape seems to have been preferred over the spherical one. Large numbers are known from Kauśāmbī[48] and Rajghat.[49] Contemporary specimens are also known from Rairh.[50]

Pattern No. 4: (Fig. 22.1; no. 6) Another pattern mostly reported from the Gangetic Valley is a type that is also found at Mathurā. It consists of a barrel-shape decorated with three zonal bands, the central one being etched with small serrated lines. At Mathurā it is known from the first century A.D.

Evidence indicates it was a well-known pattern recorded at Tilaura-kot[51] datable to the third century B.C. It occurs both in Type I and II of Dikshit's classification of the manufacture of beads. It is mostly found etched in barrel-shape, but spherical beads also do occur. At Taxila[52] and Ujjain[53] spherical beads with this pattern are reported datable to the first century B.C. Many of them are known as surface finds from north Indian sites.[54]

Pattern No. 5: (Fig. 22.1; no. 7) Tablet-shaped beads etched with a cross are also a specific type that occurs at Mathurā datable to the third and second century B.C. Beads with this pattern have been recorded from a few sites both in north and central India and northern Deccan, indicating its popularity.

An early bead occurs at Kaundinyapura[55] in central Maharashtra datable to early part of the first millennium B.C. The bead has been etched with a cross enclosed within a cross-shaped frame, the design appearing on both sides of the bead. Taxila[56] has yielded them from Mauryan levels where the design of the cross is framed within a double square. At Kauśāmbī,[57] the bead consists of a plain cross without a frame. A similar one also comes from an urn-burial at Porkalam,[58] District Cochin, on the south-west coast. An analogous bead is also known from Maski.[59] A variant of the cross also occurs at Rang Mahal[60] in Ganganagar district, Rajasthan, from late Kuṣāṇa levels. The bead has etched lines forming irregular fields on either side of the bead and each has a white cross in the centre. A typical specimen at Akra-Bannu[61] in the north-west frontier consists of a dot in the centre bordered by bold thick lines forming a beautiful cross. Dikshit[62] assigns this pattern to the Northern Group.

The wide occurrence of this pattern is noticeable in both time and space. Whether it has any religious affiliations is not known.

Pattern No. 6: (Fig. 22.1; nos. 8, 9) Barrel beads decorated with bands are a popular mode of decoration reported at Mathurā datable from the time of the second century B.C. It is a type that is of common occurrence and is noted from a number of sites. Barrel or cylinder shapes were found to be popular; one, two or three bands were done, depending upon the length of the beads.

The method of etching was chosen and dexterously used in the given, small space, indicating the mature handiwork of the craftsmen of the time.

This type has been reported extensively in datable contexts.

The earliest bead called 'Zone' bead by Beck at Taxila[63] goes back to the fourth century B.C. They have three zonal bands found in carnelian.

Nearer to Mathurā a few sites in the Gangetic Valley have yielded this pattern in definitely datable horizons. The early ones are known from Kauśāmbī,[64] Rajghat,[65] Rajgir,[66] Śrāvastī[67] and Vaiśālī,[68] datable to the early fourth century B.C. At Tilaura-kot[69] the pattern occurs from the third century B.C. In many of the places, it

continues to be in fashion up to the first and second century A.D. Kumrahar[70] and Pāṭaliputra[71] have yielded such beads from the first century B.C. and first century A.D. Occurrence of the pattern has also been recorded towards south of the Narmada in earlier datable contexts. At Kaundinyapura,[72] the pattern comes from the levels ascribable to the early first millennium B.C. Two varieties are known. One of them has zonal bands at regular intervals all over, while the other has three zonal lines forming a band in the centre of the bead. Similar patterns are also found in beads of Khapa[73] and Takalghat,[74] Dist. Nagpur, where the bands are spaced at regular intervals. To quote Dikshit the excavator of the site 'these barrel-shaped beads belong to a class of beads which were popular in many parts of India during the Early Historic Period and in certain cases, in an admittedly Megalithic context.'[75]

It is enough to emphasize that it is a simple pattern adopted in beads and its occurrence suggests possible distribution at other places by means of trade.

This small study emphasizes an aspect of the technological development in bead industry during the Early Historic Period. Mathurā, wherefrom a few beads with the above patterns have been recovered, reveals the popularity and use of the beads whose early evidence goes back to the third century B.C. Several conclusions may be drawn. First, since Mathurā has not revealed any evidence of a local bead industry, these beads may have come into Mathurā from elsewhere. Secondly, the beads' pattern of distribution in other towns, both near and far from Mathurā indicates that trade in these objects possibly passed through Mathurā. Thirdly, many of the sites which have revealed evidence of the bead-finds were also important centres. They played a dominant role in Early Historical times, and their contemporary nature is also a fact to be emphasized.

NOTES

1. I am thankful to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, for permitting me to participate in the Seminar. I am very grateful to Shri M.C. Joshi, Director, Archaeological Survey of India, for allowing me to study the beads of Mathurā from excavations and to present a paper. Shri A. K. Sinha of Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, helped me in various ways for which my thanks are due.
2. For preliminary reports in general and other antiquities see *Indian Archaeology—A review*, (IAR) 1973–74, pp. 31–32, Pls. XLII–XLV; 1974–75, pp. 48–50, Pls. XL–XLV, M. C. Joshi, 'Pre-Kushan Mathūra: A Study'. Paper read at the seminar on 'Pre-Kushana History and Art' held at National Museum New Delhi, Oct. 1977; M. C. Joshi and C. Margabandhu, 'Some terracottas from excavations at Mathura—A study', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (JISOA)*, VIII (N.S.) 1977, pp. 16–32; Pls. I–XII.
3. Bellasis 'Further observations on the ruined city of Brahmanabad, Sind', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)*, V (1853–57), pp. 413–15, 467–77.
4. M. G. Dikshit, *Etched beads in India*, (*EBI*) Deccan College Monograph series, no. 4, Poona, 1949, p. 10. For reasons of uniformity and convenience the types of classifications of the technique of etching beads and the order of decorative patterns are serially numbered as given by Dikshit who has done the first pioneering work on the subject.
5. Dikshit, *EBI*, pp. 14–15.
6. H. C. Beck, *The Beads from Taxila*, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (*MASI*), no. 65, Delhi, 1941, pp. 2–5; Pl. I, 1–7, Pl. II, 1–31.
7. Dikshit, *EBI*, pp. 20–21.
8. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī* (1949–50), in *MASI* 74, Delhi 1969, p. 206, Pl. LXI-28.
9. B. P. Sinha, Sitaram Roy, *Vaiśālī Excavations* 1958–62, Patna, pp. 176–8; Pl. LXIII, Fig. 52, 3.
10. Debala Mitra, *Excavations at Tilaura-Kot and Kodan and Explorations at Nepalese Terai*, Department of Archaeology, H.M. Govt. of Nepal, 1972, p. 123; C. Margabandhu, 'Techno-cultural study of etched beads from Tilaura-Kot (Nepal)' *Journal of Indian History* (*JIH*) LIV (1976), pp. 15–23.
11. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, p. 123.
12. A. K. Narain, and Purushottam Singh, *Excavations at Rajghat*, Varanasi 1977, pp. 26–27; Pl. III, 5, 6.
13. A. S. Altekar, and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951–55, Patna 1959, pp. 132–35; Pl. LXXXI, 13.
14. *IAR*, 1958–59, p. 52, Pl. LXII.
15. Beck, *Beads*, pp. 4–5; Pl. II, 16, 27; A. Ghosh, 'Sirkap (1944–45)', *Ancient India* 4 (1947–48), Pl. X.2 (carnelian).
16. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, (1938–39, 1939–40), Jaipur 1940, Pl. XXII, Fig. 10.
17. Dikshit, *EBI*, pp. 19, 22–23.
18. M. G. Dikshit, 'Beads from Ahichchhatra, U.P.' *Ancient India* (*AI*) no. 8 (1952) pp. 34–5, Fig. 1.1; Pl. X.I.
19. B. B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapura and other explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej basins', *AI* 10–11, (1954–55) pp. 94, 123; Figs. 28–29 (agate).
20. H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo, *Report on the excavations*

at Nasik and Jorwe, 1950–51,, Poona 1955, p. 88, F. 45.20 (carnelian) *c.* 200 B.C.
21. *IAR*, 1961–62, p. 8, Pl. XIII.d (*c.* fourth–fifth century B.C.).
22. Beck, *Beads*, Pl. II.7.
23. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, p. 125; Pl. XLIX.12, 13, Figs. 25, 12, 13.
24. M. G. Dikshit, *Tripura, 1952*, Nagpur 1955, Fig. 35, no. 7, PL. XXXI.7 (agate).
25. Sinha and Roy, *Vaiśālī*, pp. 183–85; Fig. 55A, LXVI.A-2.
26. Cited by Dikshit, in *AI*, 8 (1952), p. 35.
27. Sharma, *Kauśāmbī*, p. 106, Pl. LXI.15.
28. *IAR*, 1962–63, p. 19, Pl. XLVI, B. (*c.* First century A.D.).
29. Narain and Singh, *Rajghat*, p. 24, Pl. I.1, 2, 4 (One from surface and another from later levels, probably an earlier one which is re-used later).
30. Puri, *Rairh*, Pl. XXIII.i, XXI-18, 19.
31. D. R. Sahani, *Archaeological remains and Excavations at Sambhar (1936–38)*, Jaipur Pl. XV m (pre-Kuṣāṇa) carnelian.
32. H. Härtel, 'Excavations at Sonkh (Mathura Dist.) 1966–67', *Bulletin of the Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 1 (1968), pp. 1–8, Fig. 4 second row.
33. Beck, *Beads*, Pl. II.17 (agate) *c.* the first century A.D.; Ghosh, *A.I.* 4 (1947–48), pp. 73–4, Pl. X.27.
34. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, p. 125.
35. Sinha and Roy, *Vaiśālī*, p. 181, Pl. LXV, Fig. 54.2.
36. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 20.
37. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 19.
38. Dikshit, *AI*, 8 (1952), p. 35, Fig. 1.5 (*c.* 300–200 B.C.) all of agate.
39. K. G. Goswamy, *Excavations at Bangarh*, 1938–41, Calcutta 1948, pp. 13–15, Pl. XXXI.B., Nos. 2063, 2160, 1670.
40. *IAR*, 1961–62, p. 8, Pl. XIII.B, first row, fifth from left.
41. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, p. 125, F.25, Pl. XLIX.12, 13.
42. Beck, *Beads*, Pl. II.1.
43. B. K. Thapar, 'Maski: A chalcolithic site of the southern Deccan', *AI*, 13 (1957), Pl.XXVII.2 (of agate).
44. Puri, *Rairh*, Pl. XXIII.18 (carnelian).
45. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 19.
46. Cited by Dikshit, *AI*, 8 (1952), p. 35; Margabandhu, *JIH*, LIV, 1976, pp. 21–23; 'Some etched beads and pendants from Kondapur—their culture and chronological significance', *JIH*, LVI (1978), pp. 35–46.
47. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 23.
48. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 23.
49. Dikshit, *EBI*.
50. Puri, *Rairh*, Pl. XXIII. F.3.
51. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, p. 125, Pl. XLIV, 11, Fig. 25.11; Margabandhu, *JIH*, LIV (1976), pp. 20–23.
52. Beck, *Beads*, p. 5; Pl. I.6.
53. N. R. Banerjee, 'The technique of stone beads in ancient Ujjain', *Journal of the Asiatic Society (JAS)*, (NS) 1 (1955), pp. 190–91, Pl. V.21.
54. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 23, Reported from Chirayya kot, Ghosi, Madhuri, Patna and Rajghat.
55. M. G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Kaundinyapura*, Bombay 1968, p. 88, Pl. XXIX.B.28.
56. Beck, *Beads*, Pl. I.5; Dikshit, *EBI*. Pl. VIII. No. 14.
57. Beck, *Beads*, Pl. XIII, No. 15.
58. B. K. Thapar, 'Porkalam . . . . .' *AI*.8 (1952) p. 14; Pl. V, No. 8; Fig. 5.
59. Dikshit, *EBI*, Pl. XVII, No. 9.
60. Hanna Rydh, *Rang Mahal*, 1952–54, Lund 1959, p. 167; Pl. 82, No. 3.
61. Dikshit, *EBI*, Pl. IX. No. 14; XIX No. 16.
62. Dikshit, *EBI*, p. 25.
63. Beck, *Beads*, p. 4, Pl. II.12, 22.
64. Sharma, *Kauśāmbī*, *MASI*, 1969, p. 106, Pl. LXI, 3.
65. Narain and Singh, *Rajghat*, pp. 26–27, Pl. III.8.
66. *IAR*, 1961–62, pp. 7–8, F.2; Pl. XIII.D.
67. K. K. Sinha, *Excavations at Śrāvastī*, Varanasi 1967, pp. 63–64, F.18.3.
68. Sinha and Roy, *Vaiśālī*, pp. 176–78, Pl. LXIII. F. 52, 15, 16, 22, 24, 25; Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaishali Excavations* 1950, Vaisali 1961, p. 62, Pl. XXIV.9.
69. Debala Mitra, *Tilaura-Kot*, pp. 15, 124, 133, Pl. XLIV 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; F.25.6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
70. Altekar and Mishra, *Kumrahar*, pp. 132–35, Pl. LXXX.32, LXXXI.8, LXXXII.B.1.
71. B. P. Sinha, Lala Aditya Narain, *Pataliputra Excavation*, Patna 1970, p. 54, Pl. XXV.B.15, 21.
72. Dikshit, *Kaundinyapura*, pp. 88 ff.
73. S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Takalghat and Khapa* 1968–69, Nagpur 1970, p. 42, F.23.12.
74. Deo, *Takalghat*, p. 43.
75. Dikshit, *Kaundinyapura*, p. 89.

PART VI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

23. Mathurā and Jainism

UMAKANT P. SHAH AND ERNEST BENDER

The fact of Mathurā's active existence from the late centuries, B.C., to Gupta times is attested by archaeological remains, as well as by references to the city and its inhabitants in early Jaina canonical literature, dating over a period from the fourth century, B.C., to *circa* the fourth/fifth centuries, A.D. Testimony on conditions in pre-Gupta Mathurā may occasionally also come from medieval Jain writers. In evaluating this evidence for chronological relevance we follow, in general, the opinions of modern scholarship relating to the ages of the different Jaina canonical works. Commentators on the extant texts, whenever they quote a variant reading, give the variant according to the Council presided over by Nāgārjuna[1] in Valabhi in *circa* the early fourth century, A.D., thus indicating that, for the most part, the Jaina canon available to us today follows the text of the Mathurā Council[2] headed by Ārya Khandila (Skt. Skandila) in the fourth quarter of the fourth century, A.D.

To characterize the value of Jaina literature and the difficulty of using it, we quote from Moti Chandra's *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*.[3]

> 'Jaina canonical literature, including the Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Gāthās, Cūrṇis, and their commentaries, is full of interesting material, but.... it has not been studied very much. The chief reason for this is the non-availability of Jaina texts and the difficulty of the language which makes the interpretation difficult .... most of the Jaina literature has been published for the edification of the Jaina devotees .... They have neither introduction or indices. They also lack linguistic notes which makes it difficult to understand the correct import of the texts. To trace any cultural reference in Jaina literature, it is necessary to go through all of it. But if one [does] .... it becomes evident that without the study of Jaina literature, the cultural history of India remains incomplete, because [it] .... throws light on certain aspects of Indian Culture which have not been mentioned either in Pāli or Sanskrit literature .... [or] .... references are very scanty. For example, let us take the topic of the Sārthavāha.[4] The Brahmanic Sanskrit literature, because of a difference in point of view, throws very limited light on the problem .... the Buddhist literature deals with the subject at some length though the story-element [predominates]. Therefore, it is difficult to [learn] from Buddhist literature in what kinds of goods the merchants traded and what was their organization .... Jaina literature believes in giving even the minutest details .... whatever subject it touches it describes in detail, unmindful whether such descriptions go well with the framework of the story. The Jaina monks were wanderers .... and, while travelling from place to place, they did not fail to observe the life of the people. Jainism was also chiefly the religion of merchants and, therefore, the Jaina literature has not failed to describe the various aspects of the life of their followers. Jaina monks, wherever they went, studied [the] geographical and social conditions and also the local language in order to preach .... Whatever .... their date .... the material preserved in them is ancient.
>
> Jaina literature gives certain definitions about trade .... such definitions are not given in other literature. These definitions or stock descriptions inform us about the places where the goods were sold and that ..., for the sale and purchase ... and for their transport, there were many markets and differences in the markets.[5] ... the method of their travel was different ....
>
> Wherever they went, they thoroughly examined the people of the locality. This was known as janapadaparīkṣa .... In such towns they learnt many languages and dialects .... Their disciples also gained experience[6] .... They made

> inquiries about different kinds of grains which a district produced and the kind of irrigation required .... Monks examined in detail cities like Mathurā.... Whatever region they visited, they inquired about its extent, the local customs and manners ... . According to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi,[7] the Jain monks were also adept in folklore and they made inquiries about chanda, vidhi, vikalpa and nepathya.'

The chapter goes on to report, among other topics, Jaina references to caravans and the pertinent terminology.[8]

We learn from such Jain literature that Mathurā—also called Uttaramahurā[9]—was the capital city of Sūraseṇa (Skt. Śūrasena), a country described as 'āriya,' that is, acceptable for sojourn by Jaina monks. According to the Niśīthasūtra-cūrṇi,[10] Mathurā was one of the ten capital cities where kings could be crowned. The other cities were Campā, Vārāṇasī, Hastināpura, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kampīlya, Kauśāmbī, Mithilā and Rājagṛha. The Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi cites Iṁdapura (Skt. Indrapura) as another name for Mathurā: mahurāe ceva bīyaṁ nāma iṁdapura ti.[11]

A stūpa is recorded to have been erected in Mathurā by Jains, but claimed by Buddhists, culminating in a quarrel in which the latter were defeated.[12] The Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Stūpa of Mathurā[13] has yielded a large number of antiquities. Whether this dispute was over the ownership of that stūpa or over some other Jaina stūpa at Mathurā, we cannot say. That the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Stūpa was known as the 'Devanirmita-Stūpa' is fairly certain, because an inscription on the pedestal of a Jaina image from this very site reads: 'This image was installed in the thūbhe devanirmite'—i.e., the Devanirmita-Sthūpa; perhaps indicating that its origin was forgotten in *circa* the second century, A.D. Haribhandrāsūri, *circa* seventh century, A.D., called it 'devanirmita,' because he might not have known its origin or the name of the Jina to whom it was originaly dedicated. Other canonical works like the Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya refer to it by this name. That there were five stūpas at Mathurā can be inferred from the Digambara tradition of the Pañcāstūpānvaya.[14]

Somadevasūri refers to Mathurā in his Yaśastilakacampu of the tenth century, A.D. He relates the legend according to which a Jaina stūpa was erected to Vajrakumāra, son of Somadatta, during the reign of King Pūtikavahana. Elsewhere, he refers to Urvilā, queen of Mathurā, who on the occasion of the Aṣṭāhikamahotsava would send out the rathayātra of the Jina.[15]

In the Vividhatīrthakalpa,[16] a collection of kalpas or accounts of various Jaina tīrthas, composed by Jinaprabhasūri between 1307 and 1340, A.D., he tells of two Jaina monks visiting Mathurāpurī and staying in a park with the name 'Bhūtaramaṇaudhāna' during the era of the Jina, Supārśvanātha. They converted the presiding deity of this park, Kuberā, to the Jaina Faith, who erected a stūpa at Mathurā for the Jaina Saṅgha's worship. The story proceeds to describe the stūpa. It was made of gold and studded with jewels, with images of devas surrounding it. Equipped with a toraṇa (gateway) and dhvaja (banner), it was adorned with three mekhalās (railed-ways), flanked, each, by images, and topped by a triple chatra (umbrella). The central image of the stūpa was that of Supārśvanātha. There arose a controversy over the ownership of the stūpa with members of other sects, such as Buddhists, Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas. Through divine intervention the image was proven to be that of the Jina and his paṭa (painting on cloth) was carried through the city in a yātrā. The lavishly fashioned stūpa remained open to the air until the age of the Jina, Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, when a local king, attempting to confiscate its treasures, was killed by the goddess Kuberā, who instructed the Jaina Saṅgha to brick over the stūpa and place a stone image of Pārśvanātha on its exterior. The Jainas were enjoined to worship the Jina in their homes and the practice of placing his image over the doorway was instituted. In V.S. 826 (769 A.D.), in accordance with the council of Bappumaṭṭisūri, King Āma had the stūpa repaired and an image of Mahāvīra installed. Enhanced with a kūpa (well) or kuṇḍa (small tank)—indeed, a kuṇḍa close to the site of the stūpa near Kaṁkālīṛṭālā has been unearthed by Dr. M. C. Joshi and Dr. Margabandhu during their recent excavations—and encircled with a walled grove, the stūpa was embellished with thousands of images, shrines, a beautiful gandhakuṭī (censer) and statues of Cillaṇiā (Cillanikā), Ambāī (Ambikā) and the kṣetrapālas. Here are located five sthalas—arkasthala, vīrasthala, padmasthala, kuśasthala, and mahāsthala—and twelve vanas—lohajaṁghavana, madhuvana, bilvavana, tālavana, kumudavana, vṛndāvana, bhaṇḍīravana, khadīravana, kāmikavana, kolavana, bakulāvana and mahāvana. (Cf. the names of the sthalas and the vanas encountered in the Hindu purāṇas; cf., also, the five tīrtha-names mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri in this work—i.e., the laukikatīrthas: Viśrānti, Asikuṇḍa, Vaikuṇṭha, Kāliñjara and Cakratīrtha.) The author adds that the śramaṇa, Jinabhadraśaṇi, obtained the deteriorated manuscript of the Mahāniśīthasūtra and repaired the damaged folios; and that the god, Śakra, went to Bhūtagṛha, near Mathurā, for the elucidation of the nigoda by Ārya Rakṣitasūri whose successors, Vatsapuṣyamitra, Ghṛtapuṣyamitra and Durbali-

kāpuṣyamitra, also visited Mathurā. He mentions, also, the Mathurā Council convened by Ācārya Khaṇḍila. It would seem that the Jaina stūpa was still standing in Jinaprabhasūri's time. His Mathurā-stūpastutaya suggests this.

Mathurā also appears in Digambara accounts. Guṇabhadra in his Uttarapurāṇa, sarga 74, refers to Mahāvīra's previous birth as Vissanandī (Viśvanandī), son of Vissabhūi (Viśvabhūti) of Rājagṛha, in connection with Mathurā.[17]

Hariṣeṇa, in his Bṛhatkathākośa, story 2, describes Mathurā, as adorned with lofty Jaina temples and abounding in cows (purīgodhanasaṁkulam). In story 12, he refers to the rathayātrā of Mathurā and the erection of the five Jaina stūpas after the defeat of the Buddhists.[18]

Other references locate at Mathurā a park by the name of Bhaṃḍīravaḍeṁsia (Bhaṇḍīravataṁsaka) visited by Pāsa (Pārśva [nātha]).[19] Here, too, was the shrine of the yakṣa, Sudaṁsaṇa (Sudarśana), to which people made pilgrimage—an indication, perhaps, of a thriving yakṣa-cult.[20]

To Mathurā, it is recorded, came Mahāvīra,[21] the twenty-fourth and last titthayara (tīrthaṁkara), during the reign of King Sirīdāma (Śirīdāman). Legend holds that, in a former birth, Mahāvīra, as Vissabhūi (Viśvabhūti), had met his death on the horns of a cow, having, prior to that, made a resolution (nidāna) to kill in a later existence his cousin, Visāhaṇaṁdi (Viśākhanandī), the son of the king of Rāyagiha (Rājagṛha).[22]

It was in the Jauṇāvaṁka-garden (Yavunāvakra) that the Jauṇa (Yavuna) king of Mathurā murdered the monk Daṁḍa, and, later on, himself became a monk.[23] Note, too, the didactic tale of the sāvaga (Śrāvaka), Jiṇadāsa whose two bulls, Kaṁbala and Saṁbala, observed vratas along with him.[24]

Another name connected with Mathurā is that of the learned Ācāya Maṁgu whose greed for food resulted in his rebirth as a jakkha (yakṣa),[25] as contrasted with the skilled Goṭṭhāmāhila (Goṣṭhāmāhila), a disciple of the aforementioned Rakkhiya (Rakṣita), noted for his victory in debate over heretics (akkiyavāyī, akriyāvādin).[26]

From Mathurā, his birthplace, to Bāravaī (Dvāravatī), capital of Suraṭṭha (Surāṣṭra), fled the Dasārasīha Vasudeva Kaṇha (Daśārhasiṁha Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa) in fear of Jarāsaṁdha whom he later killed.[27] From Mathurā went King Dhara,[28] invited to contend in the svayamvara of Dovaī (Draupadī), but to no avail, for she chose Juhiṭṭhilla, Bhīmaseṇa, Ajjuṇa, Ṇaula and Sahadeva, better known, perhaps, as the five Pāṇḍavas, Yuddhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, the fruit of her nidāna of a previous birth.[29]

In Mathurā was born the prince Kālavesiya (Kālavaiśika) to King Jiyasattu (Jitaśatru) and his courtesan, Kālā. Kālavesiya, Jaina accounts record, became a monk who so little valued his body that it was eaten by a jackal at his sallekhanā on Mt. Muggasela (Mūdgaśaila).[30] Other natives of Mathurā are the princess Nivvūī (Nirvṛti),[31] daughter of King Jiyasattu, King Saṁkha[32] who undertook the life of an aṣcetic, and the purohita, Iṁdadatta, who enjoyed the questionable distinction of having had one of his legs severed by a merchant of the town.[33]

The Avaśyaka-cūrṇi[34] records that Mathurā was a great commercial center and from there merchants would go to conduct business in Dakkhiṇa Mathurā (Dakṣiṇa Mathurā), identified as present-day Madurai, and that one of the merchants had established family connections in that city.[35] The Ācāraṅga-cūrṇi[36] identifies Mathurā as a thalapaṭṭaṇa (sthalapattana) where goods for trade were carried overland, while the Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya[37] observes that it was noted as a cloth-manufacturing center[38] and a business-center whose inhabitants lived on trade[39] and not on the cultivation of the land.

J. C. Jain[40] refers to Mathurā as an important center of nāga-worship where a number of nāga-images have been recovered. (See above, where Pāsanāha [Pārśvanātha] is reported to have visited the city. Note, too, his association with serpents.)

The curtains of legend and half-legend have parted to reveal a city of great antiquity, its age earlier than the tradition recorded in the Jain canon.[41]

Mathurā thrived off the wealth which accumulated at the cross-road of the uttaravāha, the great caravan route, one of whose branches led westward to Taxila and beyond, a second to the east—to Patna (Pāṭaliputra/Palibothra) and Tamluk (Tāmralipti)—, and a third, southward, to Ujjain (Ozene/Ujjayanī) and thence to Broach (Bhurukaccha/Barygaza) connecting the midland of India with the sea-trade along the Gulf of Cambay.[42]

The city continued to prosper under the Kuṣāṇas in a congenial atmosphere which attracted representatives of ancient cults, Jainism, Brāhmanism and Buddhism. The wealth of its merchant class made possible the creation and maintenance of Jain monuments, and made Mathurā a flourishing center for the arts.

NOTES

1. Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi [DaśCū.], Ratlam 1933, p. 204; Ācārāṅga-cūrṇi [ĀcaCū.], Ratlam 1941, p. 207; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India (As Depicted in the Jain Canons)* [Jain, *Life*], Bombay 1947, p. 33 and fn. 5.
2. Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Samayasundara) [KalpSam.], Bombay and Surat 1939, p. 107; Nandisūtra-cūrṇi [NaṅCū.], Banaras 1966, p. 9; Nandisūtra-vṛtti (by Malayagiri) [NanM.], Bombay 1924, p. 51; Nandisūtra-vṛtti (by Haribhadra) [NanH.], Banaras 1966, p. 13; Albrecht Weber, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 282; U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* [Shah, *Studies*], Banaras 1955, pp. 110–111; S. B. Deo, *History of Jain Monachism* [*History*], Poona 1956, p. 20.
3. Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes*, pp. 158 f.
4. The caravan leader, see BṛhKBh. 1090, and fn. 46, below.
5. E.g., jalapaṭṭana 'sea-port', sthalapaṭṭana 'inland market,' dronamukha 'market handling goods coming from the sea as well as the land,' nigama 'a town where bankers operated,' saṁgrahika nigama 'a town whose banking business was concerned with pledging goods and deposits,' asaṁgrahika nigama 'a town whose business was not limited to the saṁgrahika,' niveśa 'a caravan town or a town where caravans assembled.'
6. Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya [BṛhBh.], Ahmedabad 1916, 1227.
7. ĀvaCū. 581 A and B; chanda 'food, ornaments, etc.' vidhi 'local customs,' vikalpa 'farming methods, household affairs, temple management, etc.,' nepathya 'local costumes.'
8. E.g., sārtha, 'caravan,' bhaṇḍi sārtha 'caravan carrying only goods,' bahalika '[caravan] consisting of animals,' bhāravāha '[caravan whose members] carried their own loads,' audārika sārtha 'caravan of wandering workers,' kārpaṭika sārtha 'caravan of monks and religious mendicants,' vidhāna 'goods carried by a caravan,' gaṇima 'goods which could be counted,' dharima 'goods which could be weighed,' meya 'goods which could be measured,' paricchedya 'goods which could be assessed visually,' anuraṅga 'a draft vehicle,' yānā 'a litter,' sārthavāha 'caravan leader,' kṣetrataḥ pariśuddha '[a caravan which] covered a distance [suitable for ancients and children],' kālataḥ pariśuddha '[a caravan] starting before sunrise,' bhāvataḥ pariśuddha '[a caravan] supplying food to monks of all demoninations.'
9. Jain, *Life*, pp. 250–51, and fns. 17–20, p. 308 f.; Prajnāpanā [Praj.], Bombay 1918–19, p. 37; Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti (by Śilāṅka) [SūtSi.], Bombay 1917, p. 123; Sthānāṅga-vṛtti (by Avhayadeva) [SthA.], Bombay 1918–20, p. 479.
10. Niśītha-cūrṇi [NiśCū.], Apra 1957–60, Vol. II, p. 466.
11. Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi [ĀvaCū.], Ratlam 1928–29, pp. 192–93; Vasudevahiṇḍi, Bhavnagar 1930, 31, Vol. I, pp. 10–11, indicates that Mathurā is different from Soriyanagara = Soriyanagara = Śauripura, as does the statement of Vol. II, p. 356 f., that Soripura was founded by Sorī (Śaurī) of the Yadu-lineage. This negates B.C. Law's statement: 'The Jainas knew it as Sauripura or Sūryapura.' See his *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris 1954, pp. 106–110. The reference to Śauryapura in the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 45, p. 112, may also refer to Śaurīpura and not to Mathurā.
12. Vyavahārasūtra-bhāṣya [VyaBh.], Ahmedabad 1926–28, 5.27–28; Jain, *Life*, p. 309 and fn. 488; Deo, *History*, pp. 100, 384.
13. Bṛhatkalapasūtra-bhāṣya [BṛhKBh.], Bhavnagar 1933–38, 1942, Vol. V, gāthā 5824, Vol. VI, gāthā 6275; VyaBh. 5.27–28; Āvaśyakasūtra-niryukti, with commentary of Haribhadrasūri, [ĀvaN.], Bombay 1916–17, Vol. I, p. 453; Shah, *Studies*, pp. 9, 12 and 1 and 2, p. 64 and fn. 1: "The stūpa was called Devanirmitta, 'erected by gods', probably because the origin was forgotten or because it was erected by a famous artist called 'Deva', or because it was donated by a certain person called 'Deva'." See, also Vividhatīrtha-kalpa reference, below.
14. Jain, *Life*, pp. 255, 309 and fns. 487–497; Shah, *Studies*, pp. 62 and fn. 5, p. 63 and fns. 1–5; A. Ghosh, ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, 3 Vols., New Delhi 1974, Vol. I, pp. 7, 50 and 54. For pañcastūpa-nikāya, see the *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. III, 2, p. 45; *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX–XXIII, p. 283, no. 2037; and Nathuram Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Bombay 1956 (rev. ed.), p. 497. Note, also that Nirgrantha Śramaṇācārya Guhanandin of the Paharpur Copper-plate Inscription, dated G. E. 159, is called 'pañcastūpanikāyika.'
15. K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka-campū and Indian Culture* [*Handiqui, Yaśastilaka*], Sholapur 1949, pp. 416–17; Yaśastilaka-campū of Somadeva [YaśC.], Bombay 1901–03, II. p. 315, VI. 17–18.
16. Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa [ViTK.], Singhi Series No. 4, Bombay, pp. 17–18.
17. Uttarapurāṇa [UttP.], Banaras 1954; Indore V.S. 1975.
18. Bṛhatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇa [BṛhH.], ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Series No. 13, Bombay.
19. Jñātādharmakathā [Jñā.], Bombay 1980, 156.
20. Jain, *Life*, p. 219 and fn. 206, p. 222 and fn. 241; Shah, *Studies*, p. 83; Vipākasūtra [Vip.], Bombay 1920, 26; V. S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, Banaras 1970, pp. 184, 188 and 189.
21. Vip. 26; Jain, *Life*, p. 309 and fn. 490.
22. ĀvaN. 445–8; Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya [Viś.], Ratlam 1936, 1811–13; Samavāyāṅga [Sam.], Ratlam 1918, 158; Tīrthodgārita [Tīr.], ms., L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 605–9; ĀvaCū. I. pp. 230–3; Āvaśyaka-vṛtti (by Malayagiri) [ĀvaM.], Bombay 1928–36, 248–251; Bhaktaparijñā [BhK.], Bombay 1927, 137; Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Dharmasāgara) [KalpDh.], Bhavnagar 1922, p. 38; Samavāyāṅga-vṛtti (by Abhayadeva) [SamA.], Bombay 1918, p. 158.
23. ĀvaN. 1277; ĀvaCū. II. p. 155; Maraṇasamādhi [Mar.], ms., L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 465; Saṁstāraka [Saṁs.], Bombay 1927, p. 61; Āvaśyaka-vṛtti (by

Haribhadra) [ĀvaH.], Bombay 1916–17, p. 667; Bhagavatī-vṛtti (by Abhayadeva) [BhA.], Bombay 1918–21, p. 491.

24. Viś. 1925; ĀvaCū. I. pp. 280, 472; ĀvaN. 471; Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Vinayavijaya) [KalpV.], Bombay 1915, p. 163.
25. Niśīthasūtra-bhāṣya [NiśBh.], Agra 1957–60, 3200; NiśCū. II. p. 125.
26. ĀvaCū. I. p. 412; Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti (by Śāntisūri) [UttŚ.], Bombay 1916, p. 173.
27. DaśCū. p. 41; SthĀ. p. 255.
28. Jñā. 1980, 17.
29. Jñā. 120.
30. Uttarādhyayana-cūrṇi [UttCū.], p. 77; UttŚ. p. 120; Mar. 448; Uttarādhyayana-niryukti [UttN.], Bombay 1916, p. 120; VyaBh. 10.595; ĀcaCū. p. 112.
31. ĀvaCū. I. p. 499; Viś. 1813; Sam. 158; Tīr. 608; Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti (by Kamalasaṁyama) [UttK.], p. 98; ĀvaH. p. 703.
32. UttCū. p. 201; UttŚ. p. 120; Mar. 448.
33. Mar. 501; UttCū. p. 82; UttŚ. p. 125–26.
34. Or Pāṇḍu Mahurā; ĀvaCū. 472 f.; Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes in Ancient India*, New Delhi 1977, p. 164 and fn. 52; Jain, *Life*, p. 114 and fn. 17.
35. ĀvaCū. I. p. 472.
36. ĀcaCū. 7, p. 281; UttŚ. p. 605; Jain, *Life*, p. 308.
37. Jain, *Life*, p. 114 and fn. 16, p. 115 and fn. 29; Prakash Charan Prasad, *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, New Delhi 1977, p. 74 and fn. 3.
38. See R. P. Kangle, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Bombay 1960–1972, 2.11.115: 'Cotton fabrics from Madhurā, the Aparāntas, the Kaliṅgas, Kāśī, the Vaṅgas, the Vatsas and the Mahisas are the best.'
39. We note, here, V. S. Agrawala's remarks (*Folk Cults*, pp. 184, 188, 189) regarding the image of the yakṣa, Maṇibhadra, found in the Parkham village of Mathurā and dated to the third century, B.C. He observes that the Maṇibhadra Yakṣa was regarded as the presiding deity of caravan merchants—so attested, too, by the Mahābhārata. He considers the term 'Mahāvīra' or 'Senior Vīra,' i.e., the 'Great Yakṣa,' and suggests that the term 'Mahāvīra' was adopted from the vocabulary of Bīr-worship. He goes on to quote the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa which lists 'Maṇibhadra' and identifies the form 'vīra' of the term 'Pañcavīra' with the word 'yakṣa'.
40. Jain, *Life*, pp. 21 f. and fn. 206.
41. Shah, *Studies*, pp. 110 f. for his observations regarding the features of the Aṣṭamaṅgalas discovered in the Mathurā finds and his dating them to the second century, B.C. See, also UttCū. p. 82.
42. Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes*, p. 5; Prasad, *Foreign Trade*, p. 74; D. Mitra, 'East India,' p. 49 in Ghosh, *Jain Art*.

24. Political and Cultural Data in References to Mathurā in the Buddhist Literature

PADMANABH S. JAINI

The Buddhist literary sources for the cultural history of ancient Mathurā can be grouped, in the traditionally accepted chronological order, as following:

A. *The Pāli Tripiṭaka and the Aṭṭhakathās.*[1]
This consists of one sutta from the Majjhimanikāya,[2] three suttas from the Aṅguttaranikāya,[3] one *Jātaka*[4] and a single reference in the Vimānavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā.[5] To this list we may add such non-canonical Pāli texts as the Milindapañha,[6] the Cūlavaṁsa[7] and the Dīpavaṁsa,[8] which provide one reference each to the city of Madhurā. Finally, a reference to the city of Verañjā, a place in the vicinity of Madhurā, appearing in the Vinayapiṭaka[9] and the Aṅguttaranikāya,[10] may also be included under this heading.

B. *The Sanskrit Avadāna Literature.*
The twenty-sixth *avadāna* (viz. the Pāṁśupradānāvadāna) of the Divyāvadāna[11] is our primary source for the history of the spread of Buddhism in the region of Mathurā. This *avadāna* prophesies the founding of a monastery called Naṭabhaṭa-vihāra in the vicinity of Mathurā and relates the legends associated with the monk Upagupta who is claimed as the spiritual teacher of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka. The *Avadānakalpalatā*[12] of Kṣemendra (*circa* 12th century) which repeats these legends should also be included in this group.

C. *The Vinaya texts of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins.*
The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* section of the Vinayavastu[13] of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins is probably the last canonical source on Mathurā available to us. In addition to repeating the avadāna prophecies about the Naṭabhaṭa-vihāra and Upagupta's missionary activities, the Vinayavastu relates several incidents which took place during the Buddha's alleged visit to Mathurā, notably the conversion of a large number of yakṣas and the building of numerous vihāras to commemorate the event. Of equal interest, for an insight into the lives of the affluent section of the city, is the Cīvaravastu[14] story of the royal physician Jīvaka who makes a fortune in Mathurā because of his skill as a surgeon.

D. *Accounts of the Chinese Pilgrims.*
The textual references to the Buddhist establishments in ancient Mathurā find their partial corroboration in the accounts of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, the two celebrated Chinese pilgrims who visited that city. The topographical descriptions of the various monasteries and stūpas found in their accounts provide the only link between the literary sources mentioned above and modern archaeological discoveries at Mathurā. We should also include under this heading references to Mathurā found elsewhere in the Chinese literature; of special interest are those references which mention Aśvaghoṣa the great poet in the court of Kaniṣka, and Mahādeva, a brahman of Mathurā, who is said to have propounded a pro-Mahāyānist dogma prior to the council of Vaiśālī.

E. *The Buddhist Inscriptions at Mathurā*
Our final and probably the most reliable source for the study of ancient Mathurā is the group of Buddhist inscriptions discovered there. These inscriptions are invaluable not only for the knowledge they provide on contemporary Buddhism (namely, the vihāras and the saṅgha there), but also for the information they impart

about the citizens of Mathurā (namely, the kings, the donors, the merchants, etc.), and the visitors from the neighbouring countries to that famous city.*

We should point out at the outset that Mathurā is always referred to as Madhurā in the Pāli texts. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Pāli suttas retain the original name of the city or only a variant spelling of the same. Mathurā appears in all of our Sanskrit sources, and the Chinese accounts also seem to know that city by that name. The Pāli commentaries, including the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, however, know only Madhurā and often refer to it as Uttara Madhurā.[15] Since the latter is not attested in the *Milindapañha*[16] (which originates in the North and knows Madhurā) it may be correct to assume that the name Uttara Madhurā was introduced by the Sinhalese authors to distinguish Madhurā of the *suttas* from the city of the same name (the modern Madurai) in South India.[17] Whatever the original spelling, there is no doubt that all these references are to the famous city of Mathurā on the river Yamunā.

The Pāli sources enumerate Śūrasena in the traditional list of the sixteen *janapadas* and include Madhurā within that kingdom, but there is no specific mention of it as a capital city. The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu places Mathurā between Bhadrāśva and Otalā, all within the territory of the Śūrasena kingdom. It designates the latter as the first kingdom (ādi-rājya) because the 'first King' [of our aeon] was elected here and hence was known as Mahāsaṃmata, 'the Great Elected'.[18] The legend certainly points to a belief that this country was the cradle of civilization and was once ruled by a popular monarch.

More credible perhaps is the information provided by the Madhurasutta of the Majjhimanikāya. We read here that a king of Madhurā called Avantiputta once visited the Elder Mahā Kaccāna when the latter was residing in the Gundāvana, a park in that city. The king, after listening to the sermon of the Elder, was greatly distressed to hear that the Buddha had passed away.[19] This event evidently took place not long after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha and hence the sutta may be referring to a real person of the name of Avantiputta. The Aṭṭhakathā on this sutta states that this Avantiputta was the son of the daughter of the king of Avanti.[20] There is thus a possibility that the king of Madhurā was related to the royal house of Ujjeni. Nothing is known about the descendents of this king. The Dīpavaṃsa account that 'in the past, Sādhīna and twenty-two of his descendents, the last of whom was Dhammagutta, reigned in Madhurā'[21] stands by itself and hence is not verifiable.

It is noteworthy that the Buddhist canonical texts, both Pāli and Sanskrit, are silent on the legends of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa so intimately associated by the Brahmanical epics and purāṇas with the city of Mathurā. By the time of the Aṭṭhakathās, however, these legends seem to have reached the Buddhists of Śri Lanka as can be seen from the Ghaṭajātaka. This jātaka names one Mahāsāgara as the king of Uttara Madhurā whose younger son Upasāgara comes to the kingdom of Uttarāpatha ruled by Kaṁsa. Upasāgara marries Kaṁsa's sister Devagabbhā (cf. Devakī) and they live together in the neighboring village called Govaddhamāna (cf. Govardhana). There Devagabbhā gives birth to ten sons of whom Vāsudeva and Baladeva are the two eldest. They grow up concealed in the household of a servant woman Nandagopā and her husband Andhakavenhu. Eventually, Vāsudeva and Baladeva kill

* It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider in detail these inscriptions for which the chief source is Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed. by K. L. Janert, Göttingen 1961. Briefly it may be noted that the excavation sites have not so far yielded the localities of the Naṭabhaṭavihāra nor the cave of Upagupta. Instead we learn the existence of several vihāras unknown to the canonical texts or to the Chinese pilgrims. Most important of these is the Mahārāja-Devaputra-vihāra named after the king Huviṣka. The inscriptions mention several Buddhist schools that flourished in Mathurā. The Mahāsāṅghikas appear to have the largest following; they are associated with three vihāras, namely, the Ālanakavihāra, the Cūtakavihāra, and the Kāṣṭikīyavihāra The Sammitīyas lived at Sirivihāra. The Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas are also mentioned and must have had a vihāra of their own. Several vihāras are gifts of guilds, as for example, the Prāvārikāvihāra (of cloakmakers), Suvarṇakāravihāra (of goldsmiths), and the Kāṣṭikīyavihāra (of timber merchants). Individual donors come from different strata of society. The inscriptions mention donations from a barber, a trooper, and sons of actors (known as the Candraka Brothers of Mathurā). The management of the caityas and vihāras appears to have been in the hands of a group of laymen called *saṅghaprakṛta* ('Commissioners of the Community') drawn mostly from the merchant community (*vyavahārī*). The inscriptions confirm the canonical accounts of the visits of foreigners to Mathurā; one records the gift of a pillar-base by a native of Oḍīyana and the other relates to the donation of a similar gift by a resident of Nagarahāra (Nagarakīyasya), a son of Mitravarmā. The inscriptions abound in names of monks and nuns who resided in Mathurā; but the two most famous names, viz. Śāṇakavāsa and Upagupta, are conspicuously absent. There is a solitary inscription which records a gift to a vihāra specifically associated with 'practicers of meditation' (*prahāṇika*), monks who appear to have kept the tradition of Upagupta alive.

Muṭṭhika and Cāṇūra, the two wrestlers of that city as well as the king, Kaṁsa, and rule that city. They then aspire to conquer the whole of India and after capturing Ayojjhā proceed to Dvāravatī.[22] Since Mathurā figures in this jātaka merely as the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa's father the story is of little value to us.

Turning our attention to the cultural data, it would be correct to assume that the Pāli canonical texts are our oldest available Buddhist sources and hence provide us with a description of Mathurā which is closest to the time of the Buddha and his immediate disciples. The *suttas* do not mention that the Buddha ever visited the city itself, although one passage does say that he journeyed along the highway between Madhurā and Verañjā.[23] The latter city was probably in the neighborhood of Madhurā and hence the conditions obtaining in Verañjā were probably present in Mathurā as well. A certain tree, called Naḷerunimba, figures several times in these *suttas* as a sacred spot on this highway.[24] According to the commentaries, this tree was sacred because of a yakṣa named Naḷeru. Yakṣa-worship seems to have been quite prevalent in Mathurā from ancient times and these are probably the first references to it.

Several brahmans from Mathurā and Verañjā figure in the *suttas*. The Aṅguttaranikāya[25] mentions one named Kandarāyaṇa and refers to one brahman from Verañjā (probably identical with the person mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka). All these passages are concerned with the Buddha's refusal to show the customary respect to the aged brahmans or to uphold the doctrine of their superiority in the caste hierarchy. Even Avantiputta, the king of Mathurā, thought it fit, while visiting the Elder Mahā Kaccāna, to raise questions regarding the alleged superiority of brahmans by virtue of their birth.[26] These references reflect the great agitation in the minds of the members of the upper castes caused by the Buddhist practice of opening the doors of the saṅgha even to the śūdras who were customarily barred from entry into monastic orders.

Turning now to the merchant castes, they appear to be active and affluent in and around Mathurā. The Aṅguttara passage quoted above states that a large number of householders were also on the Madhurā-Verañjā highway when the Buddha was travelling there with 500 monks.[27] The fact that as many as 500 monks stayed in Verañjā for a period of the rainy season indicates that a large mercantile community, that would have the means to support many monks, was active in that area.

The Vinayapiṭaka gives a full account of a famine in Verañjā during the Buddha's visit to that place. The text says: 'At that time Verañjā was short of alms-food, which was difficult to obtain; it was suffering from famine and people subsisted on blades of grass. Nor was it easy to keep oneself going by gleaning or by favor. At that time some horse dealers of Uttarāpatha arrived at the rain-residence of Verañjā with 500 horses. In the horse-rings they prepared *pattha*-measures after *pattha*-measures of steamed grains for the monks. The monks went into the horse-rings for food. Having brought the *pattha*-measures of steamed grain back to the park, they pounded them and ate them.'[28] We are told that the Buddha was also offered a *pattha*-measure and he accepted it. This particular *sutta* indirectly tells us a great deal about the economic conditions of Mathurā. The fact that 500 horses were brought there indicates that Mathurā was a prominent market place. Furthermore, since horses were used primarily for military purposes, Mathurā also must have been a strategically important center, being situated between the Uttarāpatha and the Madhyadeśa. The food which was served during the famine was called *pulaka* which, according to the commentaries, meant unhusked, steamed barley and rice. Barley and rice appear then to have been a staple food of the people. The *pattha* seems to have been the smallest measure of grain. It was equal to one *nāḷi* or a small bamboo piece and according to the Vinaya commentary four such pieces made one *āḷhaka*.[29]

Apart from this description of Verañjā during the famine, the Pāli suttas yield very little information about the conditions in and around Mathurā. The Buddha seems to have viewed the city with distinct disfavor. In one sutta he says: 'Monks, there are five disadvantages in Madhurā. What five? The ground is uneven; there is much dust; there are fierce dogs; bestial *yakkhas*; and alms are got with difficulty.'[30] There is no doubt that the experience of famine in Verañjā deterred the early disciples of the Buddha from frequenting Mathurā. The same sentiment is preserved in the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins' Vinayavastu as will be seen below.

The Buddha's dislike for Mathurā, however, did not completely dissuade the monks from visiting that city and spreading the faith there. We have already seen that Mahā Kaccāna came to Mathurā after the death of the Buddha and converted the king, Avantiputta, to Buddhism. The next piece of evidence for such missionary activity is to be found in the Divyāvadāna, a collection of some 38 stories which describe the noble deeds of various people. This text belongs to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school and although the extant version of the text is dated between 200 and 350 A.D.,

the compilers of it were drawing upon earlier sources which were closer to the times of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, *circa* 260 B.C. Four *avadānas* of this text, Nos. 26–29, deal with the events which allegedly took place during the lifetime of Aśoka and according to the 26th *avadāna*, the Pāṃśupradānāvadāna, which makes a specific reference to Mathurā, these events occurred 100 years after the Buddha's death. This *avadāna* prefaces the story of the emperor's conversion to Buddhism with a narrative about his teacher, *sthavira* Upagupta. We are told that the Buddha, just before attaining his death, having subdued Upalālanāga and also having instructed the potterwomen named Caṇḍālī and Gopālī, arrived in the city of Mathurā. There he called his disciple, Ānanda, and pointed out to him the nearby blue hills of Urumuṇḍa. He then prophesied that two merchant brothers from Mathurā, named Naṭa and Bhaṭa, would establish a vihāra on that hill which would be known as Naṭabhaṭavihāra, a favorite haunt of meditation-loving monks. There the Elder Śāṇakavāsi (a 100 years after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha) would ordain Upagupta.[31] The latter would become a second Buddha, as it were, and would preach the doctrine in such a way that all his mendicant disciples would attain arhatship. Following this prophecy, the *avadāna* relates the story of Upagupta, a native of Mathurā, and thus indirectly tells us something about the merchant caste of Mathurā. We learn that Upagupta was born in the family of a perfume dealer (*gandhika*—the modern equivalent of *gāndhī*—) known by the name of Gupta. The Elder Śāṇakavāsi perceived by means of his supernatural knowledge that Upagupta (the third of three brothers, Aśvagupta and Dharmagupta being his elder brothers) was the one destined to be the great preacher. Upagupta's father agrees to relinquish his youngest son to the saṅgha for ordination at the proper time (i.e. when there will be neither loss nor gain in the business). The narrative tells us that Upagupta received instructions from Śāṇakavāsi to cultivate only wholesome thoughts and to always conduct his business lawfully. His reputation for honesty reaches a rich courtesan of Mathurā, Vāsavadattā, whose charges were 500 'old' (gold?) coins (*purāṇaśata*) for one night. She falls in love with Upagupta and invites him to spend the night with her. He refuses, saying that this is not the 'right time' for him to see her. Thinking that he cannot afford the 500 'old' coins Vāsavadattā sends word that she is not interested in even a single copper coin (*kārṣāpaṇa*), and that she truly loves him. Once again Upagupta sends back the same reply. Vāsavadattā would appear then to be a courtesan cultivated enough to want lovers only for the sake of love. However, she was equally greedy and cruel. We are told that a son of a merchant was in her chambers one night. A certain member of a caravan arrives in Mathurā from Uttarāpatha that same night bringing with him enough money to buy 500 horses. He proceeds to the courtesan's chamber with the 500 'old' coins and many valuable presents as well. Vāsavadattā, greedy for the man's riches, has the merchant's son killed and thrown into a trunk and spends the night with the other man. The relatives of the merchant's son later find him, remove him from the trunk and inform the king. Vāsavadattā is punished by the cutting off of her ears and nose and the severing of her hands and feet and she is thrown onto the cremation grounds. The story then tells at length how Upagupta goes to see the courtesan, as this was the 'right time' to see her and preach the law to her. She takes refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha just before dying and she is reborn in a heaven. We are told that the devatās or fairies of the city proclaim that she has been reborn in a heaven. Upon hearing this, the people of Mathurā cremate her body and worship her remains.[32] Eventually, Upagupta is ordained as a monk and preaches the doctrine of the Buddha. His fame reaches far and wide and even the Emperor Aśoka wants to visit him in Mathurā. Perceiving that such a royal visit will cause a great deal of harassment to the people of Mathurā, Upagupta offers to visit the Emperor and proceeds by boat to Pāṭaliputra.[33]

The account of the courtesan Vāsavadattā was probably introduced by the Buddhist authors in order to illustrate the doctrine of suffering, etc. Nevertheless, it is of great value to us as it reveals Mathurā as a prosperous city boasting such courtesans and frequented by wealthy foreign merchants who were both willing and able to pay their price. The story also tells us something about the crimes and punishments known to the people of Mathurā. The fact that the guilty courtesan was not put to death for her crime suggests the existence of a criminal code which prohibited capital punishment for women. The final episode of the story provides valuable information about the religious beliefs of the people. Normally one would expect a criminal like Vāsavadattā to remain unburied in the cemetery and to be devoured by wild animals. The fact that the people performed a pūjā for her remains (*śarīra*) after learning of her conversion to Buddhism, shows the esteem in which Buddhism was held. Liberal attitudes prevailed even in the case of a criminal like Vāsavadattā who was awakened to faith at her death.

The latter part of the *avadāna* describes the career of Upagupta as a preacher of the Law. We are told that

Māra, the Evil One, was subdued by him, when the former tried to prevent his preaching at an assembly and even dared to tie a garland of flowers on the monk's head, a substance forbidden to the Buddhist ascetics. Upagupta in return created by his magic powers three dead bodies, respectively, of a snake, a dog and a man, and tied them to Māra's body. Māra, unable to shake off the dead bodies, confessed his defeat and agreed to do the bidding of Upagupta. The latter asked Māra to manifest the form of the Buddha by his supernatural powers. The story tells us that Māra entered a thick forest and having taken the guise of the Buddha, like a *naṭa* (stage actor) who has been made up properly in the green room (*naṭa iva surucirane-pathyaḥ*), came out of the forest and appeared before Upagupta. He presented the grand scene of the Lord, adorned with his circle of rays, with Śāriputra on his right side and Maudgalyāyana on his left and the venerable Ānanda behind him holding the Buddha's almsbowl.[34] This miraculous event led to the conversion of hundreds of thousands of brahmans in Mathurā, many of whom attained to arhatship. The above story of Māra may well be an invention. Nevertheless, it alludes to dramatic performances by skilled artists; the people of Mathurā seem to have been well acquainted with this art.

The story of Upagupta ends with one more interesting detail. We are told that on Urumuṇḍa hill there is a cave (18′ long and 12′ wide).[35] Upagupta is said to have instructed all those of his disciples who had attained arhatship to place a four-inch stick (*kaṭikā*) in the cave. Consequently, in one day 10,000 sticks were placed in that cave. According to another tradition, Upagupta's body was cremated with these sticks.[36] Whatever the purpose of such a practice of throwing sticks in a cave, this cave became a pilgrimage site. It was visited by Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century.

Our next canonical source, the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu, repeats the prophecy of the Buddha regarding the founding of the Naṭabhaṭavihāra and the advent of Upagupta in Mathurā. However, unlike the previous sources, the *Vinayavastu* mentions the Buddha entering the city of Mathurā proper and relates the events which followed his arrival. We read that the Buddha arrived in Mathurā while journeying in the country of the Śūrasenas. The brahmans of Mathurā, learning of his arrival, were extremely distressed. They feared that if he entered Mathurā and preached his doctrine of spiritual salvation for all *varṇas*, their social superiority would be in jeopardy.[37] They therefore contrived to have him insulted by a prominent man of Mathurā and thus prevent his entrance. They approached a brahman named Nīlabhūti, who was learned in all the Vedas and quite competent in philosophical debate, and begged him to revile the Buddha. Nīlabhūti was a man of unquestioned integrity. He therefore told the brahmans that he would neither praise nor blame the Buddha, but would express only the impartial truth. When he approached the Buddha surrounded by the brahmans, he praised him with 500 verses. The Buddha then entered the city to beg for alms.

That same day was also a holiday in honor of a certain constellation (*nakṣatra*). The goddess of Mathurā, the recipient of worship on that night, thought to herself, 'If the ascetic Gautama enters Mathurā, the festivities will certainly be hindered.' Thus, in order to turn him away, she appeared naked in his presence. The Buddha addressed the goddess as follows: 'A woman looks bad enough when poorly dressed, what to speak of without clothing!' She, very embarrassed, disappeared. The Buddha then stepped away from the path, sat down in a quiet place and proclaimed to the assembly of monks the following five defects of Mathurā: 'The ground is uneven, it is covered with stones and brickbats, it abounds in prickly shrubs, the people take solitary meals and there are too many women.'[38]

Following this incident, the Buddha decided not to enter Mathurā and instead proceeded to the abode (*bhavanaṁ*) of a yakṣa named Gardabha (lit. a donkey). He sat in the yakṣa's courtyard under a tree for the rest of the day. The brahmans and some other householders of Mathurā, upon hearing that the Buddha and his retinue had not entered the city and consequently had not eaten, brought large amounts of food to the courtyard and begged the Buddha to accept their food. The Buddha had his company of monks gather in a residence hall (*upasthānaśālā*) for the meal. When they had finished, the devout brahmans and householders entreated the Buddha as follows: 'The Lord has subdued many cruel nāgas and wicked yakṣas. This Gardabha yakṣa has for a long time undeservedly been hostile to us. He takes away our newborn children. It would indeed be a great blessing of the Lord if he would subdue this yakṣa also.' The Buddha then sent for Gardabha yakṣa and admonished him to refrain from his evil deeds. The yakṣa agreed to do so only on the condition that the people of Mathurā establish in his name a vihāra for the Buddhist saṅgha. Thus took place the conversion of Gardabha yakṣa together with his retinue of 500 minor yakṣas. The people of Mathurā built 500 vihāras in their name. The Buddha also subdued at this time two other yakṣas. Śara and Vana and one yakṣiṇī named Ālikavendā Maghā residing

outside the city. Finally, the Buddha by his magic powers entered the city and there he converted the yakṣiṇī Timisikā (with a following of 500) in whose name 500 vihāras were built. The text concludes by saying that during his sojourn in Mathurā, the Buddha subdued 2,500 yakṣas in and around the city and that the same number of vihāras were built by the devout (*śrāddha*) laymen in the name of those yakṣas.[39]

We have seen that the Pālī *suttas* mentioned only the yakṣa Naḷeru, who was associated with the neem tree. The *Divyāvadāna* passages do not refer to yakṣas at all, showing thereby that they were drawing upon an older tradition. The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda text reflects a period when the brahmans of Mathurā became increasingly hostile to the spread of Buddhism there, and also a time when the yakṣa worship increased enormously in that region. The names of the yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs mentioned probably refer to beings actually worshipped in the city at the time of the compilation of the Vinaya-vastu. We should note however that neither Fa-hsien nor Hsüan-tsang refer to these yakṣas in their accounts and also that their names are conspicuously absent from the inscriptions found in Mathurā.

The Verañjā of the Pāli scriptures is probably identical with the Vairambhā of the *Vinayavastu*. We learn from the latter that the Buddha, having left Mathurā came to Otalā and from there proceeded to Vairambhā. The king of Vairambhā was a brahman named Agnidatta. He is not a follower of the Buddha but out of courtesy invited the Buddha to spend a period of three months in his city. He ordered the ministers to prepare plenty of food but failed to mention that the food was for the benefit of the Buddha and his monks. Seeking to be the sole donor, he forbade others from offering alms to the saṅgha on the pain of death![40] On the same night the king had a dream full of ill omens and he was advised to remain in complete seclusion for three months. The king retired in haste and thus could neither command that the monks be fed nor rescind his order prohibiting offerings by his subjects. No one dared to approach the king to tell him that the monks were facing starvation. The Buddha himself asked Ānanda to contact the citizens to come forward with food offerings but there were no volunteers as they were all scared of the 'wicked' king (*kali-rājā*). The situation was saved by the arrival from the Northern country (Uttarāpatha) of a caravan leader who camped in Vairambhā with five hundred horses and enough food to feed them. He heard the misdeeds of the hated king, but thinking to himself, 'I am not a subject of this kingdom, what can the king do to me?'[41] he offered Ānanda to give the surplus from his horse food to the saṅgha. We are told that the Buddha and his monks (a total of 448 monks who showed their willingness to eat that food by picking up a śalākā or a piece of stick) then subsisted for the entire period on a measure (called *prastha*, cf. Pāli *pattha*) of *yava* (barley) each supplied every day by the caravan leader. At the end of the third month the Buddha sent word to the king that he was leaving. The king was astonished and was full of grief over his negligence and prevailed upon the Buddha to forgive him and accept his alms. We should probably not treat this story too seriously: it is very likely a recast of the Pāli *Vinaya* story of the famine in Verañjā where the saṅgha was saved from starvation by the charity of visiting merchants to that city.

Notwithstanding the hardships endured by the saṅgha due to famine, Mathurā in normal times would appear to have been an affluent and pleasant city as evidenced by the story of the courtesan Vāsavadattā in the Divyāvadāna. Several narratives in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya also depict Mathurā as being highly prosperous. Especially noteworthy is the *Cīvaravastu* section. Here we are told of the famous physician Jīvaka and his exploits as a skillful surgeon. Having completed his education in Takṣaśilā, he arrived in Mathurā on his way to Rājagṛha. There he saw a wrestler, apparently dead, having been felled by a rival. Jīvaka, we are told, placed a crystal jewel on his forehead and peered into the mangled intestines of the fallen wrestler. He then placed a certain powder in a reed pipe and blew it into the patient's mouth.[42] When the powder reached his intestines, he was cured. We should note here that wrestling appears to have been a popular sport in Mathurā; the Ghaṭajātaka referred to earlier also mentions two wrestlers, Cāṇūra and Muṭṭhika, who were killed by Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. We understand from the present story that Jīvaka earned 500 *kārṣāpaṇas* (copper coins?) from the wrestler for his surgery.

A second episode concerns the treatment of a young widow afflicted with a certain type of venereal disease. She had been the wife of a merchant and became widowed while still young. Her husband greatly attached to her, died, and was reborn as a worm (*kṛmi*) in her yoni. All men, who had intercourse with her, died, apparently bitten by that worm, and thus, no one would approach her. She heard that Jīvaka was in Mathurā and went to see him for a treatment. Jīvaka, finding her very attractive, listened to her story. He agreed to treat her only on the condition that she sleep with him. She was disconcerted but realizing that she needed to be cured, agreed and bared herself to him. Jīvaka then inserted a piece of meat into her yoni.

When the worm had attached itself to the meat, Jīvaka pulled it out and discarded it. The lady, now cured, was desirous of the physician, but he refused her, saying 'you are a sister to me. This was necessary in order to treat you'.[43] She also gave Jīvaka 500 *kārṣāpaṇas* and he left Mathurā for the banks of the Yamunā. The story speaks for itself regarding the beliefs about venereal diseases and the cures thereof. It reveals the morals of rich, young widows of respectable families, and certainly provides a unique insight into the scruples of a young physician in his relationship with his patients. The amount of 500 *kārṣāpaṇas* appears to have been the standard fee of a royal surgeon.

The Pāli and the Buddhist Sanskrit sources quoted above cannot be dated with any certainty. Exact chronology is however possible for our two remaining sources, the records of the Chinese pilgrims and the Buddhist inscriptions at Mathurā. Although these are not included in the 'Literary sources', they are nevertheless valuable for confirming the canonical accounts particularly of institutions said to have been established in Mathurā in those times.

Turning to the Chinese sources, Fa-hsien was in India around 400 A.D., as is well known. He mentions that he visited Mathurā on his way from the Punjab to Saṅkīsa. His visit there was apparently very short. We learn from his account that there were some 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks on both banks of the Yamunā river. He does not seem to have visited any of the sacred places mentioned in the canonical texts, i.e. the Naṭabhaṭavihāra and the cave of Upagupta. Fa-hsien states, however that near the vihāras, there were pagodas in honor of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyaṇa and Ānanda, and that special offerings were made to the latter by nuns. There were also pagodas in honor of the *Sūtras*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma*. Fa-hsien also mentions the Mahāyāna, whose followers, he says, made offerings to Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Prajñāparamitā.[44]

The second account is by Hsüan-tsang who visited Mathurā more than 200 years after Fa-hsien, around 630 A.D. By this time Buddhism seems to have declined in Mathurā since, according to his description, there were 20 monasteries with only about 2,000 monks of both vehicles. There were also five *deva* temples of non-Buddhist sects. In addition to confirming Fa-hsien's account of the pagodas, Hsüan-tsang says that 'there are three topes all built by Aśoka; very numerous traces left by the Four Past Buddhas...'.[45] Hsüan-tsang also probably visited the Naṭabhaṭavihāra and the cave of Upagupta: 'going east from the capital five or six *li* one comes to a "hill monastery" the chamber of which was quarried in a steepbank, a narrow defile being used to form its entrance. This monastery has been made by the venerable Upagupta and it enclosed a tope with a finger-nail relic of the Buddha. Through the north rock-wall of the monastery was a cave about 20 feet high by 30 feet wide, within which were piled up fine four-inch slips of wood (that is, tallies). When the Venerable Upagupta was preaching and converting, every married couple which attained arhatship put down a tally here, but for single members of families although they became arhats no record of the fact was kept.'[46] ... 'to the south-east of the cave (that is, the cave monastery) and 24 or 25 *li* from it was a large dried-up pond beside which was a tope...'.[47] Doubt has been cast on the veracity of Hsüan-tsang's descriptions of Mathurā. Watters is of the opinion that he did not travel to the capital but only made a hurried journey across part of the Śūrasena country. Even so, in the absence of any other eye-witness accounts of Mathurā, these two Chinese records can aid in searches for the exact locations of the Naṭabhaṭavihāra and the cave monastery associated with the name of Upagupta.

We may mention in passing that certain Chinese (and also Tibetan) sources have claimed that Aśvaghoṣa, the great poet and author of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, was the spiritual counselor of king Kaniṣka.[48] Assuming that Kaniṣka was ruling in Mathurā around the first century A.D., Aśvaghoṣa may well have lived in that city even though such residence is not mentioned in any of his extant works.

One more piece of information, derived from the Chinese sources, may be pertinent here. According to Vasumitra's treatise on the eighteen schools, translated by Hsuan-tsang, a brahman named Mahādeva, a Buddhist from Mathurā, propounded a doctrine which cast doubt on the attainment of salvation by an arhat.[49] Mahādeva maintained that an arhat may commit a sin by unconscious temptation and also that he may have doubts in matters of doctrine. It was believed that the council of Vaiśālī was at least in part convened to debate this controversy regarding the status of an arhat. Mahādeva's points certainly indicate the beginnings of the Mahāyāna doctrine (of the Saddharma puṇḍarīka-sūtra) that the path of arhat was only a stepping stone to the final goal of nirvāṇa attained by the bodhisattva path. If indeed the views attributed to Mahādeva originated in Mathurā, then the city would have to be considered as the place where the Mahāyāna doctrine of *ekayāna* came to be formulated.

NOTES

1. The Pāli texts referred to are publications of the Pali Text Society, London.
2. *Majjhimanikāya*, ii, p. 83.
3. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, i, p. 67; ii, 57, iii, p. 256.
4. *Jātaka*, iv, pp. 79 ff.
5. *Vimānavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 118 ff.
6. *Milindapañha*, p. 331.
7. *Cūlavaṁsa*, xciii, 23 ff.
8. *Dīpavaṁsa*, iii, 21.
9. *Vinayapiṭaka* (*Suttavibhaṅga*), i, p. 1.
10. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ii, p. 57; iv, p. 117.
11. P. L. Vaidya, *Divyāvadāna*, Patna 1959, pp. 216–241.
12. P. L. Vaidya, *Avadānakalpalatā*, Patna 1959, ii, pp. 447–453.
13. N. Dutt and S. Sharma, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Srinagar, iii, pt. 1.
14. Dutt and Sharma, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 2. (Srinagar 1942).
15. *Jātaka*, iv, p. 79.
16. ...Pāṭheyyakā, Koṭumbara-Mādhurakā Ālasanda-Kāsmīra-Gandhārā..., *Milindapañha*, p. 331.
17. The *Vimānavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā* and the *Cūlavaṁsa* references given above are all to the Uttara Madhurā. The former tells the story of a woman of Uttara Madhurā who gave alms to the Buddha and was reborn in heaven, while the latter text tells the story of a king called Mahāsena of Pāṭaliputra who went to Uttara Madhurā in disguise as a laborer and gave alms to monks with the wages earned there.
18. atha bhagavān Śūraseneṣu janapadeṣu cārikaṁ carann Ādirājyam anuprāptaḥ. ...asminn Ānanda pradeśe Mahāsammato rājā prathamato rājyenâbhiṣiktaḥ. abhiṣikto 'yaṁ ca rājñām ādir ato 'syâdirājya ādirājya iti saṁjñā saṁvṛttā. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 3. The Pāli tradition claims this honor for the original ancestor of the Śākyan family reigning at Kuśāvatī. See *Mahāvaṁsa*, ii, 1–15.
19. ekam samayam āyasmā Mahā Kaccāno Madhurāyāṁ viharati Gundāvane. assosi kho rājā Mādhuro Avantiputto ... 'kahaṁ pana bho Kaccāna, etarahi so bhagavā viharati ...? 'parinibbuto kho, mahārāja, etarahi so bhagavā...'. *Majjhimanikāya*, ii, p. 84–90.
20. *Majjhimanikāya-Aṭṭhakathā*, iii, p. 319.
21. *Dīpavaṁsa*, iii, 21.
22. *Jātaka*, iv, pp. 79 ff. It should be noted that Ghaṭapaṇḍita (the ninth brother), the bodhisattva of this jātaka is assigned a very minor role of consoling Vāsudeva at the loss of his son.
23. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ii, p. 57.
24. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iv, p. 198.
25. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, i, p. 67.
26. ...rājā Mādhuro Avantiputto āyasmantaṁ Mahā Kaccānam etad avoca: brāhmaṇā, bho Kaccāna, evam āhaṁsu—'brāhmaṇo va seṭṭho vaṇṇo, ...brāhmaṇā, va sujjhanti, no abrāhmaṇā,' ...idha bhavaṁ Kaccāno kim akkhāyī ti. *Majjhimanikāya*, ii, p. 84.
27. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ii, p. 57.
28. I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, London 1938, i, p. 11.
29. Horner, *Discipline*, p. 12, n. 2.
30. pañc' ime, bhikkhave, ādīnavā Madhurāyaṁ, katame pañca? visamā, bahurajā, caṇḍasunakhā, vāḷayakkhā, dullabhapiṇḍā. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ii, p. 256.
31. eṣa Ānanda U (or R) urumuṇḍo nāma parvataḥ. atra varṣaśata parinirvṛtasya Śāṇakavāsī nāma bhikṣur bhaviṣyati. so 'tra...vihāraṁ pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyati, Upaguptaṁ ca pravrājayiṣyati. Mathurāyām Ānanda Naṭo Bhaṭaś ca dvau bhrātarau śreṣṭhinau bhaviṣyataḥ. tau U (or R) urumuṇḍaparvate vihāraṁ pratiṣṭhā-payiṣyataḥ. tasya Naṭabhaṭikêti saṁjñā bhaviṣyati. etad agram me bhaviṣyati śamathānukūlānāṁ śayyāsanānāṁ yad idaṁ Naṭabhaṭikāraṇyāyatanam. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 217.
32. Devataiś ca Mathurāyām ārocitaṁ...deveṣûpapannêti. śrutvā ca Mathurāvāstavyena janakāyena Vāsavadattāyāḥ śarīre pūjā kṛtā. *Ibid*, p. 221. It may be noted that Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*, mentioned above, agrees substantially with the *Divyāvadāna* account of Vāsavadattā.
33. Whether Aśoka visited Mathurā or not must remain an open question. Our text however is emphatic in stating that the Sthavira himself visited him in Pāṭaliputra: tato rājñā sthavirôpaguptasyârthe nauyānenâgamiṣyatîti yāvac ca Mathurāṁ yāvac ca Pāṭaliputraṁ antarān nausaṅkramo 'vasthāpitaḥ. atha sthavirôpagupto rājño 'śokasyânugrahārtham aṣṭādaśabhir arhatsahasraiḥ parivṛto nāvam abhiruhya Pāṭaliputram anuprāptaḥ. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 245.
34. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 226.
35. tatra côrumuṇḍaparvate guhā aṣṭādaśahastā dairghyeṇa dvādaśahastā vistāreṇa. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 228.
36. ...caturaṅgulamātrā śalākā prakṣeptavyā...ekasmin divase daśabhir arhatsahasraiḥ śalākāḥ prakṣiptāḥ. *Divyāvadāna*. Cf. ... parinirvṛtaṁ cainaṁ tābhir evārhatkaṭukābhiḥ sametya te dhmāpayiṣyanti. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 4.
37. aśrauṣur Māthurā brāhmaṇāḥ śramaṇo Gautamo Mathurām anuprāptaḥ. so 'tyarthaṁ cāturvarṇaviśuddhiṁ rocayati...yady asau Mathurāṁ pravekṣyati asmākaṁ lābhāntarāyo bhaviṣyati. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 7.
38. pañcême bhikṣava ādīnavā Mathurāyāṁ. katame pañca? utkūlanikūlāḥ sthāṇukaṇṭakapradhānā bahupāṣāṇa-śarkarākaṭhallā uccandrabhaktāḥ pracuramātṛgrāmā iti. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 14. (See note 30 above.)
39. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 17.
40. Vairambhye ca ghaṇṭāvaghoṣaṇaṁ kāritaṁ—nânyena śramaṇo Gautamas traimāsīṁ bhojayitavyaḥ. yo bhojayati tasya vadho daṇḍa iti. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 26.

41. nâham asya rājño nivāsī. kiṁ mama rājā kariṣyati. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 1, p. 29.
42. tato Jīvakena sarvabhūtaprasādakamaṇiḥ śirasi sthāpayitvā pratyavekṣitaḥ. ...tena nāḍikāyāṁ cūrṇaṁ prakṣipya mukhe vāyunā preritaṁ. cūrṇena antrāṇi spṛṣṭāni. svasthībhūtaḥ. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 2, p. 35.
43. ...bhaginī tvaṃ mama. tavaiṣā cikitsêti mayaivaṁ kṛtam iti. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iii, pt. 2, p. 36.
44. H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, Cambridge 1923, p. 23.
45. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London 1904, i, p. 302.
46. Watters, *Travels*, p. 306.
47. Watters, *Travels*, p. 309.
48. S. Beal, *The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIX, Intro. xxx–xxxii.
49. J. Masuda, *Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Liepzig 1925. See also, P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi 1956.

25. Kālayavana, A Key to Mathurā's Cultural Self-Perception

NORVIN HEIN

Once upon a time, says the Harivaṁśa, all of Mathurā's most dreadful enemies fell upon that pleasant city and laid siege to her together.[1] From the east came Jarāsandha king of Magadha with his auxiliaries the uncouth Kirātas and other barbarian peoples of his region. Jarāsandha hoped to bring back additional royal captives for his prisons, so that he might sacrifice a full one hundred kings like animals in an atrocious religious rite. From the opposite direction, at the same time, came the rapacious hordes of Kālayavana the 'Black Greek.' His allies were the Śakas, Tuṣāras, Daradas, Pahlavas and all the terrible *dasyus* of the snowy mountains. They swarmed over the plains like grasshoppers. They darkened the sun with their dust. The flowing excrement of their innumerable mounts ran together to form a stinking stream that was named the Horsemanure River.

Kālayavana was of wholly Indian parentage, but he had been born in the harem of a Yavana king. That king had had no son of his own; but with the cooperation of the sage Gargya the king's wife, an apsaras, had given birth to Kālayavana. The old Yavana king was not displeased with this event; in fact he had deliberately sent his wife into the countryside to meet that sage because he had heard that Śiva had promised him that he would father a son who would be a mighty conqueror. The child was raised at court as a Yavana. When he became king he vented a bellicose Yavana disposition as foretold. Looking for lands to conquer, his eye fell upon fair Mathurā. Thus it was that he too arrived before that city. Lusting for personal combat with Mathurā's chief, Kālayavana ran after Kṛṣṇa on the battlefield. When Kṛṣṇa took refuge in a cave, Kālayavana plunged into the cave also in hot pursuit. Lying asleep in the cavern was the royal sage Mucukunda. Ages before, Mucukunda had lain down there with a divine promise that any who molested his repose would be destroyed. Coming upon the sleeping form of the holy *ṛṣi* the surly Yavana kicked him. Mucukunda rose up in wrath. Using his special power, in a single glance of his fiery eye he burned Kālayavana to ashes. Thus goes this famous story as told in the authentic text of the Harivaṁśa, which has been dated by the editor of the critical edition at about 300 A.D., just before the Gupta time.[2]

This story cannot be a chronicle of any historical attack upon Mathurā. Mathurā's known relations with Yavanas and with rulers of Magadha do involve at least one conquest of Mathurā by each, but any league between Jarāsandha and a Yavana ruler is as impossible as a joint attack on Rome by Hannibal and the Huns. The purāṇas themselves assign Jarāsandha to the very beginning of dynastic history in Magadha, and place the Yavana kings, correctly, after the age of the Nandas and Mauryas.[3] The original story of Jarāsandha's attack, when first told in the Mahābhārata, involved no cooperating Yavana.[4] The feature of a coalition against Mathurā is a fictional complication introduced by the author of the Harivaṁśa. The mind of a bard appears to have been the ultimate source, also, for the designation 'Kālayavana' itself. Unknown in any independent record of royal names, 'the Black Greek' seems more likely to be an epithet than a proper name. One might say that Kālayavana is a myth. Mythologists, however, have seen as little meaning in Kālayavana as have historians. In this paper the study of myth and history

will be brought together in an effort to deepen historical understanding of the nature of the great issues in the public life of Mathurā and of India in the third century A.D.

The author of the Harivaṁśa is a man of Mathurā in the deepest sense. We dare say that, even though we do not know his name, and do not know that he was born in Mathurā or even resided there. His verse reveals him as a lover of the city and its traditions. In his opening lines he says he is continuing the narrative of the Mahābhārata in order to tell the neglected story of the Vṛṣṇis and of the family of Hari. He devotes many of his chapters (*adhyāyas* 47 to 75) to describing the deeds—never narrated in literature before—that Kṛṣṇa had performed in Mathurā neighborhoods. His mind is full of the special lore of the region and to swell the number of those who hold it in affection is his calling as a poet. He initiates the process whereby Mathurā will gain, in time, the aura of a holy land. The beginning of a sense of sanctity is already perceptible in his description of the beauty of Vṛndāban (*adhyāya* 53 f.) and of the charm of the countryside near Govardhana (49: 15–30). He is the author of the famous panegyric (85: 2 f.) that praises Mathurā as

> 'The crown of Madhyadeśa, Lakṣmī's sole abode,
> Earth's evident perfection, rich in money and grain,
> Full of noble wealthy folk—a town of highest excellence!'

The author of the Harivaṁśa is an adopted son, at least, of Mathurā, and he reflects the outlook of that city in his picturing of its struggles with surrounding powers.

Our perception of the meaning of Kālayavana began with the discovery that, in a small detail, the author of the Harivaṁśa was not making up his picture entirely out of the stuff of fairy tales. When in 25: 11b he gives us a glimpse of the royal stables of King Kālayavana he remarks on the great horses there to be seen, *vṛṣa-purvārdhakāyās tam avahan vājino raṇe*, 'stallions whose bodies had the fronts of bulls bore him in battle.' We have a clue here that in his picture of the establishment of Kālayavana the author had ethnic realities in mind, for in the Mahābhārata the excellence of the horses and the horsemanship of the Yavanas is the most mentioned of their characteristics. In 8: 64.16c the Yavanas appear in battle as *sādinaḥ*, warriors who are mounted. In 2: 47.12 f. Bhagadatta comes with Yavanas to the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira bringing a tribute of 'speedy horses of good breed, swift as the wind.' In 7: 95.43 a Yavana detachment gallops by in a swift getaway and the bard mentions that the riders are mailed men, *damśitāḥ*. 7: 95.35 mentions the Yavanas' fine armor of damascened steel and brass. (Neither the chargers nor the armor were products of Greece. Their use had been learned in the Iranian highlands and in India.[5]) The heavy weapons and armor of the Indo-Greek cavalry could be carried in battle only by horses of exceptional size and strength. The representations of the muscular horses of the Yavanas can be seen on the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. On the obverse of all the many issues of the coins of Eukratides, for instance, two such massive horses carry their riders in furious onslaught with long lances at the level.[6] The cavalry charge was a spectacular military actuality of the Yavanas. The Harivaṁśa in its picture of Kālayavana is drawing upon the general Indian reputation of Yavanas. It draws upon Indian opinion also in this Yavana's readiness to kick a holy *ṛṣi*, in his descent from a woman of easy virtue, and his indecent eagerness for war (*yuddhābhikāmo*, 85: 16a). For the Mahābhārata classes Yavanas with 'the frightful mlecchа races' (6: 10.64a), 'skillful smiters' (7: 95.12b) who are all too passionately fond of fight (*yuddhaśauṇḍa*, 8: 31.14). Associated with the effluvium of horse manure, Kālayavana is an ethnic caricature. A representative of the Yavana type, we argue that he has been created to express Mathurā's deep apprehension about a Yavana power in the public life of the time.

This hypothesis that Kālayavana personifies a Yavana threat to Mathurā that was current at the time of the writing of the Harivaṁśa appears to be ruled out immediately by the fact that, by 300 A.D., the history of the Greeks in Indian politics had surely run its course. Even in the first century B.C. the Śakas had wiped out the last remnant of Greek rule. India's last witnesses to the separate existence of Indo-Greek social groups of any kind had been the final narrators of the Mahābhārata, writing about the second century A.D. and mentioning Yavana military detachments that serve obscurely under the Kauravas. Those poets of the late epic mention no leaders who are Greeks, nor do they remember their royal past, nor their entrance into the country. Judging by the deteriorating quality of Greek inscriptions on Indian coins, it seems that knowledge of Greek as a living language had come to an end in the time of Kaniṣka. After the reign of Huviṣka we hear of no persons having Greek proper names.[7] A certain Palamedes named in an inscription at Surkh Kotal appears to be the last of his kind.[8] If in 300 A.D. families still existed—despite our ignorance of them—who claimed a Greek identity, the identity was nominal. They had no living contact with Greece or its culture; they had little share in the Greek heritage that exceeded that of their neighbors, and no place as a separate

faction in politics. Kālayavana cannot have represented a third-century threat posed by Indo-Greeks, because they had become at best a faded presence and a political factor beneath all notice or concern. If we look carefully into what we know about the situation of Mathurā in the late third century, however, we can descry on Mathurā's horizon a worrisome force for which 'Kālayavana' could be the name.

In the early decades of the third century A.D. the satraps of the Kuṣāṇas had surrendered Mathurā to the control of a regional dynasty. 'Seven Nāgas shall enjoy the fair city of Mathurā,' says the Vāyu Purāṇa.[9] Under the rule of its own kings the fame of the city was high, its artists and its traders prospered. Partisans of the regime must have existed in at least the usual number, and a defensiveness can be assumed regarding the preservation of the city's autonomy. In using Mathurā's concern for its own integrity in our effort to interpret the Kālayavana myth it is easier, however, to begin with a scrutiny of Kālayavana's partner in mischief, Jarāsandha of Magadha. Jarāsandha is presented as the first of the dynasts of Magadha, and as primal king of Magadha he is the archetype of all remembered tyrants from the uncultured east. Nanda and Maurya and Muruṇḍa imperial overlords were remembered as rude and impure rulers, hostile to brahmans and to kṣatriyas.[10] *Prācyā dāsā*, 'The easterners are non-Aryan,' says Mahābhārata 8: 30.73 after praising the Matsyas and the Śūrasenas. In the late third century A.D. Mathurā observers were watching the westward advance of another eastern dynasty of dubious brahmanical credentials, in the expansion of the early Gupta monarchs from Pāṭaliputra and Prayāga. Mathurā had known the rule of Magadha in the past and was not reassured by its memories. With no foreknowledge that great rulers of the line would become *paramabhāgavatas* and promoters of Mathurā's own faith, the author of the Harivaṁśa expresses in the figure of Jarāsandha Mathurā's abhorrence of control by an eastern power that was presumed to be heterodox and hostile toward the brahmanical order.

When the dominant classes of Mathurā looked toward the west and north, it was an even more alien array of powers that they beheld at the end of the third century. First there was a cordon of new buffer states, and beyond, the remaining lands of the once-mighty Kuṣāṇas. After almost five hundred years of rule by Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, the dominion of dynasties of foreign origin was reduced and in fragments. But many of the successor states of the Kuṣāṇa Empire were controlled by houses of the same general cultural orientation. Directly west of Mathurā lay the realm of the Mālavas, a warrior people of unusual republican institutions whose kings are described in old purāṇas as very unrighteous śūdras.[11] To Mathurā's southwest lay a great and firm bastion of remaining Scythian power, the kingdom of the Western Satraps. They had survived the retreat of their Kuṣāṇa overlords and were ruling prosperously over Mālwa and all the coastal lands from northern Mahārāṣṭra to Sindh. The divided remnants of the imperial Kuṣāṇa tradition remained, in their collectivity, an impressive power still.

This examination of Mathurā's northwestern neighbors reveals none who were Yavanas in the sense that they were surviving Indo-Greeks. But before we conclude that Kālayavana cannot refer to any power on Mathurā's western horizon, we must study the ethnic and cultural melting-pot that had been simmering for centuries in India's northwestern quarter, and we must note the changing meaning of the term 'Yavana'. Throughout the whole region a syncretic culture prevailed in which the Indo-Greeks had originally set the tone. Those who know only the intense self-consciousness of the Greeks of the Mediterranean world can easily assume that the Greeks of Middle Asia practiced a cultural exclusiveness that is not true to their actual attitudes. The Hellenism of the Indo-Greeks was an eastern version that had received special tendencies from the tradition of Alexander the Great, who dreamed of a world culture, promoted international marriage, and took Iranian nobles into his administration. We have noticed the Central Asian fighting methods adopted by Indo-Greeks who had absorbed the military technology of the lands through which they passed. They preserved the satrapal structure that was established in the administration of the Persian Empire, and continued other features of Achaemenian rule. The Greeks of Bactria developed a close cooperation with the old Iranian-speaking population of the land, and when they moved into the Afghan highlands they absorbed old communities of Greek exiles that had been living there for centuries in tolerant communication with settlers of quite different ethnic origin. In India, Greek rulers made immediate use of Indian vernaculars, and they moved freely into Indian religious groups. When Śakas and Tocharians overwhelmed their kingdoms they came to terms with their conquerors quickly. An early positive relationship between Indo-Greeks and the new rulers is evidenced in the fact that the Kuṣāṇas proceeded to reduce their Śaka language to writing in the Greek alphabet, surely with the help of Greeks. The seniority of the Greeks in literacy and in skillful administration of agricultural lands made

them valuable recruits to the armies and to the bureaucracies of the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa monarchs. Many of the political methods that the Greeks had developed in earlier amalgamations were continued under Scythian rulers who preserved the old provincial divisions and provincial names and who ruled through governors called satraps and meridarchs. The Seleucid calendar continued in official use. Military commanders continued to bear the title *strategos*. Through such continuing accommodations the composite culture of the Kuṣāṇa Empire was produced.

The diversity of that culture and the place of its Greek component can be seen in a nutshell in a coin of the Śaka ruler Azes.[12] The Prākrit inscription on the reverse reads *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*, '(Coin) of Indravarma's son Aspavarma the victorious general.' The issuer's name Aspavarma (or rather Aśpavarma) is Gāndhārian,[13] his title *stratega* is the Greek *strategos*, his father's name Indravarma is Indian. The ruler whom he acknowledges as his overlord is Azes the Scythian, who is called on the obverse, in Greek, *basileus basileon megaloy Azoy*! These Greek words used in the position of honor manifest a characteristic Śaka respect for Greek civic emblems, and illustrate how these Scythian rulers of India wished to be seen as sustainers of Greek traditions. In the revealing matter of coins, in which governments project the ideal identities of their preference, the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rulers accepted proudly their continuity with the Indo-Greeks who had laid the foundations of their hybrid administration.

The limited Greek identity that these northwestern states acknowledged, Indian eyes of course perceived. To the casual Indian observer these rulers who had absorbed Greek ethnic remnants and had preserved Greek practices and who used the Greek alphabet and Greek-style coins were a kind of Greek. The aggregation of outlandish northwestern fighting peoples were a single continuing military class in a certain brahmanical comprehension that established 'Yavana' as a comprehensive term applicable to all the lightly hellenized peoples of the northwest.[14]

The broadening of the meaning of the word Yavana or Yona was a gradual development. In the third century B.C. Aśoka in his inscriptions used the terms *Yona* and *Yonarāja* out of a background of recent contacts with Greeks of Mediterranean type and with precise knowledge of the Greek language and of the Greek homelands and their rulers. In the next century, when the Yavana presence in the east had become that of the Bactrian Greeks, the Yavana identity began to be perceived less sharply, as the people designated by the term married and mingled with a swirl of other peoples of the northwest frontier. Throughout the epics—in Mahābhārata 7: 6.5, 7: 9.7, 8: 31.15, 9: 2.18 and 13: 33.19 for example—the Yavanas are mentioned in stereotyped lists of peoples of the Indian borderlands whose individualities are little marked and of little concern. To illustrate we may note Harivaṁśa 10: 38, which tells of how Sagara annihilated the troublesome Hehayas and then turned northwest to deal similarly with all the other disorderly peoples, 'the Śakas along with the Yavanas the Kāmbojas the Pāradas and also the Pahlavas,' *tataḥ śakān sayavanān kāmbojān pāradāṅs tathā, pahlavāṅś cai'va*. The copulative compound *śakayavana*, found already in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* 2.4.10, shows that a conglomerating of Scythian and Greek identities was developing quite early; and in a Rāmāyaṇa description of a military group as consisting of Śakas mixed with Yavanas, *Śakān Yavanamiśritān*, we perceive how these peoples' collaboration in social action was making the difference between the two a matter of small importance to Indian observers.[15]

It was only a small further development to apply the name Yavana or Yona to all the outlandish peoples of the northwest, a part for the whole. Perception of all these folk as somehow Yonas seems to occur first in several Mahābhārata passages that play upon a fancied origin of many of these borderers from the *yoni* or womb of a certain cow. Mahābhārata 7: 87.36 f. calls *goyonayas* a whole array of fighting peoples coming from the mountain fastnesses of the north, and 7: 68.41 f. names half a dozen barbarian tribes as *goyoni-prabhava*, 'sprung from the cow's *yoni*.' The background is an old tale, necessarily in a vernacular using the term Yona rather than Yavana, that relates how Vasiṣṭha's wish-giving cow protected herself from abduction by the greedy Viśvāmitra by emitting hosts of barbarous warriors from various parts of her body. From her tail (*puccha*) came the Pahlavas. The distinction of arising from her dung (*śakṛt*) fell to the Śakas. Other hordes came from whatever part of the bovine body the alliterative possibilities of their names allowed. And the Yonas came from her *yoni*. By either alliterative or grammatical logic what could a *yoni* have contained but a Yona? Because the pun on *yoni* does not work in Sanskrit when the people involved must be called Yavanas, Mahābhārata 1: 65.35 ff. gives a stumbling version of the tale that derives the Yavanas from the cow's urine, *mūtra*. A number of variant readings continue to derive the Yavanas from the cow's *yoni*, however, in an effort to preserve the original humorous story's logic in which only a Yona can credibly spring

from a *yoni*. The Yonas are the central people, indispensable to this story, and when in Mahābhārata 7: 68.41 f. the bard includes Śakas, Daradas, Puṇḍras, Pāradas, Sunikas and others among the peoples who are *goyoniprabhava*, he reveals that he thinks of all of them as somehow Yonas or Yavanas.

A clear use of the word 'Yavana' to designate all the barbarians of the western borderlands is found at last in an old geographical saying that occurs with unimportant variations in several early purāṇas. The version of Viṣṇu Purāṇa 2: 3.8 has been translated thus:

> On the east of Bharata dwell the Kirātas; on the west, the Yavanas; in the centre reside Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, occupied in their respective duties of sacrifice, arms, trade, and service.[16]

The hearers of this adage knew very well that many outlandish peoples dwelt to the east of the brahmanized heartlands, and that the term 'Kirāta' referred to them all. On the western frontier too the peoples were known to be many. As we have seen, their various names were recited fulsomely when time and interest allowed. But to call them all 'Yavanas' would do.

A phase in which 'Yavana' meant any people of the Indian northwest must be affirmed, also because it is a necessary bridge in the expansion of meaning that eventually made the word refer to any of the peoples living westward from India—to Muslims in particular, and even to Europeans. At widest, even Africans were included, as may be seen in a reference to a Kālayavanadvīpa in Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* of the seventh century A.D.[17] But our earliest application of the word to people living entirely outside the bounds of India occurs in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, where he describes (4: 60–64) how Raghu with his army marched upon the Pārasīkas or Persians. In describing the dismay of the ladies of that land he calls them *Yavanīs*.[18] 'Yavana' then was in the process of becoming India's term for the western half of all foreign peoples. In the phase preceding, India applied it to the somewhat westernized quarter of her own interior world.

The Kālayana of the Harivaṁśa story is a figure for the total agglomeration of 'Yavanas' thus conceived. Kālayavana does not represent the power of the forgotten Indo-Greek imperialism of a bygone time, but the still-continuing pressure of that imperialism's partly-hellenized successors, against whom the Indian heartland was in full reaction in the third century A.D.

Though that century is one of the least illumined of all periods of Indian history, scholars have been able to perceive in it the outlines of a great resurgence of loyalty to indigenous Indian traditions. The Sanskrit language and the leadership of brahmans enjoyed a renewal of general favor and there was a selective revival of Vedic rituals.[19] It is also known that India's old ruling houses of foreign origin began to topple in the storm of this neo-Vedic enthusiasm. But there has been little discussion of what it was that this brahmanical battle-line confronted. It is an outlook, and since the outlook that the revivalists defeated lacks a name, we shall provide one out of the resources of our study of the tale of Kālayavana. It can be called Yavanism. The struggle between brahmanism and Yavanism in the third century was one of the decisive contests in Indian history, determining the nature of Indian culture for well over a millenium.

We have the entire ocean of classical Sanskrit literature as a massive source of information on what was championed by the brahmanical side in that titanic struggle. But proper understanding of the great issues of the century requires some knowledge of the character of brahmanism's rival also. What was the content of the culture that Kālayavana symbolizes, and how did its ideals threaten Mathurā? The recovery of positive information about this Yavanism is difficult because these 'Yavanas' share the silence of history's losers. Their literature has not survived. What we do have is Sanskrit literature's casual observations of Yavanas and its anti-Yavana polemic. Though these materials are slight and seldom positive, a sifting of them enables us to perceive certain aspects of Yavana life and thought that were a basis for opposition and friction in the century under study.

Because it was the Indian warrior class that had most intimate exposure to Yavanas, the Indian epics provide rather full information on Yavana deportment on the battlefield. To give attention now to Indian comment on Yavana arms and tactics does not serve our interests. It is more important to notice that the Yavana warrior was not only admired, but regarded with aversion. Though they are skilled and fearless, Yavanas do not fight by the rules of gentlemen. 'Terrible and of cruel deeds, *ugrāś ca krūrakarmāṇas*, are the Tocharians and Yavanas and Khaśas,' says Mahābhārata 8: 51.18a. There is a difference in the very principles of their battlefield behavior. They do not obey the ancient Indian code of chivalry.[20]

When the characteristics of Yavana political administration are remarked on in the Sanskrit literature of this period, Hindu criticism points again to a root-difference in the norms that govern Yavana action. The old purāṇic texts collated by Pargiter describe prophetically the nature of the rule of the Yavana kings

who will reign in the Kali Age when the fate of the world is at its worst:

> There will be in this world unconsecrated kings,
> Yavañas in their social rules and purposes and policies.
> These kings will practice evil in accord with the wickedness of the age,
> Killing women and children and also each other...
> Utterly wanting in regard to *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*.[21]

Here again there is mention of the harshness of the Yavanas in war, but the most serious charge is that they follow their own deficient *dharma* and that wickedness is involved in all their norms of behavior. The fundamental source of their barbarity is their lack of proper brahmanical consecration to kingship. Their kings rule therefore without sanctification, without guidance and without restraint. By rejecting the rites and the counsel of brahmans, the Yavana rulers separate themselves from the very source of culture. Where such untutored kings rule, indiscipline prevails among their subjects also. The life of rulers and subjects in such dark kingdoms is pictured in Mahābhārata 3: 186.29 ff.:

> There will be wicked overlords punishing wrongly, lying deliberately—
> Āndhrās, Śakas, Pulindas and Yavanas,
> Kāmbojas, Aurnikas, Śūdras and Abhīras, O Excellency.
> None will make a living then by the proper work of a brahman;
> Even kṣatriyas and vaiśyas will be in unlawful occupations.[22]

We conclude that the rising tradition of the dharma-śāstras was being ignored in these barbarian kingdoms, and that the four-*varṇa* stratification of society that prevailed in the midlands was not being enforced.

In religion, the Yavanas are not accused of importing or imposing foreign faiths. Available information suggests that many were Buddhists; but Śiva is prominent on Kuṣāṇa coins, and Śiva was the favorite deity of the Western Satraps if one may judge by the prominence of Śiva in their royal names.[23] Kālayavana's father Gargya is represented as a worshipper of Śiva in Harivaṁśa 85: 11 f. Śiva is a deity whose connection with the Vedic cult and with brahmanical orthodoxy was late in its establishment, and for a long time tenuous. Yet even the Kuṣāṇa monarchs made major donations for the benefit of brahmans.[24] Giving their adherence to various popular Indian religious cults these northwestern peoples presented no homogeneity in religious outlook. They shared a religious attitude that entailed bad relations with the social leaders of the Middle Country, however. There is ample evidence that their esteem for brahmans was not high, and that their estimate of the importance of brahmans was far lower than the brahmans' own perception of their proper place in the leadership of society. A deep brahman resentment is exposed in Mahābhārata 13: 33.19, which lectures kings that they must cherish brahmans if they aspire to political success, and holds up as a warning the heedless Yavanas and their associates: 'The Śakas, Yavana-Kāmbojas and various kṣatriya groups came to the state of śūdras (*vṛṣalatvam*) by disregarding brahmans (*brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt*).' Harivaṁśa 10: 38–45 says that the Yavanas, in punishment for certain offenses, were forbidden to study the Vedas or to participate in sacrificial rites (*niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ*). From this statement we may infer that Yavanas did not in fact perform Vedic sacrifices. The supposition is supported by the fact that, in an age when down-country kings were performing such rites frequently and recording their faithfulness with much pride, no known record of any Yavana prince makes any such claim. The Yavana infidelity was resented. Mahābhārata 12: 65.13 ff. asks Aryan kings to use compulsion on Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras and others who live in their domains and yet neglect brahmanical religious practices. They must be made to be pure and non-voilent and charitable and to be respectful toward kings, parents, gurus, *ācāryas* and similar authority-figures, and they must be made to perform the Vedic observances (*vedadharmakriya*'s) and the sacrifices to the Manes, and to give fees to brahmans.

Thus, brahmanical literature sets itself against a Yavanism that it perceives in almost entirely negative terms, as hostile toward brahmans and brahmanism and non-conformist in relation to the rising neo-Vedic orthodoxy and in social and political behavior. The positive ideals that the Yavanas may have held are not recorded. It was not in accord with ancient India's view of culture to look for great rival intellectual propositions in the opponents of brahmanical civilization. The ancient Indian world-view did not envision a plurality of great civilizations that occasionally collide and exert pressure on each other. The pattern of the social universe was conceived as consisting of a single central civilization surrounded by wild borderers representing non-culture rather than rival culture. The Cīnas of the northeast were understood to be not-yet-brahmanized forest tribes, and the Yavanas, their counterparts in the northwest, were seen as another satellite people of low development. After the time of Aśoka, at least, popular knowledge knew of no Yavana homeland beyond the western mountains, and Mahābhārata 1: 80.26 f. provided the Yavanas with a thoroughly Indian genealogy in tracing their descent

from Turvasu, the son of Yayāti and brother of Yadu the ancestor of the Yādavas. We have noticed the myth according to which the Yavanas made their first appearance from the womb of the sage Vasiṣṭha's marvellous cow. The accounts agree only in omitting any notion of an extra-Indian origin. Their foreign origin had seldom been noted and was soon forgotten, and in the third century A.D. there was probably little in the appearance of those called Yavanas to require the ascription to them of an extraordinary origin. Those of their ancestors who had been immigrants had entered India centuries before, and they had married persons of the country and adopted Indian languages and religions, and they had not been able to draw continuous sustenance from cultural centers elsewhere in the world, as did the Muslims and the British. To perceive the struggle with Yavanism on the model of modern India's struggle for indepedence from foreign rule has its truth, but the conception is not that of ancient India itself. To the leaders of ancient India the tension with the Yavanas was another internal struggle—the familiar effort to subject and civilize irreverent and disruptive and lawless *dasyus* about whose ideas other than rapine there is little need to enquire.

The observation recorded above (see Note 21) that some kings were Yavanas in regard to *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha* suggests that Yavanism upheld distinctive principles of its own that were not primitive. And indeed a political tradition that was able to survive for four centuries in a minority position in a populated country must be supposed to have possessed championable ideals that were attractive to some. The best-supported surmise about the ideational essence of Yavanism draws upon the Indo-Greek numismatic tradition that continued strongly in the northwest throughout these centuries. The most conspicuous conceptual feature of these Greek and Scythian and Kuṣāṇa and satrapal coins is their celebration and justification of personal rulership. On the honorific obverse side, these coins display the idealized portrait of the issuing king, along with the high titles that he claimed. Such stress on the individual person of the ruler was unknown in earlier Indian numismatics. Yavana coins, on the other hand, often suggest the issuer's superhuman nature. The inscriptions on some include titles that ascribe to the king a divine status or function.[25] The coins of Kadphises II show that Kuṣāṇa monarch seated on the clouds or emerging from the clouds with flames radiating from his shoulders—a celestial being.[26] Even on ordinary coins the king, whether divine or not, is glorified in an imperious portraiture that rather clearly imputes to him autonomous authority and right to control. It is not easy for modern persons to understand the political viability of such an authoritarian posture until we remember that absolute monarchy, which has often involved simple suppression, has in other ages been a popular weapon for the destruction of an entrenched nobility or a hated system. We must consider what the major alternatives in political theory are likely to have been in India in the first centuries of the Christian Era. The dividing issue was the question of a monarch's freedom or lack of freedom to regulate society without reference to the dharmaśāstras and their official brahman interpreters. Those who disliked the social requirements of the sacred dharmaśāstras had no plausible ground for proposing in India that the voice of the people was the voice of God, but the authority of a divine priesthood could be resisted through the authority of a sublime king.

The defects of unlimited monarchy have been obvious in all ages, and they must have been manifest in the Yavana practice of government. In the third century A.D. this style of kingship had run a long course and created its own enemies, and much of India was reaching out for the regularity and security of life that was offered by the justice of the dharmaśāstras. However, even while India as a whole was making its decisive turn to brahmanical regimes, Yavanism continued to hold partisans to itself who were powerful enough to make the issues of the century matters of deep feeling and sharp political contest. Whether or not we have been successful in identifying the values that attached some to the Yavana tradition, it is demonstrable that many were thus attached.

The enduring respect of certain circles for the Greek political tradition is evidenced in the long voluntary use of Indo-Greek coin types in northern and western India and of inscriptions in the Greek language or alphabet. This symbolic identification with the tradition of Indo-Greek statecraft was not finally eradicated until Candragupta Vikramāditya wiped out the last of the Kuṣāṇa successor states in about 400 A.D. This long conformity to Indo-Greek numismatic models must have expressed something of the respect that is shown even today for the Roman political tradition by the persistent use in western coins of Latin phrases and Roman portraiture and civic emblems. A positive attitude toward Yavana statecraft can be seen also in the picture of an Indo-Greek ruler that was being propagated in this age in the *Milindapañha*, a Buddhist work of about the first century A.D. In its first chapter the famous King Milinda (Menander) is romantically described as a wise and cultured king ruling tolerantly and prosperously over a well-ordered domain.[27] One

can ask how seriously the author intends to offer a general political evaluation, but it is clear that he does not view Yavana kingship as inherently evil in type. The *Milindapañha*'s idealizing attitude toward Menander's rule suggests that Yavana policy had the favor and support of many Buddhists.

Pro-Yavana feeling on the part of the Great Satrap Rudradāman reveals itself in a phrase that he used in one of his inscriptions found near Junagarh in Kāthiāvār. The inscription, of 150 or 151 A.D., celebrates the reconstruction of a dam. Rudradāman says that the dam had been built orginally by Candragupta Maurya, and that the hydraulic masonry had been improved in Aśoka's time by Aśoka's provincial governor. He names that governor as the *yavanarājā* Tuṣāspha and says that the *yavanarājā* completed the project by the addition of conduits 'constructed in a manner worthy of a king,' *rājānurūpakṛta*.[28] Now, what kind of Yavana a man named Tuṣāspha may have been is not entirely clear, but Rudradāman's admiration for this Yavana's work cannot be doubted. He sees the *yavanarājā* as a model of unstinting excellence in the execution of projects of royal construction. The Great Satrap wishes to be seen as belonging himself, as builder, to that imposing tradition of rulers who did things in a first-class manner.

Partisanship toward Yavanas in Western India is demonstrated again in Western Indian manuscripts of a part of the *Gargī Saṁhita* called the *Yugapurāṇa*. P. V. Kane considers the *Yugapurāṇa* to be a work of the first century B.C.[29] Its *variae lectiones* breathe a factional spirit characteristic of the age of controversy that preceded the Gupta settlement of the Yavana problem. Judging by the author's eastern geographical interests and his hostility toward *bhikṣus* and *śūdras*, one concludes that he was a brahman of Magadha. In the prophetic style of the purāṇas, he chronicles the pernicious events that will occur in the evil Kali Age. They will include an eastward incursion by Yavanas who will capture even Pāṭaliputra. Professor D. C. Sircar has produced and translated what can be called the eastern version of the story, resting his editorial work upon the agreement of two manuscripts of eastern provenance belonging to the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Government Sanskrit College, Vārāṇasī:

> The viciously-valiant Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhvajam.
> *Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam....*
> Prospering under the protection of Dhamamīta (Demetrius), the Yavanas will eat up (i.e. oppress) the people unafraid.
> *Dhamamīta-tayā vṛddhā janaṁ bhokṣa(kṣya)nti nirbhayāḥ.*
> (And) will burn (alive) five rulers at Nagara (i.e. Pataliputra).
> *Yavanā(ḥ) kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare pañca pārthivā(n).*[39]

This text from eastern India should be laid alongside another text published from West Indian manuscripts by D. R. Mankad in 1951.[31] Professor Mankad had found a new manuscript of the *Yugapurāṇa* at Jodiyā in Surāṣṭra and made use of various fragmentary manuscripts and a complete text from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris that had long been known. Depending heavily on the Surāṣṭra manuscript, Mankad produced a western version of the text in which we can easily see that there was once a regional tug-of-war over the criminatory terms in the passage just quoted. The *duṣṭavikrāntāḥ* of Sircar's first line and of the Calcutta and Benares manuscripts expresses the usual brahmanical view of the Yavanas as atrocious in war. *Duṣṭavikrāntāḥ* was probably the original reading. But the Surāṣṭra manuscript followed by Mankad in line 95 has made it *suvikrāntāḥ*—the *very* valorous Yavanas took the City of the Flower-standard! The Paris manuscript's *puṣṭavikrāntāḥ* has the same flattering import. Our perception of the slant of the western copyists continues to clear as we perceive what they have done with the second half of the second line *janaṁ bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ*, 'they (the Yavanas) will eat up the people unafraid.' Mankad reads in his line 111, on the basis of *mokṣanti* and *bhoṣyeti* of his Surāṣṭra and his Paris manuscripts apparently, *janam mo(kṣy)anti nirbhayāḥ*, 'fearless, they will liberate the people.' Mankad and Sircar continue to give different versions of our final line, where Sircar reads that in Pāṭaliputra the Yavanas 'will burn alive five rulers,' *kṣāpayiṣyanti*, and Mankad reads *jñāpayiṣyanti*—that the Yavanas will *proclaim* five as rulers.

To decide which group of scribes preserved the original meaning is not our problem. Each version expresses its own genuine regional sentiment in language that is as deliberate as it is vehement. Not even the most torpid copyist could by mistake change *bhokṣyanti* into *mokṣyanti*, changing Yavanas from cannibals into liberators or vice versa, and not be jarred awake, and no copyist who is awake would make such a change save in dead earnest. So long as 'Yavanas' were a political and military reality in ancient India, India was of divided mind about them, and each camp survived on the strength of the passion of its own adherents.

The Yavana identity outran the limits of any biological strain in the Indian population. We have mentioned the lack of evidence for the descendents of

the Indo-Greeks being visually distinguishable from the mass of the northwestern population by the time of the third century A.D. Though the name 'Kālayavana' suggests that the name-maker knew of Yavanas who were not black, it shows also that the term 'Yavana' had no necessary racial limitation. In Buddhist donatory inscriptions of Western India half a dozen persons of Indian name, and often of mentioned local residence, describe themselves as Yavanas—a certain Idrāgnidata (Indrāgnidatta) at Nasik,[32] 'the Yavana Caṃda' at Junnar,[33] at Karle the Yavanas Sihadhaya, Dhamadhaya, Culayakka and Yasavadhana,[34] and also the mysterious person from Dhenukākatā who refers to himself only as Dhenukākatā Dhammayavana.[35] These were surely the names of persons born in India who were Yavanas in some non-racial meaning of the term. If further evidence is needed of the existence of such an Indian group, it is available in the case of the Kilakila Yavanas who are mentioned in Matsya Purāṇa 273: 24 f. and in its parallel passage in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The kings of the Kilakila line ruled in a region along the River Narmadā, apparently, in an interlude between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta times. The author of the purāṇic passage is well aware of the Indo-Greek dynasties of the Yavanas proper because he mentions them in their correct chronological place. In true sequence he tells next of the rule of the Tuṣāra or Kuṣāṇa monarchs. Then he goes on to mention the Kilakilas, who are kings that are Yavanas in a demonstrably non-racial sense:

> These having been removed by time,
> there will then be Kilakila kings.
> They will be Yavanas in this world
> in their social rules their purposes and their policies
> (*dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ*).[36]

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the 'Kailakila Yavanas' in the same terms. It adds the names of the rulers and they are not Greek: Vindhyaśakti, Puranjaya, Rāmacandra, Dharma, Varānga, Kṛtānanda, Śasinandi, Nandiyaśas, Sisuka and Pravīra. That the dynasty may have been Śaiva in religion is suggested by the name of their capital city Kilakila, which is one of the thousand names of Śiva.[37] This ruling family is discernibly Indian in language and in family life. The author does not consider them to have been made Yavanas by birth, but by their own choices and activities. Their *dharma*, their purposes and their policies identify these kings as Yavanas. They have made themselves Yavanas by the nature of their rule.

It is all such cultural turncoats that the author of the Harivaṃśa lampoons in the caricature that he calls Kālayavana.

The legend of Kālayavana places the camp of the defenders at Mathurā, and it is at Mathurā that this personification of faithlessness meets his doom. Its picture of Mathurā as the stronghold of the way of the Vedic *ṛṣis* shocks those who may have thought of Mathurā—to the extent that it was Hindu at all—as the center of a heterodox Kṛṣṇa cult. The early tensions between Kṛṣṇaism and the Vedic tradition are well known. The Harivaṃśa itself (in *adhyāya* 60 f.) relates struggles between the Kṛṣṇa-devotees and the Vedic Indra, and all are aware of the accusations the heterodoxy leveled in medieval times against Bhāgavatas and particularly against those that were Pāñcarātrins.

In the Mathurā of 300 A.D., however, these various contentions between Bhāgavatism and the Vedic tradition had either vanished or had not yet arisen or were being conducted far away. No practice of the Pāñcarātra ritual has yet been evidenced in Mathurā. Early Kṛṣṇaism's tensions with the Vedic tradition had been adjusted; for about four centuries the healing influence of the Bhagavadgītā had been at work, reconciling Bhāgavatas to the Vedas and to the Vedic priesthood and to the social guidance of the dharmaśāstras. The hostility toward Vedic ritual that one finds even in the Bhagavadgītā had been dissolved. Already in the second century B.C. a certain King Sarvatāta in a dedicatory inscription at Nagari in Rājasthān had proudly called himself a Bhāgavata and as proudly, one who had performed an *aśvamedha* sacrifice.[38] Mathurā participated fully in the return to Vedic ritual that was sweeping the midlands in the early centuries of the Christian era and there is some evidence that Mathurā had a preeminence in this enthusiasm. In praising various peoples for their special excellence in various matters, Mahābhārata 8: 30.73 mentions the Śūrasenas as outstanding in the observance of Vedic sacrifice:

> brāhman pañcālā kauraveyāḥ svadharmaḥ
> satyam matsyāḥ śūrasenāś ca yajñaḥ.

The Nāga line of kings who ruled the region during the century before Samudragupta's conquest were notable in their time for their performance of Vedic sacrifice: the Vākātaka king Pravarasena in a copperplate inscription boasts of his connection by marriage with King Bhavanāga whose line, he says, was illustrious for pushing its dominion north to the Ganges and for performing ten times the *aśvamedha* sacrifice.[39] Bhavanāga, many of whose coins have been found at Mathurā, is one of about twelve Nāga rulers of the region whose names have been ascertained from literature, coins and inscriptions.[40] That Vedic sacrifice was cultivated in Mathurā itself we know through the discovery of two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial posts that

are now in the Mathurā Museum. One of them bears an inscription of the second century A.D., in pure Sanskrit, relating that the post was used by a brahman in performing a twelve-night sacrifice in the neighborhood.[41] The acceptance of current brahmanical practices by Bhāgavatas also is seen in Harivaṁśa 41: 1–11 where the practices of good kings are described: good kings heed the Vedas, sacrifice to gods and ancestors, give generous fees, know the *dharmaśāstras*, and appease Indra to insure rain. Bhāgavatism rose to pre-eminence in Mathurā by pooling its strength with that of brahmanism as a whole. Brahmanism and Bhāgavatism had become a single cause in that city even before the arrival of the Guptas. The early monarchs of the Gupta line had not, according to D. C. Sircar, been much given to the practice of Vedic sacrifices as a matter of fact.[42] After Samudragupta's conquest of Mathurā, however, his son Candragupta Vikramāditya in a Mathurā inscription shrewdly plays up to local loyalties by presenting his father as 'the restorer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice that had been long in abeyance' (!) and as a donor of millions in gold and cattle as honoraria to the performing priests.[43]

Mathurā had become a strong outpost of the Vedic revival, if not in fact its center.

In returning to the Vedic tradition in language, Mathurā also had an eminent place. Theo Damsteegt in a recent book gives an account of the replacement of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in inscriptions with Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit and pure Sanskrit, beginning in the time of the Kṣatrapa rulers. 'By far the most inscriptions composed in Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit have been found in the Mathurā region,' he says,[44] and he finds that the language used in the inscriptions of Mathurā served as a model for the makers of inscriptions in such far places as Nasik, Sāñci and Pabhosā.[45]

Deep predilection toward old indigenous traditions of the country governed Mathurā's artistic life, as well, during this period. Since the first century A.D. there had been two great equally vital centers of artistic activity in India, at Gandhāra and at Mathurā. The art of Gandhāra was syncretistic, responding freely to impulses from India and from Central and Western Asia in a characteristic Yavana manner. The artists of Mathurā were quite aware of the techniques that were being developed in Gandhāra, as one can perceive in their occasional imitation of the northwestern artists in minor matters like the representation of a type of garland or the folds of a garment. But the artists of Mathurā borrowed little from the northwest.[46] Their main ties were with the established styles of inner India. In all fundamental aspects of her art, Mathurā's attachment was to the indigenous, and that was the stance that the city now adopted in cultural life in general at the end of the Kuṣāṇa age. Mathurā became the place where Yavana ways stopped.

Staunch adherence to the *social* norms of the brahmanical renaissance was another matter in which Sanskritic circles in this age turned to Mathurā as a model. We have seen in the translated passage cited (see note sixteen above) that the four-varṇa class structure was extremely important in brahmanical understanding of the difference between true Indians and Yavanas. At least three manuscripts of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa insert special note of the fact that Śatrughna, when he had built the original city of Mathurā, peopled it (properly!) with settlers composed of the four *varṇas*.[47] The prominence of the region of Mathurā in the propagation of brahmanical life is seen most clearly in the second chapter of the Mānavadharmaśāstra, verses 17–23.[48] There the Indian moral world is conceived as a concentrum in which impurity recedes as one moves from the borderlands toward the heart of the country. The broadest territory in which any degree of decorum can be expected is Āryavarta, which extends from Himalaya to Vindhya and from sea to sea. The extremes of this Aryan country are inhabited, however, by people of corrupted life. More select, morally, is that portion of Āryavarta that is called Madhyadeśa, the Middle Country, that ranges from Prayāga in the east to Vinaśana in the west where the River Sarasvatī disappears. The behavior of the people of that Middle Country is middling and not blameworthy. But for true models of purity one must turn still further inward to two areas that are truly exemplary. The first is Brahmāvarta (just west of modern Delhi), whose inhabitants are the supreme model of virtuous conduct. The second land is Brahmārṣideśa, whose brahmans are the final resort for all who seek authoritative moral instruction. This Land of the Vedic Sages consists of the country of the Matsyas, the Pañcālas and the Śūrasenas. 'From a Brāhmana born in that country let all men on earth learn their several usages,' says Manu 2: 20. It is not a sectarian work, but the first of the dharmaśāstras, that accords this position of unrivaled leadership in the proclamation of the brahmanical life to the country extending today from Delhi to Mathurā. We have just noticed that Mahābhārata 8.30.73 makes the Śūrasenas of Mathurā the foremost of these three in skill in sacrifice, and that Harivaṁśa 85: 20 makes Mathurā the acme of the entire Middle Country in all things.

To lead the resistance to Kālayavana, then, what

town could be more suitable than Mathurā—old imperial city with a tradition of leadership, full of wealthy and well-ordered folk, heart of the heart of Āryavarta, commissioned by the śāstras themselves to teach *dharma* to the world?

In one sense the text we have been studying is not a historical document. It chronicles not even a single actual happening of that dark third century about which historians would like to know the elemental facts. If not history, however, this piece of literature nevertheless illumines history. It reveals how important participants in the century's struggles conceived the fundamental issues of their time. It confirms an already-posed analysis that a revival of old indigenous traditions was in full flow and it reveals the dimensions of that revival in human passion. It has enabled us to perceive much more precisely what the object of that reaction was: India was defining itself and organizing itself against the easternmost extension of Hellenism and was raising against it the neo-brahmanism that was to be the consensual basis of the Gupta Empire. This story that reveals history may also have made history. Any work that creates a self-understanding in a people can create in them also a sense of mission and a will to action. The Guptas, pausing in their westward thrust, with Mathurā as their advanced center, may have acquired there the reasoning and the resolve that carried them forward in their triumphant drive to the Arabian Sea.

It is not objectionable to call the Kālayavana tale a myth. If one does, one must not allow the name 'myth' to obscure the ties with history just mentioned. If this story is a myth, then some myths respond as well to historical explication as to the more esoteric methods of interpretation. Debating the applicability of the word 'myth' has not seemed to be as important in this case as studying the function of the story. It is a social reverie, a collective daydream of a people who have used personifications to understand their tensions, define their hopes, and draw encouragement from the contemplation of the coming success of their cause. If a document that records such a powerful construction of the human mind is not history, it is nevertheless a document for the attention of historians.

NOTES

1. *Harivaṁśa* 25: 8–27 and 80: 1 to 85: 52, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1969 BORI. Note the critical edition's determination that the episode of Śālya's embassage to Kālayavana is an interpolation (*Harivaṁśa*, Vol. II, no. 20, pp. 162 ff.). The material would utterly confuse this paper's analysis if not understood to be of a late and very different age.

   This critical edition will be the basis of all Harivaṁśa references below.
2. Vaidya in *Harivaṁśa*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.
3. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Varanasi 2nd edition, 1962, pp. 14, 45, 67–72.
4. *The Mahābhārata*, Vol. II, Poona, 1944 BORI, 2: 13.34–43. 12: 326.88 mentions Kālayavana for the first time, not connecting him with Jarāsandha.

   All citations of the Mahābhārata below will refer to this critical edition.
5. F. E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*, Berkeley 1957, pp. 47–52; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, Cambridge 1930, pp. 72–78.
6. Raoul Curiel and Gérard Fussman, *Le Trésor monetaire de Qunduz*, Paris 1965, plates IX–XXI. For association of this horse with later kings see plate LIII no. 626 in the same work, and R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Varanasi 1971, plates IV no. 213 and VIII no. 614. It continues to be seen on the coins of Śaka kings: Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings in the British Museum*, New Delhi 1971, plates XXII–XXIV.
7. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1951, 1956, pp. 355, 389 f.
8. Raoul Curiel, 'Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal,' *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954), p. 194. Of the same general time may be a certain Miṇaṃdra (Menandros) whose name is inscribed on a sculpture representing two wrestlers in the Peshawar Museum, in characters also of the late Kuṣāṇa Period. See Sten Konow, ed., *Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions* in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II Part I, Calcutta 1929, p. 134.
9. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 53.
10. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 25 ff.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, London 1963, p. 58.
11. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 54 f.; B. P. Majumdar, 'Political Theory and Practice in the Mālava and Yaudheya Republics,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 47 (1969), pp. 303–311.
12. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, 2nd ed., Varanasi 1971, p. 130, no. 310.
13. G. Fussman, 'Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka,' *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 67 (1980), p. 25 and note 95.
14. Compare how in Muslim languages all Europeans have

often been called Franks, and how in St. Paul's usage (e.g. Romans 1: 16 and 10: 12) by synecdoche they are called Greeks.

15. F. Keilhorn ed., The *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāshya of Patañjali*, Vol. I, Bombay 1880, p. 475; G. H. Bhatt ed., *The Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1960, 1: 53.20 f.
16. H. H. Wilson, tr., 3rd ed., Calcutta 1972, p. 142. *Purve Kirātā yasya syuḥ, paścime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ*, *Viṣṇu Purāna* ed. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1882, p. 231. Comparable versions in *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 55: 5 (Varanasi 1964) and in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 47: 8, Pargiter tr.
17. Georg Bühler, ed. *The Daśakumāracharita of Daṇḍin*, Bombay, Bombay Sanskrit Series no. X, 1887, p. 8, lines 23 and 24. The island here called Kālayavana Dvīpa, in which the merchant Kālagupta dwells, seems to derive its name from the characteristics of its general inhabitants. There is no hint of any connection with our purāṇic personage.
18. Moreshwar Ramachandra Kale ed., *The Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa*, Bombay, 3rd revised ed. 1922, pp. 90 f., 111 f. Professor D. C. Sircar in 'Yavana and Pārasīka,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 14 (1935) pp. 31 f. held that the Yavanīs are not represented as living in Persia but in an Indian borderland through which Raghu's army passed in its overland route to the country of the Pārasīkas. Professor Sircar's understanding, while credible in terms of geography, is made quite unlikely by literary considerations. It does violence to the literary unity of this brief episode in which description of the terror of the Yavanīs (v. 61) is followed at once (v. 62) by the melee of a battle with horsemen and (v. 63) the covering of the earth so tightly with their severed shaven heads that the battlefield looked like the surface of a capped honeycomb. It is gratuitous to suppose that the decapitated were any but the menfolk of the Yavanīs. And to bite the dust and expose their shorn heads in this manner was in Kālidāsa's time the established literary fate of Yavanas in particular. Mahābhārata 7: 95.20, 40, tells how Sātyaki vowed to slay the shaven-headed Yavanas and Kāmbojas and strewed the earth with their cropped heads that looked like pluck-tailed birds. Harivaṁśa 10: 42b (continued by Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4: 3, Wilson tr., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* p. 300) explains how their distinctive mark of shaven-headedness was imposed as a punishment on the Yavanas by Prince Sagara. Even when Kālidāsa writes of the conquest of the Persians, we conclude that he writes of a kind of Yavanas.
19. For such perception of the basic issues of this period see R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākātaka Gupta Age*, Delhi 1967, introduction and pp. 368–370; S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad 1967, pp. 53–81; and Vittore Pisani, 'Sanskrit-Renaissance,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 105 (1955), pp. 319–326.
20. On the warrior's code see Sarva Daman Singh, *Ancient Indian Warfare*, Leiden 1965, pp. 156–167.
21. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 56:
bhaviṣyantī 'ha yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
nai'va mūrdhābhiṣiktās te bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ.
yugadoṣadurācārā bhaviṣyanti nṛpās tu te
strīnām bālavadhenai'va hatvā cai'va parasparam...
vihīnās tu bhaviṣyanti dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
22. Mahābhārata 3: 186.29 ff.:
mithyānuśāsinaḥ pāpā mṛṣāvādaparāyaṇāḥ
āndhrāḥ śakāḥ pulindāś ca yavanāś ca narādhipāḥ
kāmbojā aurṇikāḥ śūdrās tathā'bhīrā narottama
na tadā brāhmaṇaḥ kaścit svadharmam upajīvati
kṣatriyā api vaiśyāś ca vikarmasthā narādhipa.
23. R. Salomon, 'The Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas of India,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sud- und Sudost Asiens* Vol. 18 (1974), pp. 6 f.
24. Baij Nath Puri, 'The State of Brahmanism in the Kuṣāṇa Period,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 22 (1943), pp. 1–6.
25. M.-Th. Allouche-le Page, *L'art Monétaire des royaumes Bactriens*, Paris 1956, pp. 70–72.
26. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, New Delhi 1971, p. 1241, Plate XXV.
27. I. B. Horner, tr., *Milinda's Questions*, London 1963, 1: 3 f., p. 5.
28. F. Kielhorn, 'Junagaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman: the Year 72,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 8 (1905), p. 43, lines 9 f.
29. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. 5 pt. 2, Poona 1962, p. 828.
30. D. C. Sircar, 'The Account of the Yavanas in the Yuga-Purāṇa,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1965), pp. 17 f.
31. D. R. Mankad, *Yugapurāṇam*, Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951.
32. H. Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 10 (1909–1910), p. 128, no. 1140.
33. Lüders, 'List', p. 131, no. 1156.
34. E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle (Concluded)', *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VII (1902), pp. 53 and 64, no. 7; M. S. Vats, 'Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Caitya Hall at Karle,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 326–328, nos. IV, VI, and X.
35. Senart, 'Inscriptions', pp. 55 f., no. 10.
36. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Poona 1907, p. 505. Cf. Vidyāsāgara ed., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta 1882, 4: 24.14.
37. Mahābhārata, Vol. 16 p. 2061, line 221a with variant readings.
38. J. N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, Lucknow 1968, p. 9.
39. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III; 3rd ed. Varanasi 1970, no. 55, 'Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of the Maharaja Pravarasena II,' pp. 237, 241.
40. Krsnadatt Vājapeyī, *Braj kā Itihās*, Mathurā 1955, pp. 97 f.
41. J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, 1910; Delhi 1971, p. 89, no. Q13; Heinrich Lüders, ed. Klaus

Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Göttingen 1961, pp. 125 f., bibl.

42. D. C. Sircar, 'Samudragupta's Asvamedha Sacrifice,' *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 13 (1934), pp. 36–38.
43. Fleet, *Inscriptions*, no. 4, 'Mathurā Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II,' pp. 26 f.
44. Theo Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 1.
45. Damsteegt, *Hybrid Sanskrit*, pp. 204–237 and *passim*.
46. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathurā: their Cultural Relationship,' pp. 27–43 in Pratapaditya Pal, *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden 1972, p. 43.
47. *The Rāmāyaṇa* Vol. VII, variant readings of 7: 62.12.
48. G. Bühler, tr., *The Laws of Manu*, in *SBE* Vol. 35, Oxford 1886, p. 33.

26. The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times

ALEX WAYMAN

The eight symbols called *aṣṭamaṅgala* constitute a remarkable part of the symbol system of India. We shall suggest that the eight are a confluence of two symbolic systems, namely, symbolism of the number eight and sets of auspicious symbols of various members. The earliest set of eight is from Mathurā on a Jaina Āyāgapaṭa (ancient decorated stone slab of homage) set up by Sihanādika and included in the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (now in the National Museum, Delhi; formerly in the Lucknow Museum, J249), said to be earlier than the time of Kaniṣka.[1] This paper will trace out some of the usages and influences of the eight in some variant lists, especially of the particular one called *śrīvatsa*, showing how the earlier and the later help explain each other.

THE NUMBER EIGHT AND FEMALE SYMBOLISM

The old Buddhist canon, especially the Vinaya for the nun, associated the number eight with women. Thus, while the monk had four 'defeats' (*parājika*) entailing his ousting from the monk order (Saṁgha), for the nun four more were added, to total eight. Besides, the nun had to accept the eight '*guru-dharma*.' The Pāli canon *Aṅguttara-nikāya*'s Book of Eights contains eight qualities that women have who after death are reborn as lovely fairies; and also lists eight ways in which a women enslaves a man.[2] This female association with the number eight was continued in India with the standard list of eight goddesses.[3] This is not to deny the importance of the Saptamātrikā list, and there is a difference of opinion as to which list was earlier.[4] Schrader mentions that in the *Pādma Tantra* and the *Viṣṇu-tilaka* the following eight Śaktis are held to originate from Viṣṇu's *śrīvatsa*: Kīrti (Fame), Śrī (Fortune), Vijayā (Victory), Śraddhā (Faith), Smṛti (Memory), Medhā (Intelligence), Dhṛti (Endurance), and Kṣamā (Forbearance).[5]

But then is there some way to associate the *aṣṭamaṅgala* list itself with female symbolism? Umakant Shah mentions that even in the present times Jaina ladies frequently make figures of these eight signs with uncooked rice on platters used for making offerings in Jaina shrines.[6] This then might constitute a women's art affiliated with the well-known Alpona drawings (S. *ālimpana*).[7] Besides, the Buddhist tantric author Buddhaguhya brings in the feminine symbolism with the word *yoginī* when he glosses the eight auspicious signs in his commentary on the *Sarvadurgati-pariṣodhana-tantra*:[8]

> 'As to '*yoginī*' (Tib. *rnal 'byor ma*), *rnal* (tranquillity) is the natural state (*dharmatā*); '*byor* (arrival) is knowing (or, clearly envisaging) it. To show the attributes (Tib. *rtags*) of *yoga* in the natural state of body, there are . . . [he now lists the *aṣṭamaṅgala* with comments (*infra*)].'

To the above may be added an etiological legend which the late Professor Ferdinand D. Lessing left in his unpublished manuscripts and presumably drew from some Chinese Buddhist text:[9]

> 'Exhausted by practising austerities before his enlightenment, a young woman by the name of Sujātā offered to him a milk-dish. Then he saw on the surface of the milk the reflection of the 'Eight Auspicious Symbols,' and he knew that he was drawing nearer to his goal. It is to commemorate this incident that these objects are placed before the Buddha on the altar.'

Of course, this is not an 'early' legend, but does show a way of associating female symbolism with the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, and seems to agree with the practice of the Jaina ladies mentioned above. In both cases a food item is introduced (rice, milk), which implicates the state of body as in Buddhaguhya's passage. In this light, it is of interest that one of the eight symbols, the *vardhamāna*, is explained (*infra*) as containing food offerings for the deity.

Moreover, when Viṣṇu's consort is called Lakṣmī, she is involved in the attributes of the preeminent ruler. Thus, Gonda: 'Like Viṣṇu himself, Śrī-Lakṣmī maintains relations with kingship. Śrī, Dharma, and Artha are said to enter a ruler who is really a portion of Viṣṇu on earth, obtaining superiority over others (Mbh. 12, 59, 133 ff.).'[10] This theory is expressed in Ārya-Śūra's *Jātakamālā*, Śibi-jātaka, in the description of King Śibi: . . . *lakṣmir babhūva sā tatra yathārthanāmā* (She Lakṣmī became *there* [in him] her name according to its meaning). Her name means a mark, a sign (*lakṣa, lakṣman, lakṣaṇa*). Thus, the auspicious signs are a concretization of the goddess Lakṣmī.

SYMBOLS, NOT NECESSARILY EIGHT

Some lists of auspicious things are more than eight in number and some less. Thus the *maṅgalakas* are more than eight at Sāñchī.[11] Besides there are smaller groups, such as a set of four on one of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas in the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and varying numbers on the 'footprints of Buddha.' The set of eight apparently coincided with a successful or winning number in the symbol systems, resulting in the standard terminology *aṣṭamaṅgala*.

Now, of the signs associated with the body of a deity, especially Viṣṇu, or among the signs attributed to the Buddha, it is important to note that they are of two kinds, as Har Dutt Sharma says, 'The marks of Viṣṇu are of two kinds, manifest and unmanifest.'[12] Also, among the Buddha marks, the protuberance on his head called *uṣṇīṣa* has been declared invisible.[13] The same can be said for the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara or Jina: the Ācāra-Dinakara's explanations of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* certainly accept some of the symbols as internal, even though they have a conventional glyph.[14]

Certain symbols of these varied-number lists of course are the same as ones among the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, and so broaden the sources for comments on their meaning. Thus, speaking of Viṣṇu, Schrader writes:[15]

> The Divine Figure is adorned with nine chief ornaments and weapons, which symbolically represent the principles of the universe, namely, the Kaustubha (a jewel worn on the breast) = the souls, the Śrīvatsa (a curl of hair on the breast) = Prakṛti, a club = Mahat, a conch = the Sāttvic Ahaṁkara, a bow = the Tāmasic Ahaṁkāra, a sword = knowledge, its sheath = ignorance, the discus = mind, the arrows = the senses, a garland = the elements.

Three of these, the *śrīvatsa*, the conch, the discus, i.e. *cakra*, are included in certain lists of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*. But notice the Sāṁkhya-type comments, Prakṛti, etc. And while this set of comments takes the Kaustubha as the souls and the Śrīvatsa as Prakṛti, Bhattasali refers to the *Varāhapurāṇam*, Chap. 31, for the interpretation that the Sun and Moon are Viṣṇu's Kaustubha and Śrīvatsa.[16] Such glosses appear to be quite arbitrary.

A Buddhist tantra called *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṁgīti* has this verse (VIII, 26):[17]

> samantadarsī prāmodyas tejomālī sudarśanaḥ /
> śrīvatsaḥ suprabho dīptir bhābhāsvarakaradyutiḥ / /

Among the many commentaries on this work in the Tibetan Tanjur, I consulted two, and found contrasting comments on this Vaiṣṇava-colored verse, troubling to Buddhist commentators. Narendrakīrti's commentary plausibly grouped it in four parts: 1) *samantadarsī prāmodyas*; 2) *tejomālī sudarśanaḥ*; 3) *śrīvatsaḥ suprabho dīptir*; 4) *bhābhāsvarakaradyutiḥ*.[18] Now the word *prāmodya* is a derivative from *pramoda;* and this agrees with Schrader's information: 'God as Para is sometimes identified with, and sometimes distinguished from Vyūha Vāsudeva. When the two are distinguished; . . . the Vyūha Vāsudeva is said to have sprung from the Para Vāsudeva. . . . God as Para is said to be always in the company of his consort Śrī (Lakṣmī)' (or of other mentioned consorts).[19] Hence the derivative *prāmodya* is the derivative Vyūha Vāsudeva seeing all around (*samantadarśin*). The *sudarśana* is Viṣṇu's *cakra* with a fiery garland (*tejomālin*), hence presumably by Schrader's exposition the Sudarśana-cakra as the 'Wheel of Sunrise' having three spokes.[20] The blaze (*dīpti*) is called *śrīvatsa* with goodly light (*suprabha*). The 'hand shining with a blazing light' (*bhābhāsvara-karadyuti*) presumably belongs to the Lakṣmī who holds a lamp.[21] At least the verse associates the *śrīvatsa* with light, and the *sudarśana-cakra* with a fiery garland.

Among the footmarks we can take the Viṣṇu-pāda as earlier—at least textually—than the Jina-pāda or the Buddha-pāda, since Viṣṇu's three strides to reach the highest place go back to Vedic mythology. Thus began the mystique of feet, agreeing with the general Indic practice of bowing to the feet of an illustrious person. In the case of Viṣṇu, there is worship of his footstool (*pādukā*).[22] As to the well-known Buddha-pāda, Sivaramamurti mentions as the earliest example an Amarāvatī depiction; the *Hobogirin* has a later wood-

block example from Japan's Yakushiji.[23] The Buddha footprints near the Stūpa of Relics at Pāṭaliputra were observed by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien (Vth century) and Hsüan-tsang (two centuries later).[24] According to Hsüan-tsang, there was a wheel on both soles, as well as vases, fish, and other things, and the tips of the toes had *svastika* tracery. A tantric commentator Śākyamitra included among the Buddha's eighty minor marks (*anuvyañjana*) in description of the hands and feet the 'lion's seat' (*siṁhāsana*), 'fish' (*mīna*), 'banner' (*dhvaja*), 'thunderbolt' (*vajra*), 'hook' (*aṅkuśa*), 'flask' (*kalaśa*), the Nandyāvarta, the Śrīvatsa, the conch shell (*śaṅkha*), the lotus (*padma*), and the Svastika.[25] Most of these are included in one or other *aṣṭamaṅgala* list, but there is no attempt to keep to the number eight.

VARIANT LISTS OF THE EIGHT MAṄGALA

The oldest good representation of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* is Jaina. Since the Tīrthaṅkaras are associated with ascetic practices, it is reasonable to impose such an interpretation on this as well as on the later Jaina list. In contrast, Buddhaguhya's list has substitutions of Vaiṣṇava-like symbols of royalty; and it is this list which is still seen on Tibetan temple banners (*tanka*).

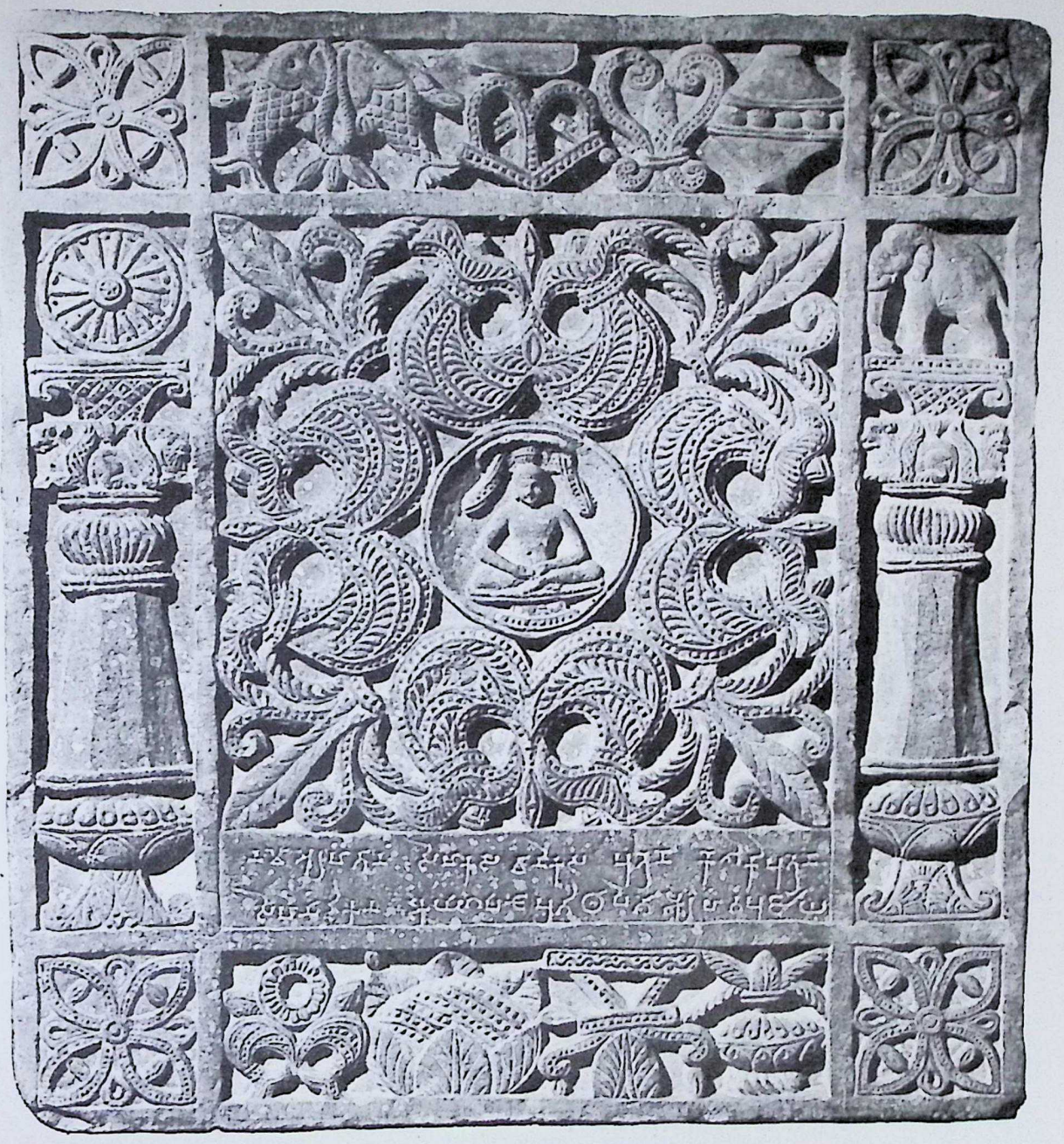
The Mathurā representation on the Āyāgapaṭa set up by Sihanādika (*see* Pl. 26.I) is in two sections as copied in Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, II, on Plate 31. According to Coomaraswamy, the four that are on the upper section of the *paṭa* are from left to right the two fish, a mirror, the *śrīvatsa*, and the *vardhamānaka* (which he wrongly identifies as a 'powder bottle'—it is a food vessel). The four that are on the lower section are the *ratnatraya*, the full lotus, a questionable item that might be the *bhadrāsana*, and the full vase.[26] Hence, the number eight is actually twice four, which possibly points to the eight directions, also twice four, cardinal and intermediate; I do not insist on it. Still, the four symbols in Smith, *The Jain Stupa*, 'Plate IX, the homage tablet of an unknown donor,' are arranged in the four directions, taking the top one as 'East,' thus, *svastika* in East, *śrīvatsa* in South, fish-pair in West, and the same questionable item in North.[27]

The usual list in the Jaina works according to Shah is as follows: *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta*, *vardhamānaka*, *bhadrāsana*, *kalaśa*, *darpaṇa*, and *matsya*.[28] This list substitutes the *svastika* and the *nandyāvarta* for the *triratna* and the lotus of the oldest Jaina depiction. However, the *nandyāvarta*, as drawn in Burnouf, *Lotus*, following Colebrooke, is a kind of labyrinth expansion from a central *svastika*.[29] According to the Jaina comment, it should have nine points.[30] The entry *bhadrāsana* seems to confirm Coomaraswamy's query of *bhadrāsana* for the item in the lower part of the Mathurā *paṭa*. This is also presumably the *sthāpanā* as described by Shah: 'a symbolic representation of his *ācārya* or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse.'[31] The ornamental form in the Mathurā depiction suggests that it would represent the absent Jaina Tīrthaṅkara by the name *bhadrāsana*. It could also be construed as the Buddhist *siṁhāsana* (lion throne) minus the Buddha, [32] or as Viṣṇu's footstool (*pādukā*).

The entry *darpaṇa* (mirror) in the later Jaina list confirms Coomaraswamy's identification of the item next to the fish-pair as a mirror. As it has an ornamental stand it is presumably the ascetic mirror, not the one held in hand, as in some graceful Indian sculptures of ladies attending to their looks. Shah cites the comment, 'the mirror is for seeing one's true self.'[33] This symbolism is used in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (II, 14): 'Just as a mirror (*bimba*) smeared with dirt shines brilliantly when well cleansed, so the human soul (*dehin*) beholding the reality of Self (*ātmatattva*) becomes one (*eka*) [with it], its goal attained, and freed from sorrow.'

I shall mention now, but explain later, the list of Buddhaguhya (8th–9th century), standard in Tibetan art, namely, *śrīvatsa*, *cakra*, *dhvaja*, *chatra*, *padma*, *kalaśa*, *śaṅkha*, and *matsya*. It contains the *cakra*, *dhvaja*, *chatra*, and *śaṅkha*, while omitting the *darpaṇa*, *vardhamānaka*, *triratna*, and *bhadrāsana* of the oldest list. It stresses symbols of royalty, but some are simultaneously ascetic symbols, e.g. the umbrella (*chatra*), which is presumably the one in Shah's Digambara Jaina list, including the *dhvaja* (banner) and *chatra* (umbrella).[34]

It is noteworthy that three items remained in those lists, no matter what other substitutions occurred, namely, the two fish, the *śrīvatsa*, and the full pot (*kalaśa*). While the two fish and the pot remind us of the zodiacal signs Pisces (*mīna*) and Aquarius (*kumbha*) that are in the astral systems of India by first century, B.C., [35] only the two fish, being tied together, look like the Pisces sigil, while the Aquarius pot[36] is pouring out water rather than full of plants as is the *kalaśa*. Since the Śrīvatsa came to be depicted as a triangular breast-mole on Viṣṇu's chest, this reminds us of the asterism *bharaṇī*, described as three stars in the shape of a triangle and governed by Yama.[37] Now Yama is assigned the South direction, where *śrīvatsa* was placed in the homage tablet of an unknown Jaina donor. It is intriguing that the oldest form of the *śrīvatsa* on the Mathurā *paṭa* shows a central upright fish touched at



Pl. 26.I Sihanādika homage tablet of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, National Museum, Delhi. Courtesy John C. Huntington.

block example from Japan's Yakushiji.[23] The Buddha footprints near the Stūpa of Relics at Pāṭaliputra were observed by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien (Vth century) and Hsüan-tsang (two centuries later).[24] According to Hsüan-tsang, there was a wheel on both soles, as well as vases, fish, and other things, and the tips of the toes had *svastika* tracery. A tantric commentator Śākyamitra included among the Buddha's eighty minor marks (*anuvyañjana*) in description of the hands and feet the 'lion's seat' (*siṁhāsana*), 'fish' (*mīna*), 'banner' (*dhvaja*), 'thunderbolt' (*vajra*), 'hook' (*aṅkuśa*), 'flask' (*kalaśa*), the Nandyāvarta, the Śrīvatsa, the conch shell (*śaṅkha*), the lotus (*padma*), and the Svastika.[25] Most of these are included in one or other *aṣṭamaṅgala* list, but there is no attempt to keep to the number eight.

VARIANT LISTS OF THE EIGHT MAṄGALA

The oldest good representation of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* is Jaina. Since the Tīrthaṅkaras are associated with ascetic practices, it is reasonable to impose such an interpretation on this as well as on the later Jaina list. In contrast, Buddhaguhya's list has substitutions of Vaiṣṇava-like symbols of royalty; and it is this list which is still seen on Tibetan temple banners (*tanka*).

The Mathurā representation on the Āyāgapaṭa set up by Sihanādika (*see* Pl. 26.I) is in two sections as copied in Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, II, on Plate 31. According to Coomaraswamy, the four that are on the upper section of the *paṭa* are from left to right the two fish, a mirror, the *śrīvatsa*, and the *vardhamānaka* (which he wrongly identifies as a 'powder bottle'—it is a food vessel). The four that are on the lower section are the *ratnatraya*, the full lotus, a questionable item that might be the *bhadrāsana*, and the full vase.[26] Hence, the number eight is actually twice four, which possibly points to the eight directions, also twice four, cardinal and intermediate; I do not insist on it. Still, the four symbols in Smith, *The Jain Stupa*, 'Plate IX, the homage tablet of an unknown donor,' are arranged in the four directions, taking the top one as 'East,' thus, *svastika* in East, *śrīvatsa* in South, fish-pair in West, and the same questionable item in North.[27]

The usual list in the Jaina works according to Shah is as follows: *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta*, *vardhamānaka*, *bhadrāsana*, *kalaśa*, *darpaṇa*, and *matsya*.[28] This list substitutes the *svastika* and the *nandyāvarta* for the *triratna* and the lotus of the oldest Jaina depiction. However, the *nandyāvarta*, as drawn in Burnouf, *Lotus*, following Colebrooke, is a kind of labyrinth expansion from a central *svastika*.[29] According to the Jaina comment, it should have nine points.[30] The entry *bhadrāsana* seems to confirm Coomaraswamy's query of *bhadrāsana* for the item in the lower part of the Mathurā *paṭa*. This is also presumably the *sthāpanā* as described by Shah: 'a symbolic representation of his *ācārya* or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse.'[31] The ornamental form in the Mathurā depiction suggests that it would represent the absent Jaina Tīrthaṅkara by the name *bhadrāsana*. It could also be construed as the Buddhist *siṁhāsana* (lion throne) minus the Buddha, [32] or as Viṣṇu's foot-stool (*pādukā*).

The entry *darpaṇa* (mirror) in the later Jaina list confirms Coomaraswamy's identification of the item next to the fish-pair as a mirror. As it has an ornamental stand it is presumably the ascetic mirror, not the one held in hand, as in some graceful Indian sculptures of ladies attending to their looks. Shah cites the comment, 'the mirror is for seeing one's true self.'[33] This symbolism is used in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (II, 14): 'Just as a mirror (*bimba*) smeared with dirt shines brilliantly when well cleansed, so the human soul (*dehin*) beholding the reality of Self (*ātmatattva*) becomes one (*eka*) [with it], its goal attained, and freed from sorrow.'

I shall mention now, but explain later, the list of Buddhaguhya (8th–9th century), standard in Tibetan art, namely, *śrīvatsa*, *cakra*, *dhvaja*, *chatra*, *padma*, *kalaśa*, *śaṅkha*, and *matsya*. It contains the *cakra*, *dhvaja*, *chatra*, and *śaṅkha*, while omitting the *darpaṇa*, *vardhamānaka*, *triratna*, and *bhadrāsana* of the oldest list. It stresses symbols of royalty, but some are simultaneously ascetic symbols, e.g. the umbrella (*chatra*), which is presumably the one in Shah's Digambara Jaina list, including the *dhvaja* (banner) and *chatra* (umbrella).[34]

It is noteworthy that three items remained in those lists, no matter what other substitutions occurred, namely, the two fish, the *śrīvatsa*, and the full pot (*kalaśa*). While the two fish and the pot remind us of the zodiacal signs Pisces (*mīna*) and Aquarius (*kumbha*) that are in the astral systems of India by first century, B.C., [35] only the two fish, being tied together, look like the Pisces sigil, while the Aquarius pot[36] is pouring out water rather than full of plants as is the *kalaśa*. Since the Śrīvatsa came to be depicted as a triangular breast-mole on Viṣṇu's chest, this reminds us of the asterism *bharaṇī*, described as three stars in the shape of a triangle and governed by Yama.[37] Now Yama is assigned the South direction, where *śrīvatsa* was placed in the homage tablet of an unknown Jaina donor. It is intriguing that the oldest form of the *śrīvatsa* on the Mathurā *paṭa* shows a central upright fish touched at

Pl. 26.I Sihanādika homage tablet of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, National Museum, Delhi. Courtesy John C. Huntington.

Pl. 26.II Śrīvatsa in Sihanādika homage tablet of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. Courtesy John C. Huntington.

the top by two young fern fronds that are tied together at the bottom. Are they Śrī and Lakṣmī adoring the fish (*infra*)? (See Pl. 26.II). For stellar interpretation, sky watchers at the beginning of the Christian era would observe that at vernal equinox the sun was in the constellation of Pisces, the fish. It is just a possibility that the two fronds signify equal day and night of the vernal equinox, with the fish understood accordingly. Another possibility is that they are the two horsemen (*aśvin*), since at that time the sun at vernal equinox would be in the asterism Aśvinī, governed by the two Aśvin.[38]

SOME GLOSSES ON THE EIGHT

Doubtless each of the popular symbols is susceptible of multiple interpretations, so whichever ones are found in a particular commentary cannot exhaust the possibilities. My procedure will be to first present Buddhaguhya's glosses on the set of eight and then return to the Jaina sets. Buddhaguhya's commentary is only extant in the Tibetan language, the original Sanskrit not being available.[39]

1. **Śrīvatsa** (beloved of *śrī*)—lotus-petalled (T. *padma can*).

Confer Banerjea, note citing Rao, that the hairy mole could be represented by a flower of four petals arranged as a rhombus, or by an equilateral triangle.[40] Here the gloss opts for the rhombus form.

2. **cakra** (wheel)—frightening (T. *'jigs byed*).

This is certainly not the Buddhist wheel of Dharma that was set into motion in the first sermon at Sarnath. Rather, it is Viṣṇu's battle discus called Sudarśana, which Schrader explains at length.[41]

3. **dhvaja** (banner)—victorious (T. *mam par rgyal ba*).

This is surely the Indradhvaja described in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Chap. 42. The paragon of banners was obtained by Indra from Viṣṇu's radiance and was placed on an eight-wheeled chariot. The banner was on a kind of pole suitably ornamented with garlands, royal parasol (*chatra*), bells, and *piṭaka*-ornaments. Agrawala lists the banners of the epic heroes. Besides, there are the *dhvaja*-banners associated with religious shrines.[42]

4. **chatra** (umbrella)—outspread (T. *gdans can*).

As a royal symbol, this should be the protective umbrella signifying the prime function of the king. This could also be an interpretation of the *dhāman* = 'dome', although not recognized by essays that have come to my notice.[43] See below for the two main kinds of umbrellas.

5. **padma** (lotus)—luminous (T. *'od ldan*).

The implication of the gloss 'luminous' is that the lotus here does not relate to water symbolism, per Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*;[44] or to being undefiled, as when the lotus leaf sheds water.[45] Rather, here is the epic symbolism: confer Sharma, *Elements of Poetry*, for the bright lotus, the shining lotus eyes.[46]

6. **kalaśa** (flask)—prudent mind (T. *yid gźuṅs pa*).

The full flask (*maṅgala-kalaśa*) is the 'inexhaustible vessel' as stated by Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*.[47] The gloss 'prudent mind' permits me to interpret the full flask as a kind of 'fountain' (*udbheda*) of memory (*dhāranā*) and eloquence (*pratibhāna*).[48]

7. **śaṅkha** (conch)—pure (T. *dir ma med*).

This does not appear to be the conch with a hole pierced on one end so that it can be used for blowing. Rather, it is the auspicious conch, white in color, with its whorls turning to the right (*dakṣiṇāvarta-śaṅkha*).[49]

8. **suvarṇa-matsya** (golden fish)—storied mind (T. *yid bzaṅs*).

As to the 'golden fish,' there are two papers by Hora and Saraswati referring to Pāli Jātaka 491, and mentioning that the Suvaṇṇavaṇṇa-maccha are auspicious. They are probably the Śapharī or Śaphara fish, still auspicious in Bengal.[50] The rendition of the gloss as 'storied mind' follows the Sarat Chandra Das *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1109, where 'storied' intends the storied abodes of the gods. The gloss implies that the two golden fish can stand for levels of the mind e.g. conventional and absolute truth.

The comments by the Ācāra-Dinakara[51] on a Jaina list of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* have already been referred to for some of its items, to wit, the *bhadrāsana*, the mirror, and the *nandyāvarta*. Two others in common with Buddhaguhya's list are commented upon differently and still are not necessarily inconsistent. That the Jina is 'verily like a *kalaśa* in his family' does not conflict with the gloss of 'prudent mind' or with my supposition that this mind is a fountain of memory and eloquence. That the pair of fish are on Kāmadeva's banner when after his defeat he came to worship the Jina does not conflict with the gloss that the golden fish are the storied mind, which conceives of Kāmadeva (the god of love) both with his mundane form and his formless condition after his body was burnt up by the fire from Śiva's third eye. Three items are not in common with Buddhaguhya's list, namely, the Vardhamānaka, the Svastika, and the Nandyāvarta. It is of interest that each of these are names of kinds of houses referred to in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[52] The Vardhamānaka kind has no door toward the South; hence is shut off from Yama's realm in the South.

Perhaps the Jaina comment that this symbol signifies increase of wealth, fame, and merit, refers to the other three doors, i.e. wealth in the North (location of Kubera), fame in the East (location of Indra), and merit in the West (location of Varuṇa). This may be the intention of the food offering, since the Vardhamānaka represents a lower bowl heaped with food that is covered up by the upper protective bowl.[53] The Svastika house has only one door, toward the East. So the Jaina comment that this symbol stands for the nine treasures implies the other three doors each to be multiplied by three. For the comment on Srīvatsa, see below.

A NOTE ON UMBRELLAS

Since there is a sandstone umbrella from *c.* 2nd cent. A.D. Mathurā, with carvings of the eight auspicious symbols,[54] it is certainly relevant to deal briefly with the umbrella symbol (*chatra*). This symbol is in the Digambara list of the eight, as well as in the above Buddhaguhya list, although it is not on the Sihanādika Mathurā *paṭa*. It appears that there are two kinds of umbrellas, that of the ascetic and the royal umbrella. These are alluded to in a verse of the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṁgīti* (VIII, verse 29):

> jagacchatraikavipulo maitrīkaruṇāmaṇḍalaḥ /
> padmanarteśvaraḥ ratnacchatro mahāvibhuḥ / /
>
> The glorious lotus lord of dance who among the living beings has a single great umbrella with its circle of love and compassion; the great pervading lord with jewel umbrella.

The commentaries by Smṛtijñānakīrti[55] and Narendrakīrti[56] agree that the 'single great umbrella' is the cooling umbrella, i.e. protects against the heat, so is the ascetic's umbrella. But as 'cooled' (*śītibhūta*) is in Buddhism a term applying to Nirvāṇa, there is added to this umbrella the Mahāyāna emphasis on love and compassion. The one with this umbrella is called 'glorious lotus lord of dance' according to Smṛti because this person is in ecstatic *samādhi*, while according to Narendrakīrti because he assists the sentient beings. The 'pervading lord' by way of his pledge protects everyone (so Smṛti); thus the 'jewel umbrella' is the royal umbrella.

Coomaraswamy in his article 'Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra'[57] has not distinguished these two kinds of umbrellas, and so interprets the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* only in terms of the royal umbrella. However, by Coomaraswamy's own information, citing Pāṇini VI, 1, 94, Vartt. (*uṣṇam īṣate hinasti*), i.e. that *īṣ-* means *hiṁs-*, 'to strike,' thus to strike the heat (*uṣṇa*), the *uṣṇīṣa* is a characteristic of the Buddha which is the final result of the ascetic's umbrella. We conclude that the word *eka* of the verse meant that the ascetic's umbrella is a single one, contrasting with the *ratna* type which is the umbrella for everyone.

Upadhyaya mentions Kālidāsa's frequent references to the halo by the terms *prabhāmaṇḍala* and *chāyā-maṇḍala* and that the earlier umbrella (*chatra*) became during the later Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta periods the halo behind the back and head of the sculptured Buddha.[58]

THE ŚRĪVATSA

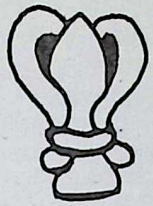
In the *Ancient India* series Sivaramamurti surveys the North and South Indian sculptural representations of Viṣṇu and the Tīrthaṅkara for presence or absence of the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest, and the evolution of this mark.[59] The form of the *śrīvatsa* of the Mathurā *paṭa* (Pl. 26.II and Fig. 26.1; no. 1) was exhibited in sculptures of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras of the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 26.1; no. 2). This form was preserved for some time in South Indian Tamil Viṣṇu sculptures and at Amarāvatī, but tended to a triangular form (Fig. 26.1; no. 3). Curiously, in South India it was dropped from the Tīrthaṅkaras.

The Jaina Kuṣāṇa form (Fig. 26.1; no. 2) is not very different from the form on Viṣṇu's chest, from Udayagiri (Fig. 26.1; no. 4). Sivaramamurti observes that when it is at the center of the chest of a Viṣṇu sculpture, it tends to fuse with the necklet and with the *kaustubha* ornament, and in fact completely fused in Bengal sculptures. Now the *kaustubha* is a shining (*prabhākara*, 'light-making') gem,[60] and in the fusion of the two signs we can see the textual transfer to the *śrīvatsa* of this shining quality, as in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṁgīti* passage (VIII, 26) cited earlier with the words *śrīvatsaḥ suprabho dīptir*.

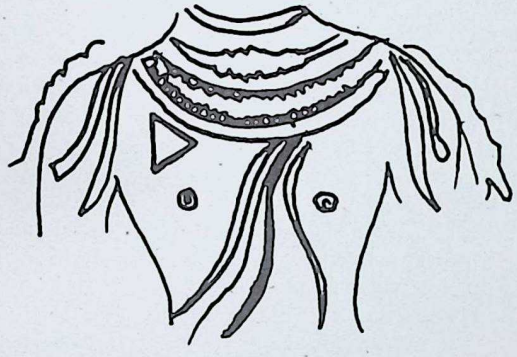
In medieval sculptures of the Tīrthaṅkaras in North India the early form changes into a 'lozenge-shaped four-petalled flower' (Fig. 26.1; no. 5), which differs from the form mentioned in Buddhaguhya's list (Fig. 26.1; no. 6). However, the Gupta period generally dropped the *śrīvatsa*. In South Indian medieval sculptures there is correct placement of the sign, i.e. on the right chest of Viṣṇu. However, when found in North Indian ones (ordinarily Tīrthaṅkara) it is exactly at the center of the chest. This center placement of the *śrīvatsa* is found in the nude Jina figurines described by Vogel as possibly coming from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[61]

Certainly the most surprising form of the *śrīvatsa* is the one in Lamaist art (Tib. *dpal be'u*), where it is depicted as the 'endless knot' (Fig. 26.1; no. 7). While the eight *maṅgala* symbols in Lamaism always are the list given by Buddhaguhya, his description of the *śrīvatsa*, given above, provides no hint of how this symbol became the 'endless knot.' In my possession is a pamphlet by

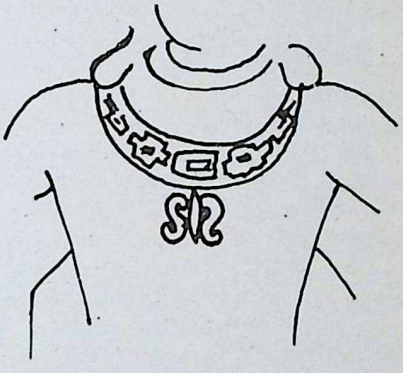
1



2



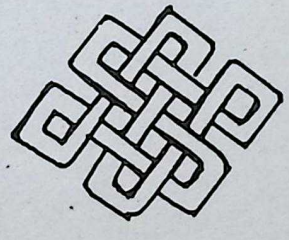
3



4

5

6



7

Fig. 26.1.

G. Bouillard in French written in China, published in Peking, 1924, about the ritual ornaments of Lamaist and Buddhist temples of China. He reproduces the eight *maṅgalas* from metallic examples, the same as in Buddhaguhya's list, and speaks of the difficulty of getting good information about the eight. He mentions the view of the French Sinologist Ed. Chavannes that the Chinese had lost the original meaning of the *śrīvatsa* as a mark on Viṣṇu's chest; that the symbol had become enigmatic, leading to speculations about the 'endless knot' that it perhaps signified the intestines! Here also is mentioned the theory in the book by Pander called *Pantheon* that the Tibetan form of the *śrīvatsa* is a cord of five colors going with the five Buddhas.

If we take the 'endless knot' as a symbol to unravel, we may perhaps begin in this direction by citing Smṛti's comment on the word *śrīvatsa* as it occurs in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṁgīti* (VIII, 26). Smṛti says:[62] 'Another sect claims that the *śrīvatsa* is an unshared (*asādhāraṇa*) characteristic of the Buddha, a condition for joy arisen from his omniscience, and that the *śrīvatsa* is a triangle in the heart of the Buddha. But in this text we claim it is the 'knowledge being' (*jñānasattva*).' To this may be added the Jaina gloss which Shah cites:[63] 'It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina, in the form of the Śrīvatsa-mark on his chest.' Smṛti's allusion to the 'knowledge being' agrees with the Jaina comment. The other theory that Smṛti willingly presents, although disallowing it for his present context, is helpful, especially for assigning the triangle to the heart of the Buddha. This could well be the purport of the Tīrthaṅkara position of this symbol in the center of the chest. The heart location is virtually the meaning of Schrader's citation (earlier this paper) that eight *śaktis* such as Fame, etc. originated from Viṣṇu's Śrīvatsa, which is also consistent with the previous observation that some of Viṣṇu's marks are non-manifest.[64] Once we admit the possibility of heart location, it is possible to appeal to certain Upaniṣadic and other passages to make sense of the Lamaist representation as an endless knot. Thus, the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (II, 3, 15) mentions that when all the knots (*granthi*) of the heart (*hṛdaya*) are severed, a mortal becomes immortal. I have noticed in native Tibetan writings, those by Tsoṅ-kha-pa on the *Guhyasamājatantra* cycle, a mention of 'knot of the heart,' saying that A-HAṂ is the knot of the heart, and speaking of 'untying the knot of the heart *nāḍī*.'[65]

According to the *Sanatsujātīya* (of the *Mahābhārata*), 'Some say otherwise, to wit, Yama is death, who dwells in the self (*ātman*), who is the immortal pure life.' On this Śaṅkara cites *Manusmṛti* (VIII, 92): 'Yama Vaivasvata is the deity (*deva*) who dwells in your heart. If you are not discordant with him, you need not go to the Ganges or the Kurus.'[66] Besides ruling *bharaṇī*, the star-triangle, Yama dwells in the South, implicating the heart in this direction, where previously it was noticed that the *śrīvatsa* is placed on a Jaina *paṭa*. Elsewhere I have published a drawing 'Maṇḍala of the Triangular Dharmodaya,' containing a representation of the 'heart triangle.'[67]

Since the Upaniṣads also place the 'thumb soul' in the heart,[68] there is the immediate suggestion that the upright fish in the *śrīvatsa* (Pl. 26.II, Fig. 26.1; no. 1) is the *yoga* form of this thumb soul. Later the Buddhist Tantras have a mantra TIṢṬHA VAJRA, 'Stand up, O Vajra,' for the *vajra* imagined in the heart.[69] The upright fish, if it could be identified with Viṣṇu of the Fish Avatar, would indeed be beloved of Śrī and Lakṣmī. The object of Viṣṇu's Fish (*matsya*) incarnation was to save Vaivasvata, the seventh Manu and progenitor of the human race, from the deluge;[70] notice that Vaivasvata is also an epithet of Yama, who is placed in the heart. However, Nārāyan Aiyangār alludes to the chest with religious sentiment: 'But I think this name of Viṣṇu [Śrīvatsalāñchana] must have arisen in this manner: Viṣṇu is Yajña, Sacrifice, having the sacred fire Agni glowing as Śrī-Vatsa, Son of Light, at the breast of Himself as Mother Vedī or Altar.'[71] Intending the heart, a Buddhist tantric work *Pañcakrama* (Abhisambodhikrama, verse 31) states: 'Like a fish quickly springing up from a clear stream, so the net of illusion emerges from the clear universal void.'[72] Since Aiyangār's discussion of the Fish Avatar from Purāṇic legends has frequent mention of the moon (Soma), it is well to mention that in the medical classic *Suśruta*, Ojas, which is located in the heart, is essentially Soma (= the moon): *ojaḥ somātmakaṃ snigdhaṃ śuklaṃ śītam sthiraṃ saras*.[73] This explanation of *ojas* as 'white' (*śukla*), 'cool' (*śīta*), 'steady' (*sthira*) 'water' (*saras*), might clarify the 'clear stream' of the *Pañcakrama* verse, and with mythological exaggeration might also be the 'deluge.' Deep indeed is this topic!

PLACEMENT OF THE AṢṬAMANGALA

Speaking of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, Shah informs us that they 'are often referred to in Jaina texts, including canonical works, as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on Caitya-trees, platforms, painted on walls and so on.'[74] Buddhaguhya also placed them at the top of the *maṇḍala-palace*.[75]

A Tibetan painting in my possession showing the offerings to the deity Mahākāla contains the eight auspicious symbols of the Buddhaguhya list in the

atmosphere, or intermediate space, separated into two groups by the divine residences erected upon the mythical Mt. Meru in the center. In this depiction, to the right of the central residences are the four—fish-pair, lotus, *śrīvatsa* as endless knot, and wheel. To the left are the four—umbrella, conch, flask, and banner.[76]

The sandstone umbrella from Mathurā with the eight auspicious symbols also emphasizes the top position, referring as it does to the head, since the umbrella would become depicted as the halo behind the head of the Buddha.

The foregoing remarks suggest that the eight auspicious symbols are associated with the intermediate space, what was called *antarikṣa* in the old Indian books. This reminds me of a simile from the *Atharvaveda*: 'Man carries on his head a jar full of water; (so does the Brahman the *antarikṣa*).'[77] The ancient association of the *antarikṣa* with water reasonably refers to the milky clouds. Hence, even in the late story about the future Buddha's seeing in Sujātā's milk-dish the reflection of the eight auspicious symbols, there is a suggestion of this same intermediate-space vision.

All the above enables me to return to the Sihanādika homage tablet (Pl. 26.I to notice in a center circle the meditating Jina in *padmāsana*, and that the circle itself is surrounded by four *tilaka-ratnas*. If we should imagine, by symbol conversion, that the four *tilaka-ratnas* are the sides of the mythical mountain, and that the Jina is meditating on top,[78] then the four symbols on the upper section and the four symbols on the lower section (which taken together are the *aṣṭamaṅgala*) could be construed by this act of imagination to be two groups in the atmosphere separated by being on the two sides of the central edifice. That is to say, on one side would be the four—fish-pair, mirror with ornamental stand, *śrīvatsa*, and *vardhamānaka*. And on the other side would be the four—*triratna*, lotus, stand with ornamental base, and full flask.

CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

It would perhaps be too much to expect that all the varied materials brought together in this essay from many sources would prove mutually consistent. It is fair, though, to expect that the initial association of the eight auspicious symbols with female symbolism should be borne out by the later findings. Eventually, this should relate to the atmospheric placement of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, appearing with the background of the milky clouds, the symbolism of the jar of water on the head. On the other hand, while streams are frequently deified as goddesses in India, and the *ojas* stream of the heart can accordingly be taken as feminine, there is no association with the eight symbols, only with the *śrīvatsa* as far as my findings are concerned.

Enough has been presented to show how vital has been the Mathurā set of the eight auspicious symbols. They have been mentioned in texts and depicted in sculpture and painting for two thousand years. They constitute a kind of compatibility between the great religions of Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism, and Buddhism—which often disagreed on doctrinal matters.

The agreement is that there are 'auspicious symbols' (*maṅgala*), and that they could be eight (*aṣṭa*). On this the *Amarakoṣa* has a line: *śvaḥśreyasaṁ śivaṁ bhadraṁ kalyāṇaṁ maṅgalaṁ śubham*: 'better tomorrow' (*śvaḥśreyasa*), 'benevolent' (*śiva*), 'auspicious' (*bhadra*), 'beneficial' (*kalyāṇa*), 'yielding felicity' (*maṅgala*), 'splendid' (*śubha*).[79]

NOTES

1. I remember with gratitude the late Dr. B. N. Sharma's courtesy to me when visiting the National Museum to inspect the Sihanādika Āyāgapaṭa during the Mathurā Conference, January 1980. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, Varanasi 1969, 148 assigns the necklets with *maṅgalaka* signs from Sanchi Toraṇa to lst cent. B.C.
2. A. Wayman, 'Ancient Buddhist Monasticism,' *Studia Missionalia*, Vol. 28 (1977), pp. 224–225.
3. For a good description of the eight goddesses, cf. Rajendra Lala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II (reprint of Indian Studies, Past and Present), Calcutta 1963, pp. 231–232.
4. Confer A. P. Karmarkar, *The Religions of India*, Vol. I, Lonavla 1950, pp. 108–110, saying (p. 109): 'In our opinion, the number of the Divine Mothers seems to have been originally eight representing the counterparts of the eight forms of Śiva. But later on, as the number seven became popular among the Brahmins, the original number was changed into seven.' For an implication of eight being better than seven, cf. the *Pitāputrasamāgama* chapter of the *Mahāvastu*, R. Basak, ed. *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, Calcutta 1968, p. 169, stating that the Buddha, having renounced the seven jewels (*ratna*) [of royalty], has eight incomparable jewels [not listed].
5. F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Adyar, Madras 1916, p. 55.
6. Umakant Premanand Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras 1955, p. 109.

7. Cf. *Alpona*, by Tapan Mohan Chatterji, with notes by Tarak Chandra Das, Calcutta 1948.
8. This is the commentary of reconstructed title, *Durgati-pariśodhanārtha-vyañjana-vṛtti*, in Japanese photographic edition of Tibetan canons (PTT), Vol. 76, p. 26–4–3, 4.
9. For similar materials, confer F. D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung; an Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking with Notes on Lamaist Mythology and Cult*, Vol. One, Stockholm 1942.
10. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, p. 220.
11. Confer Shah, *Studies*, p. 110.
12. His article, 'Contributions to the history of Brāhmanical Asceticism (*saṁnyāsa*),' *Poona Oriental Series* no. 64 (Poona 1939), p. 38.
13. For example, in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra*, PTT, Vol. 23, p. 22–3–5: *gtsug tor bltar mi snaṅ ba*.
14. Confer Shah, *Studies*, p. 111.
15. Schrader, *Introduction*, p. 52.
16. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Delhi 1972, p. 78, note.
17. This work was edited by I. P. Minaeff, *St. Petersburg University, Historo-Philological Faculty*, Vol. 16 (1885), pp. 137–159.
18. PTT, Vol. 48, *Mañjuśrī-saṁgīti-vyākhyāna*, p. 78–5–2 to 79–1–3. I here ignore his complications.
19. Schrader, *Introduction*, p. 52.
20. Schrader, *Introduction*, p. 105.
21. Confer D. G. Kelkar, *Lamps of India*, Government of India 1961, for lovely examples of the Dīpa Lakṣmī, but only from the last couple of centuries.
22. H. Daniel Smith, *A Sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, Madras 1969, pp. 283–284.
23. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras 1956, p. 179. Also, Sylvain Lévi and J. Takakusu, *Hobogirin*, Tokyo 1929, p. 188. Japanese representations from recent centuries are shown in B. Kojima, 'Some Thoughts on Buddha's Footprints,' *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (Tokyo), X: 2 (1962), (pp. 47–50).
24. Confer Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, London 1905, pp. 92–93.
25. See Alex Wayman, 'Contributions regarding the thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person,' *Sino-Indian Studies: Liebenthal Festschrift*, Santiniketan 1957, p. 254.
26. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, reprint, New Delhi 1971, p. 79.
27. Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, reprint, Delhi 1969, p. 16. Also reproduced in Shah, *Studies*, Plate IV, Fig. 11.
28. Shah, *Studies*, p. 109.
29. M. E. Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Paris 1925, Tome II, Appendice, p. 626.
30. Shah, *Studies*, p. 111. The form of the *nandyāvarta* given by Burnouf is illustrated in Shah, Plate XXIII, Fig. 60, Aṣṭamaṅgala Plaque, Bronze, Baroda, lower right corner.
31. Shah, *Studies*, p. 113.
32. For the *siṁhāsana*, confer Jeannine Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, pp. 108-111.
33. Shah, *Studies*, p. 111.
34. Shah, *Studies*, p. 111.
35. Confer, *Report of the Calendar Reform Committee*, New Delhi 1955, p. 234: 'The analysis of inscriptional data . . . shows that it was the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rulers (50 B.C.–100 A.D.) who introduced the Graeco-Chaldean methods of date-recording, prevalent in the Near East into India.' This necessarily also introduced the Greco-Roman twelve-signed zodiac.
36. Confer, B. L. van der Waerden, 'History of the Zodiac,' *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V. 16 (1952–1953), p. 227.
37. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, ed., *Śārdūlakarṇāvadānam* Santiniketan 1954, p. 51: *bharaṇīnakṣatraṁ tritāraṁ bhagasaṁsthānaṁ . . . yamadaivataṁ*. Also, V. V. Bhide, 'The basis of astrology in the Vedic literature,' *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Twentieth Session Bhubaneshwar, October 1959, Vol. II, Part I (Poona 1961), p. 25, while giving Yama as the deity of Bharaṇī, shows its influences: 'To win the kingdom, protection from fear, the destruction of sin.'
38. This is clear from the statement in *Report of the Calendar Reform Committee*, p. 219, about the standard listing of the *nakṣatras* to start from *Aśvinī*, as found in the works of Varāhamihira (6th cent., A.D.) and subsequent authors: 'This custom, *Aśvinyādi*, was introduced in Siddhānta Jyotiṣa time (500 A.D.), when the astronomical first point of Aries was near the end of the *Revatī nakṣatra*, or the beginning of *Aśvinī*.' By 'first point of Aries' is meant vernal equinox. The mention of 500 A.D. is presumably a reference to the work of Āryabhaṭa I, who announced in 499 A.D. at the age of 23 his calculation of the Kaliyuga era (*Report of the Calendar Reform Committee*, pp. 252–253). Now, each *nakṣatra* is allotted 13–1/3° in the equal-space system of 27 *nakṣatras*. Since there is 1° of precession in *circa* 72 years, it took *circa* 960 years for the sun position at vernal equinox to move backwards through *Aśvinī*. Thus, the sun was in this *nakṣatra* at this equinox starting perhaps as early as the Buddha's Nirvāṇa *circa* 480 B.C. For the mutual position of the *nakṣatras* in approximate opposition couples, see Jean Filliozat, 'Notes d'astronomie ancienne de l'Iran et de l'Inde,' *Journal Asiatique* (1962), p. 350. Of course, the Indian astronomers did not recognize the phenomenon of precession, so kept for a long time the list headed by *Kṛttikā* (Pleiades), then shifted to *Aśvinī*.
39. I translated Buddhaguhya's glosses on the *aṣṭamaṅgala* in my book, *The Buddhist Tantras; Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism* (New York 1973), p. 108. Now I have returned to the Tibetan text (note 8, above) for some improvements.

40. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, p. 290.
41. Schrader, *Introduction*, pp. 105 ff. Two *cakra* articles may be mentioned: 1) B. R. Sharma, 'Cakra in Brahmanical and Buddhistic Scriptures,' *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (Buddha Jayanti Issue, 1956), pp. 218–244; 2) Paul Horsch, 'The Wheel: an Indian Pattern of World-Intepretation,' *Sino-Indian Studies: Liebenthal Festschrift*, Santiniketan 1957, pp. 62-79. Both these papers show the symbolism of the Buddhist wheel within the Indian theory of royal symbolism.
42. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *The Wheel Flag of India, Chakra-dhvaja*, Varanasi 1964, pp. 15–17.
43. Thus, Coomaraswamy's essay 'The Symbolism of the Dome,' reprinted in *Coomaraswamy; 1: Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism*, ed. by Roger Lipsey, Bolligen Series LXXXIX, Princeton 1977, pp. 415–464. Also, J. Gonda, *The Meaning of the Sanskrit Term Dhāman* (Amsterdam 1967). Finally, Alexander Coburn Soper, 'The "Dome of Heaven" in Asia,' *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 29 (1947), pp. 225–248. These essays are valuable in their own right.
44. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. II, pp. 56–58.
45. Confer Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra; the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*, Delhi 1977, p. 302: */na lipyate svabhāvajñaḥ padmapatram ivāmbhasā/* 'The one knowing the intrinsic nature is not adhered to (by sin), any more than is a lotus leaf by water.'
46. Ram Karan Sharma, *Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. 20 (1964), pp. 86–88. On p. 89, he also gives epic examples of the lotus leaf not adhered to by water.
47. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. II, p. 62.
48. A. Wayman, 'The *samādhi* lists of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*,' *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung*; Tomus XXXIV. 1–3 (1980), p. 311.
49. Arnold Locard, 'Les coquilles sacrées dans les religions indoues,' *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. 7 (1884), p. 304, mentions that the right-turning conch gives prosperity to wherever it is.
50. Sunder Lal Hora, 'Fish in the Jātaka Sculptures,' and Sunder Lal Hora and S. K. Saraswati, 'Fish in the Jātaka Tales,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society; Letters*, Vol. XXI, no. 1 (1955), pp. 18–19. The Śaphara fish is mentioned by Kālidāsa (*c.* 400 A.D.) in *Meghadūta*, 40.
51. Confer Shah, *Studies*, p. 111.
52. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as Seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi 1969, Plate XVII, Figs. 21 (Vardhamāna house), 22 (Svastika house), and 20 (Nandyāvarta house).
53. Confer N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, Varanasi 1967?, pp. 117–118, Fig. 297. (Called to my attention by Elizabeth Rosen). The word *vardhamāna* has the stem *vardh-*, which is defined as 'to fill up'; cf. *pūraṇe* in Gajanan Balkrishna Palsule, *A Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, Poona 1955, p. 184. Hence, the intention of 'no door toward the South' in terms of the food bowl is: no leaking at the bottom.
54. Shah, *Studies*, p. 111, listing the eight from V. S. Agrawala's article.
55. *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṁgīti-lakṣa-bhāṣya* (reconstructed title), PTT, Vol. 75, p. 51–3–3, 4, 5.
56. The work of n. 18, above, PTT, Vol. 48, p. 79–2–1.
57. *The Poona Orientalist*, Vol. III (April 1938), no. 1, pp. 1–19.
58. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, Allahabad 1947, p. 237.
59. C. Sivaramamurti, 'Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography,' *Ancient India*, no. 6 (Jan. 1950), pp. 21–63, especially pp. 44-46. For much correlative material, see also A. L. Srivastava, 'The Śrīvatsa Symbol in Indian Art,' *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 29, nos. 1–4 (Dec. 1979), pp. 37–60, including numerous illustrations. Dr. G. C. Tripathi, Principal of the Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad, kindly furnished me this learned article. Besides, the work by Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, *Śrīvatsa; the Babe of Goddess Śrī*, Varanasi 1974, has come to my attention.
60. Smith, *A Sourcebook*, p. 278, last line (citation from the work *Sāttvata*).
61. J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, New Delhi 1971, p. 80.
62. The work of n. 55, above, PTT, Vol. 75, p. 51–2–4, 5. I have had to correct the Tibetan expression *rtse gsum* ('trident') since it is clearly a misrendering of Skt. *trikoṇa* ('triangle').
63. Shah, *Studies*, p. 111.
64. For example, Alain Daniélou, *Hindu Polytheism*, Bollingen Series LXXIII, New York 1964, p. 152, cites the *Gopāla-uttara-tāpinī Upaniṣad* for the Sanskrit later given, *śrīvatsalāñchanaṁ hṛtstharh*, which could be rendered (for Viṣṇu) 'situated in (my) heart is the mark *śrīvatsa*,' although Daniélou is not wrong in translating 'on my chest.' We note that these texts have other words to use for 'chest,' e.g. *uras*, *vakṣas*.
65. Tsoṅ-kha-pa, collected works, Lhasa edition, Vol. Cha, *Gdams paʼi mthar thug, Rdo rje bzlas paʼi zin bris*, passage beginning f. 21a–4; also Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 285.
66. *Sanatsujātīya*, with Śaṅkara's and Nīlakaṇṭha's commentaries, Haridās Sanskrit Series, Benares 1924, 1st *adhyāya*, verse 6a-b: *yamaṁ tv eke mṛtyum ato 'nyam āhur atmāvāsam amṛtaṁ brahmacaryam*, with Śaṅkara's comment at p. 18. The name Vaivasvata in the *Manusmṛti* of course means 'son of Vivásvat (the sun),' a name applied normally to either Yama or Manu.
67. Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras*, p. 90.
68. Confer S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, New York 1953, p. 637, on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II, 2, 3: it is the dwarf (*vāmana*), another name of the thumb-

sized person (*aṅguṣṭha-mātra-puruṣa*). Note that there is a Dwarf Avatāra of Viṣṇu.

69. Lessing and Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*, Delhi 1978, pp. 30–32.
70. John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion*, London 1950, pp. 35-36.
71. *Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology* (Madras 1901), Part II, p. 135.
72. Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasāmajatantra*, pp. 284–285.
73. As cited by Hiralal Amritlal Shah, 'Vedic Gods-V-Rudra/Kālī,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXX (1950), p. 50.
74. Shah, *Studies*, p. 109.
75. Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras*, p. 108.
76. On the occasion of the Mathurā conference, Delhi, Jan. 1980, I showed a slide of the upper part of this Tibetan tanka, containing the eight auspicious symbols. This tanka was reproduced in a popular-oriented American magazine *Human Nature*, Aug. 1978, p. 57, with the caption 'Mount Meru Universe, by Wangyal of Dolpo, 1971.' I had commissioned this Nepalese painter to paint this tanka for me after a photograph I supplied of an old Mongolian tanka in the Sven Hedin collection, Stockholm.
77. Cf. N. J. Shende, *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, Poona 1967, p. 47.
78. Soper in his article 'Dome of Heaven' (n. 43, above) refers a number of times to the meditating Jina of the Āyāga plaque, associating it with ceiling depictions of Asia. This is correct intuition. I would add that the 'dome'—cognate with 'home'—is also the protective roof, hence implicating the symbolism of the protective umbrella.
79. Amarakosa [I], with the *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin and the *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha, ed. by A. A. Ramanathan, Madras 1971, p. 88.

27. Language of Mathurā Inscriptions

M. A. MEHENDALE

The paper is based upon the material that is available in (1) H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (unpublished papers edited by K. L. Janert), Göttingen, 1961, (2) H. Lüders, 'A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400' (with the exception of those of Aśoka), *Appendix* to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X (1909–10), and (3) a few inscriptions that have been lately published.[1]

While dealing with the inscriptional material from Mathurā, one has to leave out inscriptions which are very fragmentary, or which are unintelligible, or which record only numbers, or which have been found to be a modern forgery (§177).[2]

The rest of the inscriptions can be classified as those written in Sanskrit, Prākrit, or the so-called Mixed Dialect or Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit. The present paper tries to describe the peculiarities of only those which are in the Mixed Dialect.[3]

The chief characteristics of the inscriptional Mixed Dialect are: (1) they differ markedly from Prākrit in phonology[4]—they have, for example, the vowel *ṛ*, both *n* and *ṇ*, all the three sibilants, not only most consonant clusters but also the geminated stops after *r*-, and (2) they differ markedly from Sanskrit in morphology—they have a generalized nom.sg.mas. term. *-o* irrespective of what follows, gen.sg.term. *-sya* even for *-i*, *-u* and *-in* stems, middle Indic terminations for feminine nouns, and a tendency to avoid allomorphic variations. They show absence of dual forms even for compound words having two members meaning 'father' and 'mother'.

PHONOLOGY

Although in general it may be said that the phonology of the Mixed Dialect is Sanskritic, it is not completely so. Some of the points in which its phonology differs from Sanskrit may be considered as due to (a) writer's lapses or as betraying his ignorance;[5] but some can definitely be looked upon as due to (b) interference of the spoken middle Indic dialects. All these points (a and b) deserve notice and they have been described below.

A. Vowels

1) Length marks: The chief point of departure from Sanskrit is that of the vowel length—(a) either the vowel length-marks are omitted, or (b) they are added where they are not necessary.

(a) omissions of vowel lengths:
  (i) *a* for *ā*: *maharaja-* §102.1, §136.1; *ārāma* §102.2; *prodima* §14.3; *etasyaṁ* §136.1.
  (ii) *i* for *ī*: *Jivaputā-* §116; *pukṣiriṇi* §102.2; *atevāsiniki* §80.2; *priyaṭāṁ* §104.1, §176.
  (iii) *u* for *ū*: *purvā* §102.2; °*pujā* §80.3.

(b) additions of unrequired vowel length-marks:
  (i) *ā* for *a*: *bhagavāto* §81.2; *vādhu-* §14.3; *ātevāsika-* §80.2; *sahā* §80.1, 2; *bhāgīnī-* §84.2.
  (ii) *ī* for *i*: *bhāgīnī-* §84.2; *bḥīkṣu-* §24.1; §45.1; *saṅghamītra-* §45.1
  (iii) *ū* for *u*: *devapūtra-* §31; *sūkha-* §31.

2) Although we have examples of the vowel *ṛ*,[6] there are cases where it is wrongly inscribed, or it appears as *ri*, or is substituted by a simple vowel.

(i) *ṛi* for *ṛ*: *saṁghaprakṛita-* §51.
(ii) *rī* for *ṛ*: *śrīgriha-* L 19B.1; *tritīya-* L 32A.1, L 55; *Aryyamātridina-* L 30.1.
(iii) *ra* for *ṛ*: *Brahāsvātimita-* §116; *mātāpittrasya* §78; *pitramātrabha-* §4.3.
(iv) *ṝ* for *ṛ*: *mātāpitṝhi* §24.1, §187.6–7; *mātāpitīhi* §126.3; *saṁghaprakita-* §65A.
(v) *u* for *ṛ*: *usabha-* L 121 B2.
(vi) Conversely we have cases of hyper-Sanskritization where *ṝ* is represented as *ṛ* or *ṛi*. This happens mostly in the short form *gṛ* §136.1, §31–33, *gṛi* §102.1, §24.1 for the word *grīṣma*.[7] An example of *ṛ* for *ra* is *parigṛha-* §2.6.

3) The diphthongs *ai* and *au*: Although *ai* appears in *hairaṇyaka* 'treasurer' L 74 B1, we have *e* for *ai* in *Śegrava-* (*Śaigrava*) §64.1; *Ucenāgarī-* (*Uccairnāgarī*) L 48.2; *Vajrī* > *Vajirī* >)* *Vairī* > *Verī* L 28 A1.

Similarly although we have *au* in *Kauśiki-* §176, we have examples of *au* > *o* in *Kośiki-* §18.3; *Gotiputra-* §18.1; *Gotami-* §123.1.

4) Other stray deviations from Sanskrit as regards vowels are:

(i) *a* for *ā* (before a cluster): *upajhāya-* §80.1, *sarttavāhini-* L 30.2, *Parśva-* E1 2.207.29.
(ii) *a* for *i*: *puṣkaraṇī-* §64.2; *Huvaṣka-* §15.1; *Śavatrātra-* §14.3.
(iii) *ā* for *e*: *savacharā*, *gaṇā-* §14.1.
(iv) *i* for *a*: due to vowel harmony, *pukṣiriṇi* §102.2. *Dhañiśiri-* §14.2.
(v) *u* for *o*: *sarvalokuttama-* L 27 B4.
(vi) *e* for *i*: *Huvekṣa-* §14.1.
(vii) *o* for *a*: *prodima* §14.3.

5) In the end we come to two special cases where *ā* appears for *a*. These may be cases of compensatory lengthening or of a regional phonetic feature.

(i) Compensatory lengthening: In view of the fact that the vowel lengths are not carefully executed in the inscriptions, it is difficult to decide whether a particular case of a written long vowel is an instance of compensatory lengthening or of a careless addition of a length stroke. If the geminated stops were always written with two symbols, a single consonant appearing after a long vowel would have been a sure case of compensatory lengthening. But, as will be clear from the description below under consonant clusters, this is not the case. However, the following few examples are worth considering as those of compensatory lengthening:

Dhāmaghoṣā- (*Dharmaghoṣā*) §20.2; *Vādhamāna-* (*Vardhamāna*) L 18 B2; *āyāgapāṭa* (*āyāgapaṭṭa*) L 105.2, *vīsa* (*viṁśa*) L 32 A1.

(ii) Provincialism: Then there are a few cases of long *ā* before *r* + consonant, as in *Dhārmadharā* L 75 2, *ārhato* L 110. While writing on the nature of Sanskrit of the Buddhist dramas found in Turfan, Lüders considered this as a provincialism (Provincizialismus).[8] The examples that he cites from the Turfan fragment is *ārttha-*. He admits that in many cases where the language of these fragments varies from Sanskrit, it is only a question of scribal negligence. But in the case of *ārttha*, he does not regard it as a scribal error but as a dialectal feature of the Mathurā region because inscriptional records, which are contemporary with the Turfan fragments, show a similar feature in few forms cited above.

B. Single Consonants

In the phonology of the Mixed Dialect which is predominantly Sanskritic, we notice the following MIA tendencies which may be looked upon as due to the underlying regional MIA dialect or due to the interference of the spoken dialects of the scribes. These features are:

1. Voicing or weakening of intervocal consonants:
   (i) *k* > *g*: *rayagini-* (*rajakinī*) L 32 B2; *kalagata-* §44 (if it is a wrong rendering of Pāli *kālakata*, Skt. *kālakṛta*.
   (ii) *t* > *d*: *hida-* §102.3; *prodima* §14.3; *pidamahi-* L 50.5; *śavado* (*sarvataḥ*) L 122 D2.
   (iii) *p* > *v*: *pratiṣṭhaveti* §183. 1–2, (L 54.6); *Bhādravada-* §78; *maṇḍavikā* §23.2; *Dhañivala* (*Dhānyapāla*) §14.2; *Jayavāla-* L 28 B2; *Gova-* L 54.5
   (iv) *k* > *y* (restricted to suffixes): *mahāsaghiya-* §86; §125; *Bramadāsiya* L 46.2; L 23a. 1.
   (v) *j* > *y*: *lohavāṇiya-* L 29 B; *rayagini-* L 32 B2.
2. Change of *v* > *m* in a single instance *Gomindra-* §161.1.
3. Unvoicing: This is less frequent.
   (i) *g* > *k*: *Ucenakā (ka) rī-* (for *-nagarī*) L 19 A2; *Vajanakari-* L 59a A2; *Harītamālakaḍhī* (for *-gaḍhī*) L 42.2; *saṁbhoka* L 120B, L 39 B1.
   (ii) *j* > *c*: *pūcā-* §123.7.
4. Aspiration: We note either the addition or loss of aspiration.
   (i) Addition: *dhitā* §136.1; *dhitu* §93.2; *śāvasthidiyānaṁ* (*sarvāstivādinām*) §2.5, *kuṭhubiṇi* L 28 B2.
   (ii) Loss: *pratiṣṭapayati* §136.2; §27.3; *Jeṣṭahasti-* L 121 B1; L 122 A4; *Buddhiśreṣta-* §33B;

ditu §68; *Bodiśāta-* §72, *stāna-* §27.2–3. *sarttavāhini-* L 30.2; *prattistāpenti* §137.5.

5. Loss of occlusion: This is very rare.
   (i) *gh* > *h*: *Ohanandi-* L 81.2.
   (ii) *dh* > *h*: *prāhanika-* §46.1
   (iii) *ph* > *h*: *Haggudeva-* *(Phalgudeva)* L 29 B1.
6. Palatalisation: There are very few cases.
   (i) *ts* > *cch*: *vacchaliya-* L 25B; *Kochi-(Kautsī)* L 59.3;
   > *c*: *savacara-* §14.1
   (ii) *dhy* > *(j) jh*: *upajhāya-* §80.1.
   (iii) *ny* > *(ñ)ñ*: Dhañivala. 14.2; *Dhañiśiri-* 14.2
7. Retroflexion: Some changes of dentals to retroflex sounds could be attributed to the influence of the neighboring *r* or *ṣ*, but some seem to be cases of spontaneous retroflexion. As for the nasal, the mixed dialect has both *n* and *ṇ* (*brāhmaṇena* §64.1).
   (a) Those due to the influence of neighboring sounds:
      (i) *t* > *ṭ*: *paṭimā* §119.2, §144.3.
      (ii) *th* > *ṭh*: *upaṭhapita-* §65 A; *Ṭhaniya-* L 22a 5.
      (iii) *d* > *ḍ*: *khuḍā-* L 18 A, L 26 B.
      (iv) *n* > *ṇ*: *kuṣāṇa-* §98.2; *paṇati-* L 50.3, 4.
   (b) Spontaneous cerebralization:
      (i) *n* > *ṇ*: *kāṇikkha-* §102.1, §136.1; Kāṇiṣka- §182.2; *Śakyamuṇi-* §183.1; *prāhaṇika-* §46.1, 2; *Ariṣṭaṇemi-* L 26 B.
      (ii) *l* > *ḍ*: *yamaḍa-* §64.2 (twin).
   (c) *ḷ* appears for *ḍ* (?) in Khaḷamitta L 29.A2 (correction *EI* Vol. X p. 164), Goḷāśvasta §122.1. Perhaps *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-* in Koḷiyagaṇa L. 17, 18 etc. (Skt. Kauṭṭika).
8. De-retroflexion: On the other hand, there are cases where a dental appears in place of a retroflex.
   (i) *th* for *ṭh*: *pratisthāpita-* §180.2, §92, §14.3 and *prattistāpenti* §137.5. It may be noted that in these examples the dental *s* also has not become *ṣ* after the vowel *i*. Hence, when a dental appears after *ṣ*, it may be due to a scribal error: *Buddhiśreṣtha-* §33 A, *pratiṣthapita-* §121.3.
   (ii) *n* for *ṇ*: Most of the examples are from terminations or suffixes, *acariyanā* §157.3; *mātāpitina* §180.3; *bhikṣunaṁ* §46.1; *ācariyānaṁ* §80.3; *śiśinī* §14.2, L 16 B; *putrena* §62 A1; *prahānārtha-* §81.3.
9. Loss of intervocal consonants: Except a case of the possible loss of *-j-*, the other few instances occur with reference to suffix or the termination.
   (i) Loss of *-j-*: *Vajrī* > *Vajirī* > *Vairī* L 22; *Vairā* L 22a 5.
   (ii) Loss of *-k-*: *Bamhadāsia* L 122 A2.
   (iii) Loss of *-y-*: hitasukhāe §131b; *vadhue* L 22a 1.
10. Metathesis: A possible case is *kṛta-* > *krita-* > *kitra-* > *kīttra-* §161.2.
11. Sibilants: The Mixed Dialect shows the presence of all the three sibilants exactly as in Sanskrit. A few cases of deviations, which are more likely to be due to scribal errors, are: *Puśyamitra* L 16 B; *śiśini* L 16 B; *śisa-* L 42.2, L 45.1; *śisya-* §15.2, *śāvado* (*sarvataḥ*) L 122 D2.

C. Consonant clusters

As already remarked, the phonology of the Mixed Dialect tends to be Sanskritic. Hence, consonant clusters are on the whole well preserved in these inscriptions. However, a few instances of the interference of the Middle Indic dialects can be seen and they are detailed below. Giving examples of the preservation of clusters is considered unnecessary.

1. Writing of geminated stops: As is well known, in the early Brāhmī inscriptions, a single letter may represent a geminated stop, hence *raño* can stand for *rañño*, *puta* for *putta*, gen.sg.term. *-sa* for *-ssa*, etc. But in the Mathurā inscriptions, the geminated stops are written as such, e.g., *siddhaṁ* §182, §27.1, §52; *Buddhamitrā-* §24.1; *śilāpaṭṭa-* §27.3; *Nāgadatta-* §157.1; *Dinnā-* §103, *dukkha-* §81.3; *Bhaddila-* §50; etc.

   There are, however, some cases where the influence of the middle Indic writing system becomes perceptible and we find a single letter representing geminated consonants. A few examples are *jivaputa°-* §116; *bhikhuṇī-* §126.1,3; *utarā-* §182.4; *sarvasata-* §102.3, §2.3; §3.2; *pratithāpita-* §126.3; *devaputrasa-* §126.1; *Budhaghoṣa-* §56; *dārakoṭhaka-* §98.4; *bhaṭārikā-* §180.3; *Bhadila-* §51; *upajhāya-* §80.1; *añatra-* §65.A, *savacara-* (*saṁvatsara*) §14.1; *puvā-* §14.1.
2. Writing *r* + consonant: One of the peculiarities of the writing system is to write a geminated stop after *r*. This is witnessed in such examples as *purvvā-* §102.2, §32; *sarvva-* §27.7; *Dadhikarṇṇa-* §27.2; *Saṅghavarmma-* §54; *sabharyyaka-* §63; *prahānārttha-* §81.3; *caturddiśa-* §33A.

   But it may be noted that this is not always the case. Occasionally we find the writing of a geminated consonant after an anusvāra, *saṁkkālayitavya-* §65A; (*saṁ*) *vvat* §23.1.

   We have a few cases of writing a geminated stop *before r*: *Mittravarmmaputtra-* §78; *attra* §78 (but *Bhādravada-* in the same inscription).
3. A few new clusters appear either due to scribal

error or as a result of an attempt at over-Sanskritization. The examples are: *nirvatana* (for *nivartana*) §14.2; *Boddhisatva-* §157.2, §72 (fn. 4); *pukṣiriṇi* §102.2; *Huvekṣa-* §14.1; *hemantra-* L 55; *Gomindra-* §161.1; *prarigṛha-* §2.6; *ddharmmapatni-* §23.2; *devāddharma-* §62 A2, *pratiṣṭāpita-* L 108.2; *patiṣṭhāpita-* L 102.4; *saptāviṅśa-* §78; *devvadharma-* §61 A2, *bhavvatu* §61 A2; *Vvagamīhīra* §61 A1; *prattistāpenti-* §137.5.[10]

In the occurrence of *ry* for *y* in *deryadharmma-* §46.2, Lüders points to a similar form *seryathā* (Pāli *seyathā*) in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

4. Types of the usual MIA treatment of OIA clusters are noted below. Chief among these is, of course, assimilation.
   1. Assimilation:
      (a) Clusters with stops:
      (i) *pt* > (*t*) *t*: *Gotiputra-* §18.1.
      (ii) *ṣk* > *kkh*: *kaṇikkha-* §102.1.
      > (*k*) *kh*: *bhikhuṇī-* §126.1, 3; §24.1.
      (iii) *ṣṭh* > (*ṭ*) *ṭh*: *dārakoṭhaka-* §98.4
      > (*ṭ*) *th*: *pratithāpita-* §126.3.
      (iv) *st* > (*t*) *th*: *Puṣahathini-* §126.1; L 47 B.
      (b) Clusters with *y*:
      (i) *gy* > (*g*) *g*: *aroga-* §44.
      (ii) *ṣy* > (*ś*) *ś*: *Puśahathini-* §126.1; *śiśinī-* §14.2.
      (iii) *sy* > (*s*) *s*: *devaputrasa-* §126.1.
      (c) Clusters with *r*:
      (i) Initially the cluster is simplified as in *patimā* §114.3; *paṭimā* §119.2; §144.3; *Paroha-* (*Praroha-*?) §26; *savaka-* L 45.1.
      (ii) *tr* > (*t*) *t*: *jivaputā-* §116; *Brahāsvātimita-* §116; *Bhaṭṭimita-* L 22.
      (iii) *dr* > *dd*: *Bhaddila-* §50.
      (*d*) *d*: *Bhadila-* §51.
      (d) Clusters with *v*:
      (i) Initially the cluster *dv* is assimilated to *d*, *dārakoṭhaka-* §98.4.
      (ii) *tv* > (*t*) *t*: *sarvasata-* §102.3, §2.3; §3.2, *Bodhisāta-* §72.
      (iii) *tv* > (*v*) *v*?: *sarvasava* L 25 D2.
      (iv) *rv* > (*v*) *v*: *sava-* §2.3, §2.5, *puvā-* §14.1.
      (e) Clusters with sibilants:
      (i) *kṣ* > (*k*) *kh*: *dakhiṇa-* §180; *bhikhuṇi-* §126.1, 3.
      (f) Clusters with nasals:
      (i) *jñ* > (*ñ*) *ñ*: *añatra* §65A.
      (ii) *rm* > *m*: *Dhāmaghoṣā-* §20.2.
      (iii) *hm* > (*m*) *m*: *Bramadāsi-* L 46.2 (but *brāhmaṇa* §64.1).
   2. Anaptyxis: Such cases are very few.
      (i) *tn* > *tan*: *ratana-* §187.5.
      (ii) *ry* > *riy*: *acariya-* §157.3, §80.3.
      (iii) *jr* > *jir*: *Vajra-* > *Vajira-* > *Vaira-* §23.1.
      (iv) *śr* > *śir*: *śirivihāra-* §80.2; *Jīvaśiri-* §65B. *Dhañaśiri-* §14.2; *Buddhaśiri-* §L 21.2.
      (v) *rṣ* > *riṣ*?: *va (ṣa) riṣā* §112.2.
      (vi) *rh* > *rah*: *arahato* §18.1.
   3. Metathesis: A possible example is *kṛta-* > **krita-* > **kittra-* (> *kīttra*) §161.2.
   4. Clusters with nasals (as first members): There are examples where such clusters are recorded with *parasavarṇa*.
      (i) *ṅ* is found in *Saṅghavarmma-* §54; also cf. other personal names with *Saṅgha-* §55, §45.1; *saṅgha-* §38.1, §35.B. A case of late correction is *saṁṅgha-* §65.A, §65.B.
      (ii) *ṇ* is found in *Śrīkuṇḍa-* §65 A; *Vaṇḍakṣa-* §40 B1.
      (iii) *n* is found in *antevāsini-* §24.1, §103; *Naganandi-* §93.1.
      (iv) *m* is found in *kuṭumbinī-* §93.2, §167, §15.2.
      But nasals are also written as anusvāra.
      (i) *saṁgha-* §51; *Saṁghitā-* §81.2; *saṁkkālayitavya-* §65 A.
      (ii) *gaṁjavara-* §64.1.
      (iii) *Soṁḍāsa-* §64.1; *Vaṁḍaksa-* §40 A.
      (iv) *Naṁdā-* §3.1; *Buddhanaṁdi-* §41.2; *abhyaṁtara-* §25; *aṁtevāsinī-* §20.1; finally, *asmiṁ-* §81.1.
      (v) *saṁmyasaṁbuddha-* §81.2; *staṁbha-* §64.2; *baṁbhadāsi-* L 23a. 1.
      But anusvāras are occasionally left out in writing.
      (i) *Sihaka-* §128.1; *savacara-* §14.1; *savatsara-* §182.2; *pacatriśa-* §45.1.
      (ii) *mahāsaghiya-* §86; *sagha-* §31.
      (iii) *pacatriśa-* §45.1.
      (iv) °*atevāsika-* §55.1; *Idradatā-* §26.1; *ātevāsika-*[11] §80.2; *ātevāsini-* §80.2; *bhadata-* §20.1.
      (v) *kuṭubini-* §85; *kubhaka-* §54.2.
      (vi) nasals are omitted finally in *asyā-* §41.2; *etasyā-* §180.1; *purvayā-* §180.1; *śākhāyā-* §15.1; *satvāna-* §41.4; *dāna-* §54; *hitasukhārtha-* §180.4; §41.4.

MORPHOLOGY

Under morphology, one can only attempt some description of declension of nominal stems. There are very few pronominal and verbal forms. This is as it should be since the inscriptions record donations given

by different persons for religious merit. As has already been noted, the declension turns out to be non-Sanskritic, either because (1) the terminations, although they have a Sanskrit shape, have been generalized so that they appear where they are not expected to be in Sanskrit, or because (2) the terminations themselves are of Prākritic nature. The whole effort seems to be to avoid allomorphic variation[12] which is a special feature of Sanskrit inflexion. In the following description only a few illustrative examples are given:

Dual forms are totally absent so that we get plural endings for dvandva compounds not only in words of Prākritic appearance like *mātāpitina-* §180:3, but also in *mātāpitṝṇaṁ-* §27.6 which, in the phonetic shape, is Sanskritic.

A. Declension–1. Noun

a) Masculine and neuter nouns in *-a*.

(i) Nom. sg. mas. *-o*, this is practically the only term. *devaputro* §98.1, §97; *Bodhisatvo* §24.1; *udapāno* §64.2; *devo* §22.4, etc. *-aḥ* occurs only in *pacanaḥ* and *saṁkkālayitavyaḥ* §65 A which is of the Gupta period (but *upaṭhapito* in the same inscription); *sidha*[*ḥ*] §104.2.

Nom. pl. mas. *-ā* *āyāgapaṭā* L 95.2; *kāritā* (?) §98.3;

(ii) Instr. sg. *-ena* (*-ṇa*) *brāhmaṇena* §64.1; *upajhāyena* §80.1; *putreṇa* §176.

Instr. pl. *-ehi* *putrehi* §27.5; *dārakehi* §27.6.

(iii) dat. sg. *-ye* *sukhāye* §157.3, §35 B, §3.3; *-e*: *sukhāe* §131b.

(iv) Abl. sg. *-to* *Vāraṇāto* L 16 A; *gaṇāto* L 16 A, L 18 A1; *kulato* L 16 A; *kulāto* L 18 A2.

(v) Gen. sg. *-sya* *mahārājasya* §102.1, §14.1; *kaṇikkhasya* §102.1; etc. *Śurānāsya* §68 (Iranian name in *-ā*?).

Gen. pl. *-nāṁ* *satvānāṁ* §131b, *-naṁ* *satānaṁ* §2.3; *śailālakānaṁ* §27.4 (this term is more common); *-sa*, *Cikkasa* §26.1; *mahakṣatrapasa Rājuvulasa putrasa* § 113.1; *Gotiputrasa* § 18.1 (by the side of *Vardhamānasya*).

-nā *acarıyanā* §157.3; *-ṇā* *sarvvasataṇā* L 12.1–2; *-na* *Samitiyāna* §80.3 *satāna* §3.2; *Bhadilapramukhana* §51.

(vi) loc. sg. *-e* *svake vihāre* §136.3; *saṅghe* §38.1; *divase* §72.

(vii) nom. sg. neut. *-aṁ* *dānaṁ* §128.1, §25; *dinnaṁ* §35 B; *dānā* (or *dāno*?) for *dānaṁ* §14.3.

nom. pl. neut. *-āni* *toraṇāni* §187.5.

b) Feminine nouns in *-ā*

(i) nom. sg. *-ā* *vedikā kāritā* §176; *prodima* §14.3 (final length mark being absent).

(ii) instr. sg. *-ye* *Śimitrāye* §18.3; *upāsikāye* §180.1; *bhayāye* L 107.1.

Inst. pl. *-hī* *parisāhī* §187.7.

(iii) dat. sg. *-ye* *pŭjāye* §157.2, §44, §80.3; *-ya*(?) *mahābhogatāya* §15.2

(iv) abl. sg. *-to* *śākhāto* L 16 A, L 18 A2.

(v) gen. sg. *-ye* *jivaputāye*, *rājabharyāye* §116; *Dinnaye* §103; *bhāryaye* §123.6; *-ya* *Yaśāya* §14.3. *-e* *Bhatibalāe* L 73.2.

(vi) Loc. sg. *-yaṁ* *pūrvvāyaṁ* §102.2; §32; *utarāyaṁ* *navamikāyaṁ* §182.4; *-yāṁ* *Ālikāyāṁ*

§180.1; *pūrvvāyāṁ* §15.1,
-ya śikhāya (for *śākhāya*) §14.2
-ye purvvāye §35A, *purvaye* §114.2.

c) Masculine nouns in *-i*
(i) instr. sg. *-nā °patinā* §98.3
(ii) gen. sg. *-sya Śakyamuṇisya* §183.1. *Śākyamunisya* §4.1; *Vṛdhisya* §84.2; *Buddhisya* L 44.1; *-sa Dhanabhūtisa* §187.4. *-e Śakyamune* §180.2 (only once)

d) Feminine nouns in *-i*
(i) nom. sg. *-i dāti* L16c.

e) Masculine nouns in *-ī*
(i) gen. sg. *-sya Aryya-buddhaśrisya* L21.2.

f) Feminine nouns in *-ī*
(i) nom. sg. *-i devi* §182.5 *pukṣirini* §102.2, §98.4; *śiśini* L 16 B
(ii) instr. sg. *-ye Kośikiye* §18.3 *bhaginiye* L 102.5 *-a ddharmmapatnya* §23.2
(iii) abl. sg. *-to Vājranagarito* L 16 A; *Ucenāgarito* L 18 A2.
(iv) gen. sg. *-ye bhikhuṇiye* §126.1, 3; *kuṭubiniye* §85; *bhikṣuṇīye* §24.1, *bhāgineyīye* §24.2; *-ya śiśiniya* §14.2; *Jinadāsiya* L 68.2 *-e °ṭubanie* L 73.1
(v) loc. sg. *-yaṁ °kuṭiyaṁ* §157.2; *-ya Pa (?u)cenāgariya* §14.2, *Puṣkaraṇiyya* (wrong doubling) §137.5.

instr. pl. *-hi ātevāsinihi* §80.2.

Gen. pl. *-naṁ antevāsinīnaṁ* §103 *śiśīninaṁ* L 24 c1 *-nāṁ puṣkaraṇīnāṁ* §64.2.

g) Masculine nouns in *-u*
(i) gen. sg. *-sya bhĭkṣusya* §24.1, §157.1, §38.1, §31, §33A, *Vīṣṇusyaḥ*[13] §161.1; *-ṇo bhikṣuṇo* §52; *-os bhikṣoḥ* §53, §55.1 [*ḥ*]
(ii) loc. sg. (neut.) *-smi vāstusmi* §65 A

gen. pl. *-naṁ bhikṣunaṁ* §46.1.

h) Feminine nouns in *-ū*
(i) instr. sg. *-ye vadhuye* L 107.1
(ii) gen. sg. *-ye vadhū* [*ye*] §84.2, §76.2; *vādhuye* §14.3 (for *vadhūye*?); *-ya vadhūya* §L 73.1.

i) Masculine and feminine nouns in *-ṛ*
(i) nom. sg. *pitā, mātā* §26.1; *dhitā* L 118 A; L 119.1; *dhita* L 32 B2.
(ii) instr. sg. *mātare* §180.3, L 102.5; *dhitare* L 102.5; *dhitara* L 34 A.
(iii) gen. sg. *dhitu* §116, 93.2; *ditu* §68; *mātu* §93.3, §180.3; *mātāpittrasya* §78 (sg. instead of pl. and *-sya* ending).

instr. pl. *mātāpitĭhi* §126.3, §24.2, §80.1, etc., *mātāpitihī* §187.6–7; *dhītīhi* L 124b 2

gen. pl. *mātă-pitṛṇăṁ* §27.6; L 12.1; §125 (*ṛ*); *bhrātrinaṁ* L 119.3; *mātāpitina* §180.3.

j) Stems ending in consonants:
1) stems in *-an*
(i) nom. sg. *mahārājā rājātirājā* §97 declined as an *-an* stem) but *mitraśarmo* §26.1 (by transference to *-a* declension).
(ii) gen. sg. *-sya Saṅghavarmmasya* §54; *atmanasya* §180.3

-o Mahātmano §176;
rājña (for *rājño*) L 76.1.

2) Stems ending in *-a (n) t*
   (i) nom. sg. *bhagavā* §176 (perhaps to be read *bhagavān*); §137.6.
   (ii) gen. sg. *bhagavato* §102.2, §183.1, etc. *arahato* §18.1. gen. pl. *-naṁ arahaṁtānaṁ* L 105.1; *-nā arahaṁtānā* L 106.

3) Stems in *-as*
   (i) instr. sg. *-ena Bodhiyaśena* §176.
   (ii) gen. sg. *-sya Buddhayaśasya* §122; *-sa Bhadrayaśasa* L 107.1.

4) Stems in *-in*
   (i) instr. pl. *-hi viharihi* §157.2; *vyavahārihi* §65A
   (ii) gen. sg. *-sya vihārasvāmisya* §136.1; *viharisya* §157.1; §44 (*rī*); *Naganandisya* §93.1; *svāmisya* §64.1; *gaṇīya* §15.2. L 21.2; *-sa °vihārīsa* §45.1. gen. pl. *sarvvastivādīnāṁ* L 12.1.

Declension–2. Pronouns
Only the following few forms are met with:

a) Demonstrative forms—masculine.
   (i) nom. sg. *ayaṁ* §46.1.
   (ii) instr. sg. *anena* §46.1; *imeṇa* §62 A 2.
   (iii) gen. sg. *asya* §35 A; *etasya* (?) §114.2 gen. pl. *teṣaṁ* §27.5.

b) Demonstrative forms—feminine.
   (i) dat. sg. *etaya* §182.3.
   (ii) loc. sg. *etasyaṁ* §136.1, §126.1, §157.1; *etasya* §14.1; *etasyāṁ* §15.1; *asyaṁ* §32. gen. pl. *imāṣāṁ* §64.2.

c) Relative form: gen. pl. mas. *yeṣam* §65 A.

d) Other words declined like pronouns.
   (i) *sarva*: gen. pl. mas. *sarveṣaṁ* §46.2.

Declension—3. Numerals

a) Cardinals: instr. pl. *catuhī* §187.
ekunatīśa L 35 A 1.
loc. sg. *catariśa* for *-śe* §137.

B. Verbal Forms

a) Present 3rd per. sg. *pratiṣṭapayati* §136.2; *pratiṣṭhāpayati* §81.2–3; *pratiṣṭhaveti* §183.1–2; *nirvartayati* L 47 A2.

b) Present 3rd per. pl. *prattistāpenti* §137.5.

c) Imperative 3rd per. sg. active: *bhavatu* §27.7.8; §44; §31; §62 A2; *bhavvatu* §61 A2; middle: *bhavatāṁ* §46.2; *priyatāṁ* §182.5, §176

d) Past passive participles: *pratisthapito* §72, also §23.2; §14.3 with different readings; *pratisthāpitā* §180.2, *kāritā* §176; *kāritaṁ* §116. *dinnaṁ* §35B; also in personal names like *Nāgadinā* L 28 B2.

e) Future passive participle: *saṁkkālayitavyaḥ* §65A.

In the end a few observations may be made on the language presented by the inscriptions which do not become apparent from the foregoing description. The language is characterized as 'mixed' not only because in phonology it tends to be Sanskritic, although betraying some Prākritic features, and in morphology, it tends to be Prākritic while retaining the phonetic shape of some Sanskrit terminations, but also because of the following peculiarities:

1. In the same inscription, sometimes even in the same line, we have a completely Sanskrit word side by side a completely Prākrit word, e.g., *puṣkariṇi* and *dārakoṭhako* in §98.4; *etasya* and *tasa* L 58 1, 2.
2. A compound has one member in Sanskrit and the other in Prākrit form, e.g., *sārvvasata* (i.e., *sarvvasata* < *sarvasatva*) §3.2; *ārogyadakhiṇa* §180.
3. A donor uses a word with Prākrit termination in one inscription and the same word with Sanskrit termination in another, e.g., *bhikṣuṇo* §52, *bhikṣo* [*ḥ*] §53.
4. A word may show a stem in Sanskrit form but the termination would be in Prākrit, e.g., *Dadhikarṇṇo* (*-o* before a pause) §95; *śrāvikāye* L 28 cl.
5. Sometimes the name of a person appears in a Sanskrit form but his title appears in a Prākrit form, e.g., a monk Buddharaksit has the title, *prāhaṇika*, 'practiser of meditation' (Skt. *prādhānika*, Pāli *padhānika*, BHS *prahāṇa*); Vṛdhahasti who is *aya* L 47 A2.
6. In the same inscription, a nun who is older and is versed in the Tripiṭakas is called *bhikṣuṇī* (Sanskrit), but one who is younger and who has not studied the Tripiṭakas is called *bhikhuṇī* (Prākrit) §24.
7. Male names appear in Sanskrit form, female names in Prākrit, e.g., *Datta-* (mas.) §37, §38.1; *Dinnā-* (Fem.) §103 (although there could be exceptions of both types); *Īdrapāla* (Mas.) L 96.2; *Gotī* (Prākrit) in *Gotīputra-* L 96.2.
8. Males, and consequently masculine nouns, have terminations in Sanskritic shape while females, and consequently feminine nouns, have Prākritic terminations.

NOTES

1. B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Curzon Museum Inscription of Kanishka's Reign, year 23' *EI* Vol. 28 (1949–1950), pp. 42–44; D. C. Sircar, 'Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI* Vol. 34 (1963), pp. 9–13; V. N. Srivastava, 'Two Image Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI* Vol. 37 (1967–1968), pp. 151–154. As this paper was being written, the author came to know about the following book: Th. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid-Sanskrit: Its Rise, Spread, Characteristics and Relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, Leiden, 1978. The book is inaccessible to the author of this paper.
2. References in this paper are either to the article number in Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* or to Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.' The former is introduced by a § sign. The latter is abbreviated as L. The number appearing after L is the number of the inscription in the list where the place of publication of the inscription can be found.
3. There is hardly anything to be said about the Sanskrit of these inscriptions. The Prākrit dialect has been described in M. A. Mehendale's, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona, 1948. An inscription is not judged to be in Mixed Dialect if occasionally it shows a word without proper vowel length, e.g., *upadhyayasya* (§29.2), *bhrāṭṛnām* (§184.2), or word with unnecessary vowel length, e.g. *mahārājāsya* (§30.1), *°sthavirasyā* (§59), or absence of termination in words giving dates *hemanta* (§29), *māsa* (§29), or absence of anusvāra *triśe* (§30.5), *savatrare* (§30.3), or absence of visarga *mātāpittro* (§67.1–2), *Śākyabhikṣo* (§67.1, §152.1.).
4. The Mixed dialect, however, is very rarely characterized by sandhi like *nāñatra* §65A, *hitasukhāyāstu* L 53.4.
5. Cf. Heinrich Lüders' remarks in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 30–31.
6. *Vṛddhasya* §54; *mātāpitṝṇaṁ* §27.6, §44 (*ṇa*).
7. We have also *Pṛya-* L 70.1.
8. Lüders, *Bruchstücke*, p. 31.
9. It is true that in this and in many of the examples that follow, this writing peculiarity occurs if the form is middle Indic in phonology. But this is by no means always the case.
10. There are many examples of wrong doublings in §137 in which all *t* and *y*, unless they already occur in clusters like *tr* or *sy*, are doubled.
11. Cases of compensatory lengthening?
12. There are very few examples where a stem shows allomorphic variation, e.g., *Śakyamune* §180.2, *bhikṣo* [*ḥ*] §55.1, §53.
13. The *visarga* at the end of each word in this inscription is interpreted by Lüders as indicating the separation of words.

PART VII

EPIGRAPHY

28. Observations on the Study of Some Epigraphic Records from Mathurā[1]

D. C. SIRCAR

I

We had occasion to observe that it is difficult to trace the earlier studies on an inscripion and that the truth about the reading, interpretation and evaluation of an epigraph may not appear at the initial attempt but in subsequent studies.[2] In the same context we had also occasion to point to the difficulties of epigraphical research and the deterioration in its standard at present. These views are relevant to some recent work on inscriptions from Mathurā.

II

In January, 1979, I met Dr. U. P. Shah at the American Institute of Studies, Vārāṇasī, for the Planning Session of the present Seminar. Dr. Shah kindly drew my attention to his *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 80, where he speaks of a small Jain inscription on a stone tablet from Mathurā as follows: 'This tablet is noteworthy for its inscription which shows that it was set up by Śivamitrā of Kauśika family, wife of Gōtiputra (Gautamīputra), a black serpent of the Pōṭhayas and Śakas.' He further says that, according to Smith, the inscription is incised in 'archaic characters apparently anterior to the Kuṣāṇa period'. Dr. Shah appeared to believe that Gōtiputra is identical with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 107–31 A.D.) of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Deccan, who claimed to have destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas (i.e. the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians),[3] so that the Pōṭhayas may be regarded as the same as the Pahlavas or Parthians. In this connection, Dr. Shah refers us to the works of V. A. Smith and G. Bühler. The inscribed slab was illustrated by Smith in his *Jain Stupa at Mathurā* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XX), Plate XIII, while G. Bühler's reading and translation of the Mathurā inscription in question appeared as No. XXXIII in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 396, together with his comments at pp. 393 f.

Even before examining the inscription, I felt that Dr. Shah's suggestion regarding *Gōtiputra* and *Pōṭhaya* was wrong since it was philologically impossible to regard those the same as *Gautamīputra* and *Pahlava* respectively. While *Gautamīputra* means 'the son of a lady belonging to the Gautamagōtra', *Gōtiputra* stands for Sanskrit *Gauptīputra* which indicates 'the son of a lady belonging to the Gupta family'. Therefore the ladies could not have been the same and their sons must have been different. Moreover, the inscription does not use any royal title nor do we have as yet any evidence regarding a Jain queen of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and her association with Mathurā.

On an examination of Bühler's reading, interpretation and illustration of the record, I found that the characters of the inscription are Middle Brāhmī, very similar to the alphabet of the Mathurā inscriptions of the time of the Śaka Kṣatrapa Śōḍāsa, one of which is dated in the year 72 of the old Scytho-Parthian era, corresponding to 15 A.D. in our opinion.[4] Thus it is more than a century earlier than the days of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Bühler's reading and translation of the inscription run as follows:-

1. [na*] mō Arahatō Vardhamānasya (/*) Gōti-
   putrasa Pōṭhaya-Śaka-
2. Kālavaḷasa
3. [bhāryāyē*] Kōśikiyē Śi (va *) mitrāyē Ayāgapa[ṭa]
   pra [ti][ṣṭhāpitō*] (// *)

'Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā of the Kauśika family, wife of Gōtiputra (Gauptūputra), a black serpent for the Pōṭhayas and Śakas.' The Pōṭhaya people were identified with the Pōṣṭhas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a people of South India.

In this, *ayāgapaṭō* is a misreading or misprint for *āyāgapaṭō*. The *āyāgapaṭa* or tablet of homage was installed for worship by the lady Śimitrā (taken to be an error for 'Śivamitrā') of the Kauśika-gōtra, who was the *bhāryā* (wife) of one who is called *Pōṭhaya-Śaka-Kālavāḷa* in which *Kālavāḷa*, supposed to stand for Sanskrit Kālavyāla, is explained by Bühler as 'the black serpent'. In his opinion, followed by Dr. Shah, the husband of Śivamitrā is not mentioned by name but only by his metronymic endowed with an epithet which describes him as the black serpent to the Pōṭhayas and Śakas, (i.e. as one who had been successful in fighting with the peoples in question). J. F. Fleet wrote a learned paper on the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1905), pp. 35–55, and R. D. Banerji briefly treated it in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII (1908), p. 49. These scholars accepted Bühler's reading and translation of the record; but Fleet tried to prove at great length that the Śakas mentioned in it were the Buddhists and that the Pōṭhayas were the Digambara Jains while Gōtiputra was a Śvētāmbara who was particularly successful in disputation with the adherents of the rival creeds. This is rather curious because nothing like this can be traced in the inscription itself.

The above interpretation offered by Bühler was at first accepted by H. Lüders in his 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of those of Aśoka' (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X [1909–1910], no. 94. However, although Lüders originally followed Bühler's views in his List, in its Index to Personal Names, Pōṭhayaśaka was entered as the name of a man. Apparently, Lüders changed his opinion regarding the interpretation of the inscription and proposed to interpret the passage as 'of the *kālavāḷa* Pōṭhayaśaka (Prauṣṭhayaśas), the Gōtiputra (Gauptūputra)'[5].

Next Lüders re-edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXIV (1937–1938), pp. 202–05 (no. III).[6] Here he examines Bühler's interpretation of the record in details and shows the highly improbable nature of Bühler's interpretation accepted by Fleet. The first objection is that, in a dedicatory inscription like this, the language is expected to be simple and formulary and without rhetorical embellishment. Secondly, the use of only the metronymic in preference to the personal name of a private individual in the present case is extremely unlikely. Thirdly, there is no reason why Pōṭhayaśaka should not be taken as derived from the asterism Prōṣṭhapada as in cases like Pōṭhaghōṣa in a Mathurā record, Pōṭhadēva in a Sāñchī epigraph and Pōṭhaka in another Sāñchī inscription. As regards the epigraphic text, Lüders prefers to add *sa*, the mark of the sixth case-ending at the end of *Pōṭhayaśaka* in order to separate the name from the epithet *kālavāḷasa* and considers the correction *Śimitrāyē* to *Śivamitrāyē* (or *Śrīmitrāyē*) as hazardous. As regards interpretation, he says, 'The exact meaning of *kālavāḷa* is unknown,' and again '*Kālavāḷa*, of course, cannot be connected with *Kalyapāla*, *Kallavāla* (*Mahavy.*, 186, 109), which denotes a distiller or seller of spirits.'

However, it seems to us that *Pōṭhayaśaka-kālavāḷasa* is the same as *kāḷavāla-Poṭhayaśakasa* and that the correction of *Śimitrā* to *Śivamitrā* is not so very hazardous because *Śimitrā* appears to be erroneous as a name. *Pōṭhayaśaka-kālavāḷa* seems to be a compound of the *mayūra-vyaṁsaka* type. We have again no doubt that *Kālavāḷa* is the same as *Kalyapāla* or *Kalvapāla* since an officer associated with the king's distillery or wine-store is now found mentioned in an epigraphic record although no such instance was probably known when Lüders wrote. Thus we have the mention of the *Kalvapāla-vārika* in the following passage in Viṣṇusēna's charter of 592 A.D.:-

rājakīya-gañjē Kalvapāla-vārikēṇa cāturtha-śōṭī-hastēna mēyaṁ muktvā n = ānyat = kiṁcit = karaṇīyam, that is to say that, while measuring wine in *cāturthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the *vārika* or officer bearing the designation or belonging to the class called Kalvapāla was not allowed to pay attention to any other work. In our opinion therefore, Pōṭhayaśaka may have been a royal officer of the type of the Kalvapāla-vārika of Viṣṇuṣēṇa's charter. Since, however, there is no claim of his being a royal officer, it is probable that the person in question was either the owner of a big distillery or an important wine-seller.

It is also not altogether improbable that Kālavāḷa (Kālavyāla) was the personal name of Śivamitrā's husband and that he was an inhabitant of a locality called Pōṭhayaśa. The expression *Pōṭhayaśaka* in the sense of 'an inhabitant of Pōṭhayaśa' reminds us of *Takhkhasilāka (Takṣaśilāka)*, 'an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā',[8] *Nāsikaka*, 'an inhabitant of Nāsika',[9] *Pāṭaliputraka*, 'an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra',[10] etc. If Pōṭhayaśa is regarded as looking more like a personal than a geographical name, it may be pointed out that sometimes a place name was coined after the name of a

person. Thus Śīlakuṇḍa, which looks like a personal name of the Bengal region,[11] is mentioned as a locality in an inscription[12] of Dharmāditya, also called Śīlakuṇḍagrāma in a record[13] of Gōpacandra.

In this connection, our attention has been drawn to two other Mathurā inscriptions, the first of which mentions Māthuraka Kālavāḷa, i.e. a person called Kālavāḷa who was an inhabitant of Mathurā.[14] The second epigraph likewise speaks of Māthurī Kalavaḍā, i.e. a woman called Kālavaḍā (Kālavāḷā) who was an inhabitant of Mathurā.[15] The question is whether, in these cases, Kālavāḷa and Kālavaḍā should be regarded as personal names having nothing to do with the Kalyapāla profession or community. We find that the two names appear to represent the same word, one in the masculine and the other in the feminine. Secondly, there are several early epigraphs using *Kālavāḍa* or *Kālavala* along with the personal names of individuals, e.g., Data (Datta) of Vidiśā, and Kōḍa.[16] Thirdly, we have also cases like Yōna (Yavana, i.e. a Greek) of Setapatha (Śvetapatha), Sakā (Śakā, a Scythian woman), Vāṇijaka (a merchant), Dāsa or Dāsaka (a slave), etc., used as personal names.[17] It is thus difficult to be sure whether Kālavāḷa and Kalavaḍā were the personal names of a man and a woman who were inhabitants of Mathurā, but did not belong to the Kalyapāla profession or community.

III

A damaged inscription in three lines was discovered at Mathurā more than a century ago, and received the attention of Dowson, Cunningham, Growse, Bühler and Lüders.[18] We learn from this record, written in the mixed Sanskrit-Prākrit dialect, that during the rule of the Śakas two tanks were excavated side by side at a site at Mathurā, one in the east and the other in the west. The record tells us that the western tank was excavated by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaigrava-gōtra who was the *Gañjavara* (store-keeper or treasurer) of *Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa* Śōṁḍāsa (*c.* 10–25 A.D.). The name of the Brāhmaṇa was lost at the end of line 1 of the record. Along with the excavation of the tank, the Brāhmaṇa is stated to have been responsible for the creation of a reservoir (*udapāna*), a garden (*ārāma*), a pillar (*stambha*) and a stone slab (*śilā-paṭṭa*). There are some letters lost at the end of line 2 after the mention of *stambha* so that it appeared that at least one word lost here indicated the character of the *śilā-paṭṭa*. This has now been proved by another inscription recently discovered from Mirjapur near Mathurā.

R. C. Sharma printed the text of this new inscription which is fortunately fully preserved and shows that the eastern tank of the twin tanks was excavated by the wife of the Brāhmaṇa *Gañjavara* of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa.[19] Just as in the older inscription we have *gaṁjavarēṇa Brāhmaṇena Śēgrava-sagōtrēṇa . . . . . [puṣka*]raṇi*, the present inscription contains the same words in the sixth case-ending and offers us the text as follows. *Śēgrava-sagōtrasya Mūlavasusya bhāryāyē Vasusya mātarē Kauśikiyē Pākṣakāyē kāritā puṣkariṇi*. Thus we find that the letters lost at the end of line 1 in the older inscription are no less than ten in number, which apparently read *Mūlavasunā kāritā puṣka°*.

We also see that the twin tanks were excavated by the Brāhmaṇa couple Mūlavasu and Pākṣakā, the husband being responsible for the tank on the western side and the wife for the eastern tank. The husband belonged to the Śaigrava-gōtra and the wife to the Kauśika-gōtra so that there was absence of *gōtr-āntara* in their marriage as in the numerous other cases known from literary and epigraphic records.[20] The conjecture that the name of the lady in question was Kauśikī who belonged to Pakṣaka is not acceptable.

In the older inscription we have after *[puṣka*]raṇi* the passage *imāṣāṁ yamaḍa-puṣkaraṇīnaṁ paścimā paṣkaraṇi*, the new inscription offering the same text with the substitution of *pūrvā* (eastern) for *paścimā* (western).

The last portion of the old record has been read as *udapāno ārāmō stambho i. . . . . [śilā]-paṭṭō ca* and, as we now find from the loss of letters at the end of line 1, the number of lost letters here is expected to be about ten. In the corresponding part of the new inscription, we have *ārāmō sabhā udapāno staṁbhō Śiriyē pratimāyē śilā-paṭo ca*. It is difficult to say whether *sabhā* occurring in the new record occurred also in the broken part of the old epigraph. However, just as the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the new record is stated to have borne the *pratimā* or image of the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī), the conjecture that the stone slab mentioned in the other epigraph was stated to have borne a similar image of Viṣṇu, the husband of the goddess Śrī, is permissible. That the Brāhmaṇa family was devoted to the Vaiṣṇava faith seems to be supported by another inscription to which reference is made below. In any case, Mūlavasu's inscription may have had *Vāsudēvasa pratimāyē* in place of *Śiriyē pratimāyē* in his wife's record.

We have seen that the lady Pākṣakā of the Kauśika-gōtra was the mother of Vasu, and this Vasu, whose metronymic seems to have been Kauśikīputra, has naturally to be identified with Vasu of another Mathurā inscription[21] of the time of the same Śaka Mahākṣatrapa. In this damaged inscription, we have *bhagava [tō*

Vāsudē] *vasya mahāsthāna*..... *laṁ* in which *laṁ* was regarded as the last letter of *catuḥśālaṁ* by R. P. Chanda and of..... *śailaṁ* by Lüders,[22] though in my opinion the reading of the passage is apparently *mahāsthāna*[*kē dēvaku**] *laṁ*. I pointed this out in a paper read at the Gwalior Session of the Indian History Congress in 1952 in Section I, presided over by the celebrated Indian epigraphist, R. G. Basak, who fully agreed with my suggestion. The paper is published in the Proceedings of the Congress[23] and elsewhere.[24]

NOTES

1. The title of this paper was originally 'Observations on the Study of Some Epigraphic Records relating to Mathurā' because it then included a section on the study of the Nālandā stone inscription of Prathamaśiva who seems to have ruled over Mathurā in the eighth century as a vassal of king Yaśōvarman of Kanauj. See 'Inscription of King Prathamaśiva, from Nālandā', *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I (1981), pp. 1 ff.
2. *Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 120 and 107.
3. For his epithet *Saka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisūdana*, see the Nasik inscription of Puḷumāvi's 19th regnal year. (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 204, text line 5.)
4. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 120, text line 2, Pl. XXIII.
5. See Lüders, 'List.,' p. 169 (Additions and Corrections); Cf. H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K. Janert, Göttingen, 1961), p. 40.
6. 'Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā and its Vicinity.'
7. D. C. Sircar, 'Charter of Vishnushena, Samvat 649,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX (1953–1954), pp. 176 (no. 47) and 180 (text line 19).
8. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 88, text line 3.
9. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 189, text line 1.
10. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 280, text line 4.
11. Cf. Brāhmaṇas named Yajñakuṇḍa, Yaśaḥkuṇḍa, Śraddhakuṇḍa, Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa, Īśvarakuṇḍa, Śaktikuṇḍa and Tōṣakuṇḍa mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman. See P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī* (Bengali), Rangpur, 1338 B.S., pp. 35–36; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1981, pp. 731 ff.
12. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 366 (text line 24).
13. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 371 (text line 23).
14. Lüders, *Mathurā*, p. 49, no. 103; also 'Seven,' pp. 205 ff., no. 4; See Lüders, 'List.,' no. 103.
15. Lüders, *Mathurā*, pp. 154–155, 114. See Lüders, 'List.,' no. 14a.
16. See Lüders 'List.,' nos. 330, 522 and 523 for Data and 971 for Kōḍa.
17. Lüders, 'List.,' nos. 547, 803, 962 and 114 (cf. 70 and 528).
18. See Lüders, 'List.,' no. 82. See also Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 121–22, no. 26.
19. Cf. B. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 218–20, Pl. IV (no. 24). The Mahākṣatrapa's name has been read here as *Śāṁḍāsa* or *Śuṁḍāsa*; the second of which is preferable; cf. *Śuḍisa (Select Inscriptions*, p. 117).
20. See Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 204 ff. Sircar, 'Some Problems of Early Indian History,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1976), pp. 130 ff.
21. Lüders, *Mathurā*, §115; see Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 123, no. 26B. Before *Vasunā*, we may possibly read [*Śēgrava-sagō*] *trē* [*ṇa Mūlava**] *ṣa (su)- pu* [*trēṇa*] *Kauśi* [*kīputrēṇa**].
22. See R. P. Chanda, 'Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition,' *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 5 (1920), pp. 160 ff.; Lüders, 'Seven,' p. 208; see also Lüders, *Mathurā*, pp. 99–100, 64.
23. 'Mathurā Fragmentary Pillar Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa,' *Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Fifth Session*, Gwalior, 1952, pp. 61–63.
24. 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions,' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIX (1953); see no. 2 Mathurā Fragmentary Pillar Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa, pp. 45–48. The inscription was later included in my *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2 ed., 1965, p. 123: Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (c. 10–25 A.D.).

29. Progress of Modification of the Alphabet as Revealed by Coins, Seals and Inscriptions from Mathurā

T. P. VERMA

Epigraphical records from Mathurā provide the most useful material for the reconstruction of the history and culture of the place in particular and that of the whole of northern India in general. This material found on coins, seals and sealings, and stone inscriptions, from the earliest times to the third century A.D., has been classified on palaeographical[1] considerations under the following fifteen headings with a sixteenth relating to the Gupta records from Mathurā added for providing a comparative study.

1. Sealings Series I.
2. Inscriptions of the time of Local Rulers of Mathurā.
3. Coins of the Local Rulers of Mathurā.
4. Sealings Series II.
5. Inscriptions bearing the names of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Mathurā.
6. Coins of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Mathurā.
7. Other inscriptions from the time of Śaka-Kṣatrapas up to the accession of Kaniṣka.
8. Inscriptions dated between years 5–23 bearing the name of Kaniṣka.
9. Inscriptions dated between years 4–22 without the name of the king.
10. Inscriptions dated between the years 24–60 bearing the names of kings.
11. Inscriptions dated between the years 25–63 without the name of the kings.
12. Inscriptions dated between the years 64 (67 ?)–83 bearing the name of the king.
13. Inscriptions dated between the years 77–98 without the name of the king.
14. So-called exotic inscriptions of Kaniṣka dated years 4 and 14.
15. So-called exotic inscription of Huviṣka dated year 33.
16. Gupta inscriptions from Mathurā.

This arrangement is in chronological sequence. Obviously nos. 8–15 are Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, and we have avoided undated epigraphs; nos. 14–15 include those inscriptions which have been the matter of great debate on account of the so-called advanced forms of letters. These have been given a separate treatment in order to show that there is little special about the group. I have refrained from giving them any date in the Christian era because the date of Kaniṣka is still uncertain, though 78 A.D. appears to be most plausible as a working base. In view of the new discovery of the dated inscription of Vima of the year 279 from Dasht-e-Nāwūr[2] it appears certain that the Mathurā inscription of year 270 (A.D. 31) of *mahārāja*[3] and that of year 299 (A.D. 51) of *mahārāja rājātirāja*[4] can also be taken to belong to the reign of Vima. These inscriptions have been treated under column no. 7; hence the time of this column extends up to pre-Kaniṣka period.

Undoubtedly the clay sealings of Series I are the earliest at Mathurā because the letters bear no head-mark and the form of the letters is generally archaic, and thus can be placed towards the end of the second century B.C. However, it is difficult to assign any definite date because the legends on them are short and very often the test letters are lacking. The mode of attaching *u* medial to *pa* and *sa* is certainly older. The sealing of *Sanapatasa* (not shown in Alphabetical Tables)

shows the use of broad-edged pen in a very crude way. The letter *pa* in the sealing resembles the Roman letter V. Its placing in the late second century B.C. is doubtful. But if we accept it to be that old, we must also accept that the use of broad-edged pen had started very early; but the credit to use it in a skilled and stylistic manner goes to the royal writers of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas. There are also some reverse sealings which are illustrated here. These also can be placed in Series I.

These sealings contain the names of individuals whose religious affiliation cannot be ascertained. About Buddhism, the tradition claims that Mahākacchāyana, a disciple of the Buddha, preached the principles of the Master in Mathurā.[5] Hsüan-tsang credits Aśoka for building three Stūpas at Mathurā.[6] The presence of Jainism is proved from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā mound remains. Thus it is not unlikely that the sealings were used for these religious establishments.

Next come the inscriptions of the time of the local rulers of Mathurā. The style of the writing shows that they started quite late, probably in the first century B.C. The circumstances which necessitated the use of writing by these and other local and tribal rulers of the north-western part of the Mauryan empire needs to be explained.

The question is somewhat related with the origin and popularization of the so-called Brāhmī script. We have dealt with the problem in some detail elsewhere.[7] Our investigation led to the conclusion that the script which Aśoka used for the majority of his edicts was a creation of the Buddhists during or just before his reign. This is why we do not get many varieties of Aśokan alphabet,[8] and Dani has called it 'imperial'.[9] Aśoka caused a large number of edicts to be engraved throughout his vast empire. But after his death, there is a sharp decline in the number of inscriptions. To the remaining part of the third century B.C., we could assign only five inscriptions.[10] To the second century B.C., besides some inscribed coins, only the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros could be assigned with some certainty, and that too in the latter part of it.[11] First century before Christ is comparatively richer; thanks mainly are due to the Buddhist enthusiasts who actively donated during the renovation and enlargement of the great stūpas at Sāñchī and Bhārhut. Coins and seals-sealings also contributed their share for the popularization of script.[12] We are in a better position in the first century A.D.[13] when writing activities were fairly well distributed all over the country. Khāravela of Kaliṅga, the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan and the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Mathurā all contributed their share. In Mathurā soon after the Śaka-Kṣatrapas, the Kuṣāṇas took over; the writing activities became more and more intensive and took the shape of a popular movement.[14] This is evident from the fact that the number of the private records is larger than those which mention the names of the Kuṣāṇa kings.[15] It is here that Mathurā surpasses the rest of the country. The theme of most of these records is religious.

This brief survey shows that Mathurā did not figure on the inscriptional map of Aśoka and that writing activities in Mathurā started comparatively late as a result of the popularization of the script. Soon after the death of Aśoka, his empire started disintegrating. About the beginning of the second quarter of the second century B.C. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga extirpated that dynasty and tried to keep the empire intact. But on the north-western frontiers, the Bactrian Greeks were trying to penetrate further east. On the other hand, the small tribes and principalities, which stood suppressed under the strong military force established by Candragupta Maurya, found an opportunity to declare and assert their independence. The exploits of Puṣyamitra and the efforts of his successors, if any, were not enough to meet the situation. Soon they had to content themselves, perhaps, with the eastern part of the empire only and with their center in Magadha or in Ayōdhyā.[16] Under the circumstances, it is a misnomer to call the entire period of second and first centuries B.C. the Śuṅga and Kāṇva period.

This process of disintegration, accelerated by the Indo-Greek exploits and by the eagerness of the local and tribal states, specially of the north-western part, to assert their independence had a far reaching effect on the history of India. Socio-religious forces were let loose and the regional cultures found various ways for their manifestation. The movement of the Bactrian Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas provided opportunity to mix the Indian people, and both influenced each other. Perhaps the process of assimilation of these elements in the Indian society had preceded their political conquest even before the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription was written. On the other hand, these foreign invaders influenced the Indian way of life on different planes. One of them with which we are chiefly concerned here was the technique of minting coins which the Indians readily adopted because they could assert their independence from Magadhan imperialism and also because they could meet the requirements of the increasing trade between them and the foreign tribes having links with Central Asian countries. They also imitated the practice of putting legends on their coins for the first time.

It is strange that the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, the official

successors of the Mauryas, neither issued epigraphs nor inscribed coins. We do not exactly know the reason for this, but we can speculate about it. It is now accepted that the commencement of the Śuṅga rule marked the Brāhmaṇical revival. Buddhism and its royal patron, Aśoka, were mentioned contemptuously. This feeling was accelerated by the fact that Buddhism was becoming more and more popular among the foreign invaders. Thus Brāhmaṇism received a national fervour, and everything associated with Buddhism was either ignored or opposed. As a result we find that Buddha became *Buddhu* (i.e. fool) in vernacular and *dēvāṅāmpriya* a synonym for fool. Buddhist places like Magahar (Magavihāra or Maghavihāra) in eastern U.P. and Saṅghol (Saṅghāvalī) in Hariyana were regarded unsacred, where one cannot attain *mokṣa*. It appears that the same attitude was adopted towards the Aśokan script also.

The Buddhists, however, continued their missionary work and their religion was becoming increasingly popular among the foreigners. So was the script. The Brāhmī script was gaining popularity among the Indian tribes and also the principalities. The foreign invaders adopted this script under the influence of Buddhism, their activities inspiring them to take more and more part in religion. The habit of giving donations and recording it on durable material like stone, etc. (certainly not an Indian trait in origin) was getting popular sanction. This naturally popularized and propagated script. In due course of time, it proved so powerful a movement that it overwhelmed and overshadowed all other scripts of India of which we find mention in early literature. But the picture will not be complete unless we say that Jainism and Brāhmaṇism also took part in the movement though the main current was that of Buddhism.

As regards the number of records, we have reasons to believe that the writing activities were widely practiced perhaps in the Buddhist monasteries and other establishments in the course of their routine work. But it was done on some perishable materials which have not reached us. Only those records which were on more durable material, like stone, have survived. Advanced forms of certain letters in some Kuṣāṇa inscriptions are supposed to have belonged to the eastern variety.[17] The suggestion can be justified only if we presume that, at centers like Sarnath, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Kuśīnagar, writing activities were more intense than at Buddhist centers in the western part of north India, at least in the pre-Kusāṇa period.

The stone inscriptions of the local rulers are treated in column no. 2. Only three Mitra kings are known from the inscriptions, and the name of a fourth king can be restored as we shall see below.

Herbert Härtel's excavations at Sonkh confirms 'the sequence of the Mitra kings in the following order: Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra.'[18] However, coins of Dṛdhamitra, mentioned in Allan's *Catalogue*, and Satamitra[19] have not been found at Sonkh. These kings are known from solitary specimens which indicate that their rule was perhaps short. Almost all the scholars agree that Gomitra was the first Mitra ruler. He is also known from the fragmentary brick inscriptions of his minister Rohadeva, the Kohaḍa (or the Kohaḍa Rohadeva or possibly only: Rohadeva) from Gaṇēshrā.[20] He is also known from another fragmentary inscription on a detached piece of stone, now in the Mathurā Museum.[21] The Sonkh stratigraphy suggests that perhaps he was succeeded by Sūryamitra. Then Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra came in succession. The father and son relation of the last two kings can be confirmed by an inscription now in the Patna Museum. This was first edited by N. G. Majumdar;[22] but its reading and translation offered by Lüders[23] appears to be more correct. The inscription reads as follows:

/ / / [ma] m [i] trasa putrasa [r] añō Viṣṇum [i] trasa dhitu I [ṁ] dragibhadrāy [ē] dh [ā] t [i] yē Gotam [i] yē Mitrāyē dānaṁ./ / /

His translation runs as follows:[24]

> The gift of Mitrā, a Gotamī (*Gautamī*), the nurse of Iṃdragibhadrā (*Indrāgnibhadrā*), daughter of King Viṣṇumitra (Viṣṇumitra), the son of . . . mamitra.

P. Banerjee[25] restores the name of the father of Viṣṇumitra as Dharmamitra, an altogether unknown name. But, if we carefully observe the impression of the inscription in Lüders' work, we will find that the opening *ma*, the upper portion of which is partly damaged, is slightly at a lower level than the immediately following *ma* of the word *m[i]trasa*. It leads one to think that the opening *ma* must be a subscript of a conjunct. After going through the list of the Mitra rulers of Mathurā, one can easily conclude that he can be none other than Brahmamitra. On the coins of this ruler, the conjunct *hma* is formed by placing the subscript *ma* exactly below the letter *h*. This is not the normal practice on stone, though not unknown, and can be attributed to the paucity of the space on coins. But in the inscription under review, the normal practice can be expected to have been followed and we can imagine that the lower part of the right vertical of the superscript *ha* must have been attached to the upper left limb of the subscript *ma*.

King Viṣṇumitra is supposed to be identical with Viṣṇumitra, who is known from a coin found in Rohilkhand by Lüders[26] who was influenced by the views of N. G. Majumdar.[27] I see no reason why one should go so far when the coins of Viṣṇumitra have already been reported from Mathurā by Allan.[28] And now Brahmamitra, whose coins are found from Mathurā,[29] should be identified as the father of Viṣṇumitra.

On the coins of Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra there is no title of *rājan* but in the stone inscription Viṣṇumitra has the title of *ranō* if we ignore the possibility of Brahmamitra having been given the same title in the broken portion of the inscription. This fact refutes the theory of Allan that 'the group of rulers who add the title *rājan* to the king's name' came later.[30] Such a distinction should, therefore, be avoided.[31]

The stone inscriptions of the time of these local rulers of Mathurā have been treated in column no. 2 and the legends on coins in column no. 3. However, the legends on coins appear more archaic than the stone inscriptions. Thus there is no wonder that Allan, who had coins only before him, observed, 'The coins of the Hindu Kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C.[32]

In this regard, it must be emphasized that the palaeography of the coins is not absolute evidence, and one should not rely on it too much. To quote Dani, 'The basic chronology of the North Indian excavations of the early historic period is founded on triple evidence—(i) the date of N.B.P. ware, (ii) the occurrence of the punch-marked coins, and (iii) the palaeography of the letters appearing on coins and seals. In general the excavator falls back on coins to date his N.B.P.; and the numismatist has been repeating the words of John Allan on the date of palaeography as if Allan's statements are final. But palaeography of the coin legends cannot be reduced to a definite chronological boundary.'[33] Dani pointed out how Allan made no systematic attempt to analyze the letters, and how when no other evidence was available he fell back on the style of writing.[34]

Although several scholars followed the datings of Allan, there are now some who believe that the earliest inscribed coins of Mathurā should be assigned to the first century B.C. Fortunately, this has been confirmed by stratigraphical evidence from the excavations at Sonkh by Herbert Härtel,[35] who says, 'Most disturbing is the fact that none of them (Sircar and Verma) gives reason for his dating. However, even without the help of archaeological data, one point should be clearly stated: whoever placed the Mitra coins in the Śuṅga period as Allan, Rapson (*CHI*) and Gupta have done, must face and explain the fact why not a single inscribed coin of the Purāṇic Śuṅga from the same time is known to us. That only the vassals of local rulers issued coins in their names and neither Puṣyamitra nor his successors in the Purānic list, seems quite improbable.'[36]

However, D. C. Sircar observed on this subject as follows: 'Coins bearing legends were issued by the Indian kings following the fashion of the Indo-Greek monarchs, and it is a significant fact that we have no monetary issues bearing the names of the kings belonging to the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties so that, in all probability, the kings of Mathurā who issued coins with legends flourished mostly even later than the Kāṇvas (*c.* 75–30 B.C.).'[37] From this it appears that Sircar is inclined to change his earlier stand that the coins of the Mitra rulers of Mathurā 'may be roughly attributed to the first century B.C.'[38] Further, he maintains a gap between the Mitra rulers and the Dattas and observes that 'These (Datta) rulers may have been vassals of the Kushāṇas and flourished about the second century A.D. after the extirpation of the Śakas of Mathurā.'[39] But he does not mention the circumstances under which vassals of the Kuṣāṇas were allowed to issue coins in their names.

A study of these coins in any detail is not warranted here because it is likely to be discussed in the papers on Numismatics, but we must state here that there is no palaeographical gap between the coin-legends of these two sets of rulers and both can be assigned to the first century B.C. and after; the Mitras flourished in the earlier and the Dattas in the latter part of that century and later. In the Sonkh excavations 'only Rāmadatta coins were detected' and it seems that 'the rule of the Kṣatrapas overlapped the reign of Rāmadatta' because in Level 24, two coins of Hagāmaṣa were found with one coin of Rāmadatta and again in Level 23, coins of Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa as well as that of Rāmadatta were found.[40] These two levels are Kṣatrapa levels starting roughly with the beginning of the Christian era. According to Härtel, Level 25 is to be dated between *c.* 50–20 B.C. in which the coins of Brahmamitra and Viṣṇumitra have been found (see his Fig. 10). The above facts tend to suggest that perhaps Rāmadatta was the last ruler of his dynasty whose currency continued to be in circulation even after the Kṣatrapas firmly established themselves in Mathurā. It may also be surmised that perhaps some of the Mitras and Dattas ruled contemporaneously for some time in different areas around Mathurā. But this can be ascertained only when the provenance of these coins is known though that is not possible.

Column no. 4 shows the letters from sealings of

Series II. The alphabet of these sealings is advanced in shape and also in the mode of attaching medials to them. This series may belong to the first century B.C. or a bit later. This series includes a sealing of king Balabhūti (*Rājñō Balabhūtisya yānyāye*). It reminds one of the coins of *Gomitasa-yārā-nāyāṁ* illustrated by Allan.[41] He remarks that 'Coin no. 5 with a rude figure on the obverse and the legend *Gomitasa* is connected with the preceding' (coins nos. 1–4) 'by its reverse type of tree in railing, but the latter is of a different and unconventional type... It may also be compared with the two coins, nos. 58,59, of Balabhūti.'[42] Both these kings may belong to the same dynasty and the word *rānāyā* or *rānāye* on Allan's coins and *yānyāye* on our seal may be taken to denote the same meaning. P. L. Gupta traces in this a place name which he identifies with the township of Rāyā in the Mathurā district. We have a sealing of one Aśvasēna and another bearing the legend *Amatya Rajhapalasa* in three lines. These two persons are not known from any other source.

Column nos. 5, 6 and 7 are devoted to the inscriptions and coins of the time of the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā. It should be mentioned that Bühler had no inscription of the Mitra rulers before him when he edited the Jain inscriptions from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā mound in 1892 and 1894 and also that he ignored the Parkham image inscription which had been published by A. Cunningham in 1885.[43] Pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā have been grouped by Bühler under three chronological heads on the palaeographical basis,[44] and the Utaradāsaka inscription was regarded as the earliest and assigned to the second century B.C. The inscription of Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa of year 72, also read as 42, comes next in order. The third category was called 'archaic.' But Dani, who does not place any Mathurā inscription before the time the Kṣatrapas, rightly remarks that the difference between the so-called 'archaic' and the Kṣatrapa inscriptions is due to the scribes, one being a commoner and the other a royal protégé. Dani thinks that the Kṣatrapa inscriptions are ornate, and show greater skill in the handling of the new pen; the older epigraphs lack this.[45]

Regarding their antiquity, Bühler observes, with respect to the history of the Jain sect, that we learn through inscription No. I that the Jains were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through inscription No. XX that an ancient Jain Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods (i.e. it was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten).[46] However, Bühler has read the date in inscription No. XX as year 79 which by adding 78 comes to A.D. 157 and not 167. Moreover, the sign which is read as 70 is really for 40, and thus the date of the epigraph is year 49 or A.D. 127 falling during the reign of Huviṣka. Again, we do not find a superscript *ra* with the letter *ma* where Bühler reads *Vōdvē thupē dēva-nirmitē*. The reading should be *Vōdvē thupē dēva-nimitē*, i.e., 'at the Vōdva Stūpa, for the purpose of god (or gods).' There was thus confusion regarding the date of the Jaina Stūpa and its inscriptions. In fact, as later on admitted by Bühler himself, all the 'archaic' inscriptions are referrable to the period of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas.[47] The skillful and stylistic wielding of the edged pen by the royal writers of the Kṣatrapas created a special impression on the style of writing and the triangle-head of the letters. This was the natural outcome of the use of the pen and became a fashion of the period. Consequently, we find 'a very curious shape' of *va* 'as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined'[48] illustrated in columns nos. 5 and 7 of Table I b. This tendency is to be seen in the letter *ti* also in column no. 7. In the same column, *vi* is formed of an open angle above the triangle of *va* resembling *ma*, a case of the same tendency. Other letters developed in the usual way as will be clear from the illustrations in the Tables.

The alphabetic development of the Kuṣāṇa period has been a matter of controversy because of some more advanced forms of some letters resembling the Gupta characters. A careful perusal of the illustration of the Tables will show that such advanced forms are not confined to any single inscription but are to be found in many inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period, especially the private ones from the Kaṅkālī mound. But before going further into the matter, we should discuss Sircar's classification of the Brāhmī script. He observes:

> "The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of 'Aśokan' Brāhmī and those of 'Kushāṇa' Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised. The three stages in the development of Brāhmī both in the North and the South, as indicated above, may preferably be characterised as Early, Middle and Late corresponding respectively to the so-called Aśōkan, Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts."[49]

Sircar's difficulty in giving dynastic name to the

Brāhmī script of the different periods is shared by many others working on the subject. Such a name can be given only to the script of Aśoka with full justification. After him no such nomenclature can be justified. But, on the other hand, the classification of Brāhmī up to the Gupta period, i.e., the sixth century A.D., into three classes of Early, Middle and Late Brāhmī is so vague and broad-based that it cannot explain many varieties which came into existence in different parts of the country during centuries after the start of the Christian era. Only regional or geographical classification in chronological sequence can have some justification. But even this at times defies attempts because sometimes a regional trait is found penetrating into another region.

Coming back to the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, we must admit that the Mathurā inscription[50] of Kaniṣka dated in year 14 has attracted the attention of scholars for its palaeographical peculiarities. Another inscription of the same category is dated in year 4 of the same king.[51] The Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka bearing the date in year 33, which was published in 1905–06 by T. Bloch,[52] also belongs to the same group. While editing the Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II of the Gupta year 81, D. R. Bhandarkar asserted that we can no longer speak of an eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.[52] J. C. Ghatak[53] observed that 'it was well-nigh impossible to regard it to be a Gupta and not a Kuṣāṇa record, if it had not contained the name of the Gupta king Candragupta II.' These similarities have created so much bewilderment among scholars that several theories have been advanced to bridge the gap between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods which include the speculations about several kings with the names of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. This is hardly justifiable. The writing which has come to us from material on stone, metal and clay, etc., is not all that we can expect from that period. Beside these monumental writings, the routine work of regular business must have been transacted on other perishable materials with ink and pen, etc. We can very well presume that such writings must have been generally cursive compared to the records which have come down to us. Very often, the same inscription exhibits two or more forms of a single letter. The disputed inscription of year 14 also contains both types of *sa*, and that of the year 4 has both types of *ma*. Similarly is the case with the inscription of year 33 of Huviṣka wherein we find both types of *sa*. Incidentally, this inscription refers to Bhikṣu Bala who is also known from the Sarnath inscription of year 3 of the time of Kaniṣka. Further, the inscriptions from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā also have several advanced forms which have not attracted notice. These are illustrated in our alphabetical Tables whenever possible. Thus it can be inferred that the style of the writers of the Kuṣāṇa period cannot be confined to the lithic inscriptions only, and perhaps, they were not bound by the so-called eastern or western variety of the letter forms. These varieties were the outcome of regular writing on usual material (stone and metal cannot be regarded as usual writing material for instance) guided by the individual habits and mannerisms of the writer. Perhaps he was more cautious and alert when called to write on monumental material. Perhaps in the selection of a royal writer, good draftsmanship was the main consideration rather than his affiliation to this or that region. But this in no way denies the existence of different schools of professional writers at different places who might have developed the habit of writing a certain letter in a certain way. This paved the way for the regional varieties. One also should not expect the writers to attach the *u* medial to *ku* only at a certain angle and not beyond. See Table Va, Cols. 9–13.

We need not go into the detail of the formation of the individual letters in different periods as the Tables are self-explanatory.

NOTES

1. We have used the word palaeography in the general sense of the word used by the Indologists since the last century. It is that branch of knowledge which deals with the formal development of individual letter-signs found in an epigraph whether it is on stone, metal or any other material. In the *Epigraphia Indica*, there is a paragraph on palaeography dealing with the forms of letters in particular inscriptions in the various papers. However, in the West, there is a different concept about the terms epigraphy and palaeography. For example, I. J. Gelb writes on these terms: 'The investigation of writing from the formal point of view is the prime domain of the epigrapher and the palaeographer. These terms are frequently interchangeable, but in good usage the two should be carefully distinguished. The epigrapher is interested chiefly in inscriptions incised with a sharp tool on hard material, such as stone, wood, metal, clay, etc., while the palaeographer studies mainly manuscripts on

skin, papyrus, or paper, written in drawn or painted characters. Generally speaking, epigraphy treats of older writings; while palaeography is concerned with manuscripts from younger periods.' See *A Study of Writing*, Chicago, 1962, 2nd ed., p. 22. David Diringer (*The Alphabet*, London, 1949, 2nd rev. ed. pp. 18–19) also holds similar views. But in the Indian concept, an epigraphist studies the inscriptions particularly for their content and derives conclusions on the basis of the facts mentioned therein. 'But the purpose of a palaeographer is quite different. He studies it for its script. For him every letter, which may be similar or different to others, has got some purpose. It tells him the story of its past and present and even sometimes it indicates its future shape also.' (T. P. Verma, *Development of Script in Ancient Kāmarūp*, Jorhat, 1976, pp. 18 ff.; and, see also *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India*, Varanasi, 1971, p. 21.) Our definition is also corroborated by the fact that the works on palaeography by writers like Bühler, Ojha and Dani, etc., treat the development of the letters from the records on all material whether manuscript or otherwise.

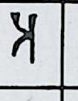
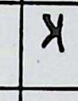
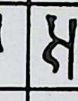
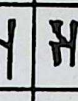
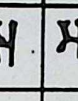
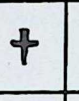
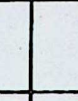
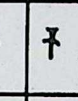
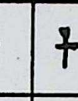
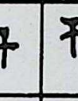
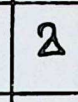
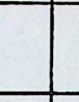
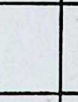
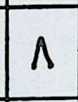
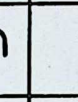
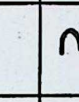
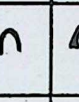
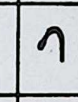
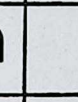
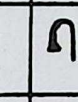
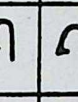
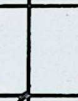
2. G. Djelani Davary and Helmut Humbach, *Die baktriche Inschrift IDN 1 von*, Afghanistan, 1976.
3. H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, edited by Klaus L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 162 ff.
4. R. D. Banerji 'The Scythian Period of Indian History,' *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 37 (1908), p. 66 and Pl. III. B. N. Mukherjee, (*Disintegration of the Kushāṇā Empire*, Varanasi, 1976, p. 72) considers this epigraph to be dated in the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. and attributes it to Vāsudeva II who came to the throne in A.D. 230. But the palaeography cannot be later than the first century A.D. The linguistic peculiarities of the epigraph are also to be considered.
5. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Nalanda, Vol. II, pp. 310 ff.
6. S. Beal, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, Vol. I (Reprint. Delhi, 1969), p. 179.
7. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India*, Varanasi 1971.
8. C. S. Upasak, *History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmī Script*, Nalanda 1960, p. 193.
9. Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, London 1963, p. 50
10. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, Chapter II.
11. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, Chapter III.
12. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, Chapter IV.
13. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, Chapter V.
14. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, Chapter VI.
15. Verma, *Brāhmī Script*, pp. 134–37.
16. The Ayōdhyā inscription of Dhana [dēva] clearly speaks of him as the sixth descendant of Puṣyamitra. Sircar's suggestion (*Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 95, fn. 3) that he was sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra probably from the side of the mother is unwarranted. The way Dhana [dēva] claims to be sixth from Sēnāpati Puṣyamitra, clearly affiliates him to the father's side. Ayōdhyā, no less than Pāṭaliputra, was an important place. It is just possible that a person like Puṣyamitra, who even after performing two *Aśvamedha-yajñas*, preferred to call himself a Sēnāpati, had ruled from Ayōdhyā instead of Pāṭaliputra. It may also be possible that Dhana [dēva] was from a collateral branch of the Śuṅgas.
17. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 79.
18. 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh: A Preliminary Report,' reprinted from *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, 1976, p. 83.
19. See K. D. Bajpai, 'A Coin of Satyamitra—A New Ruler of Mathurā.' *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII (1966), p. 42 and Pl. II.7.
20. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 159–60.
21. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 192–93.
22. 'A New Brāhmī Inscription,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II (1926), pp. 441- 46.
23. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 207.
24. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 207.
25. P. Banerjee, 'Epigraphic Notes.' *JBORS*, Vol. XXX (1944), pp. 204–05.
26. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 207. However, he refers to Cunningham in the footnote.
27. 'New Brāhmī Inscription,' p. 446.
28. *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum. Ancient India*, reprint. London, 1967, p. 175, coin nos. 38–43.
29. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 173, coin nos. 26–31. Several coins of this king are also in the cabinet of the Government Museum, Mathurā.
30. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. cx.
31. Cf. D. C. Sircar, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p. 171, and Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (*c.* 200 B.C. to 300 A.D.), Calcutta 1974, p. 156. Many others appear to share this view.
32. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. cxvi.
33. A. H. Dani, 'Punch-Marked Coins in Indian Archaeology,' *JNSI*, Vol. XXII (1960), p. 1.
34. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 59.
35. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' pp. 82–83.
36. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 82.
37. 'Guidelines for contributors to the Panel on Epigraphy,' p. 2 (supplied to Panel participants). See Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159. Editors.
38. Sircar, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 171.
39. Sircar, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 171.
40. Härtel, 'Sonkh,' p. 83.
41. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 169, Coin nos. 1–4 and also no. 5.
42. Allan, *Catalogue*, p. cix.
43. 'Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882/83,' *ASIAR*, Vol. 20, pp. 39–41 and Pl. VI.
44. G. Bühler, 'Further Jain Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 195–196.
45. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 63.
46. 'Further,' *EI*, Vol. II, p. 198.
47. G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, reprinted in *Indian*

Studies: Past & Present, Vol. I, No. 1, Calcutta, 1959, ed. by D. Chattopadhyaya, p. 59.
48. Bühler, 'Further,' *EI*, Vol. II, p. 196.
49. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 263, fn. 1.
50. D. R. Sahni, 'Mathurā Pedestal Inscription of the Kuṣāṇa year 14,' *EI*, Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 96 ff. and plate. F. W. Thomas, 'Kaniska Year 14,' in *Indian Antiqua*, Leyden 1947, pp. 297 ff.
51. D. C. Sircar, 'Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, Vol. XXXIV (1961–1962), p. 10 and plate.
52. T. Bloch, 'Two Inscriptions on Buddhist Images,' *EI*, Vol. VIII (1905–1906), p. 181 and plate.
53. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II: G.E. 61,' *EI*, Vol. XXI (1929), pp. 1 ff.
54. J. C. Ghatak, 'Palaeographical Riddles,' *Indian Culture*, Vol. XIII (1946–1947), p. 126.

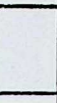
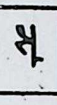
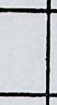
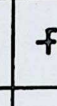
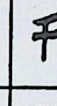
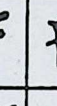
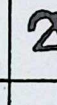
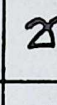
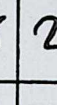
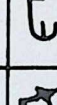
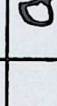
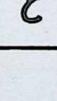
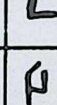
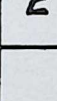
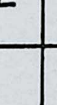
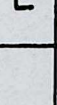
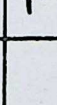
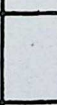
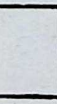
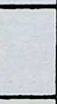
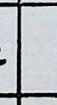
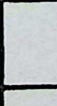
INDEX OF THE PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLES

THESE TABLES CONTAIN SIXTEEN COLUMNS, PROPERLY NUMBERED. EACH COLUMN BEARS ALPHABETS OF A CLASS OF INSCRIPTIONS WHICH ARE GIVEN BELOW:

1. Sealings Series 1.
2. Inscriptions of the Time of Local Rulers of Mathurā.
3. Coins of the Local Rulers of Mathurā.
4. Sealings Series II.
5. Inscriptions Bearing the Names of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Mathurā.
6. Coins of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Mathurā.
7. Other Inscriptions from the Time of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas up to the Accession of Kaṇiṣka.
8. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 5–23 Bearing the Name of Kaṇiṣka.
9. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 4–22 Without the Name of the King.
10. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 24–60 Bearing the Names of Kings.
11. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 25–63 Without the Names of Kings.
12. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 64(67 ?)–83 Bearing the Name of King.
13. Inscriptions Dated Between Years 77–98 Without the Name of King.
14. So-called Exotic Inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka Dated Years 4 & 14.
15. So-called Exotic Inscription of Huviṣka Dated Year 33.
16. Gupta Inscriptions from Mathurā.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A																
Ka																
Kha																
Ga																
Gha																
Ca																
Cha																
Ja																
Jha																
Ña																
Ṭa																
Ṭha																
Ḍa																
Ḷa																
Ḍha																
Ṇa																
Ta																

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Tha																
Da																
Dha																
Na																
Pa																
Pha																
Ba																
Bha																
Ma																
Ya																
Ra																
La																
Va																
Śa																
Ṣa																
Sa																
Ha																

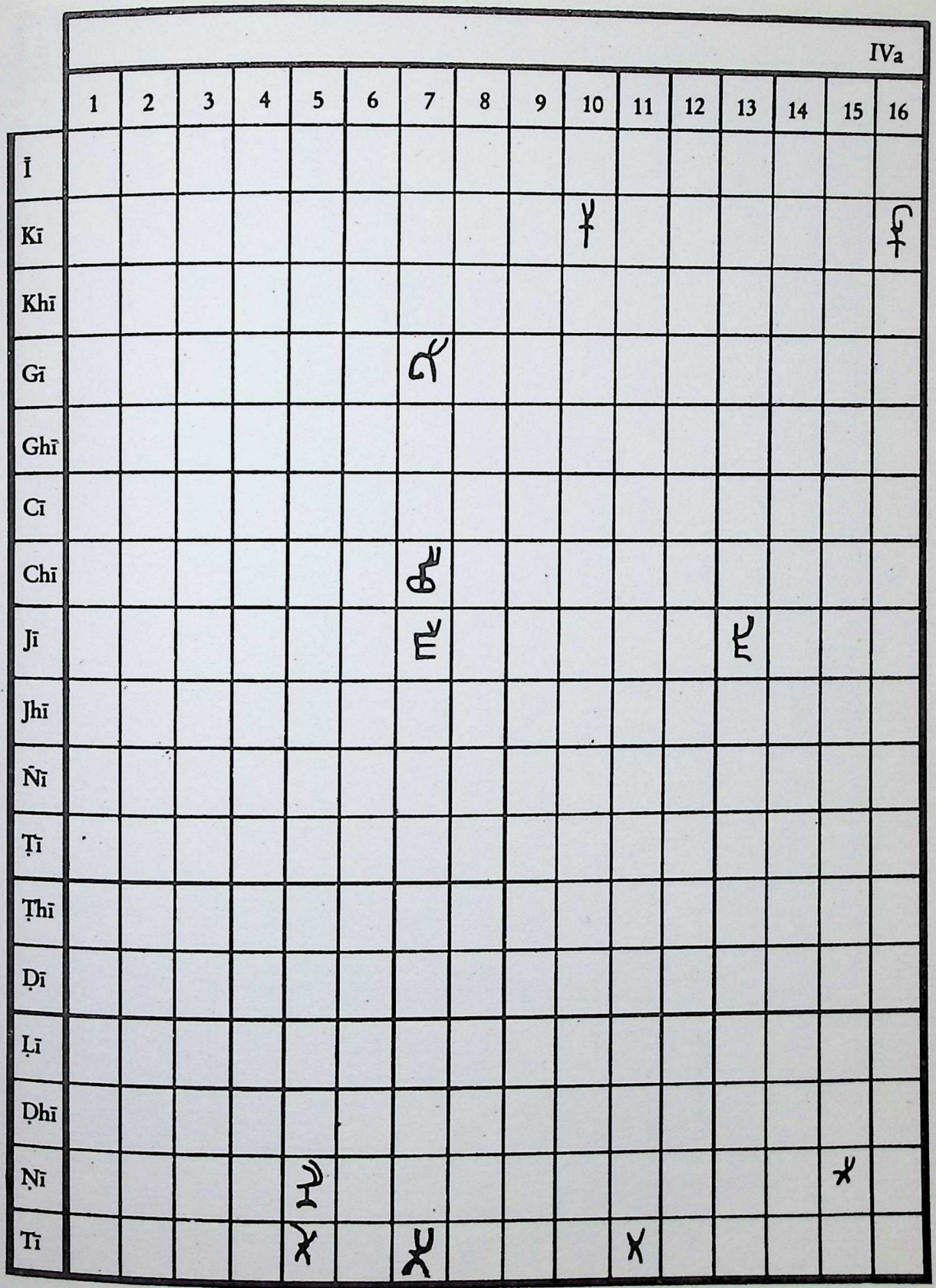
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A																
Kā																
Khā																
Gā																
Ghā																
Cā																
Chā																
Jā																
Jhā																
Ñā																
Ṭā																
Ṭhā																
Ḍā																
Ḷā																
Ḍhā																
Ṇā																
Tā																

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Thā																
Dā																
Dhā																
Nā																
Pā																
Phā																
Bā																
Bhā																
Mā																
Yā																
Rā																
Lā																
Vā																
Śā																
Ṣā																
Sā																
Hā																

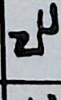
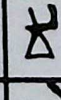
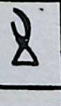
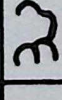
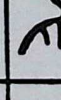
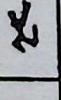
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
I																
Ki																
Khi																
Gi																
Ghi																
Ci																
Chi																
Ji																
Jhi																
Ñi																
Ṭi																
Ṭhi																
Ḍi																
Ḷi																
Ḍhi																
Ṇi																
Ti																

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ti																
Di																
Dhi																
Ni																
Pi																
Phi																
Bi																
Bhi																
Mi																
Yi																
Ri																
Li																
Vi																
Śi																
Ṣi																
Si																
Hi																

IVa

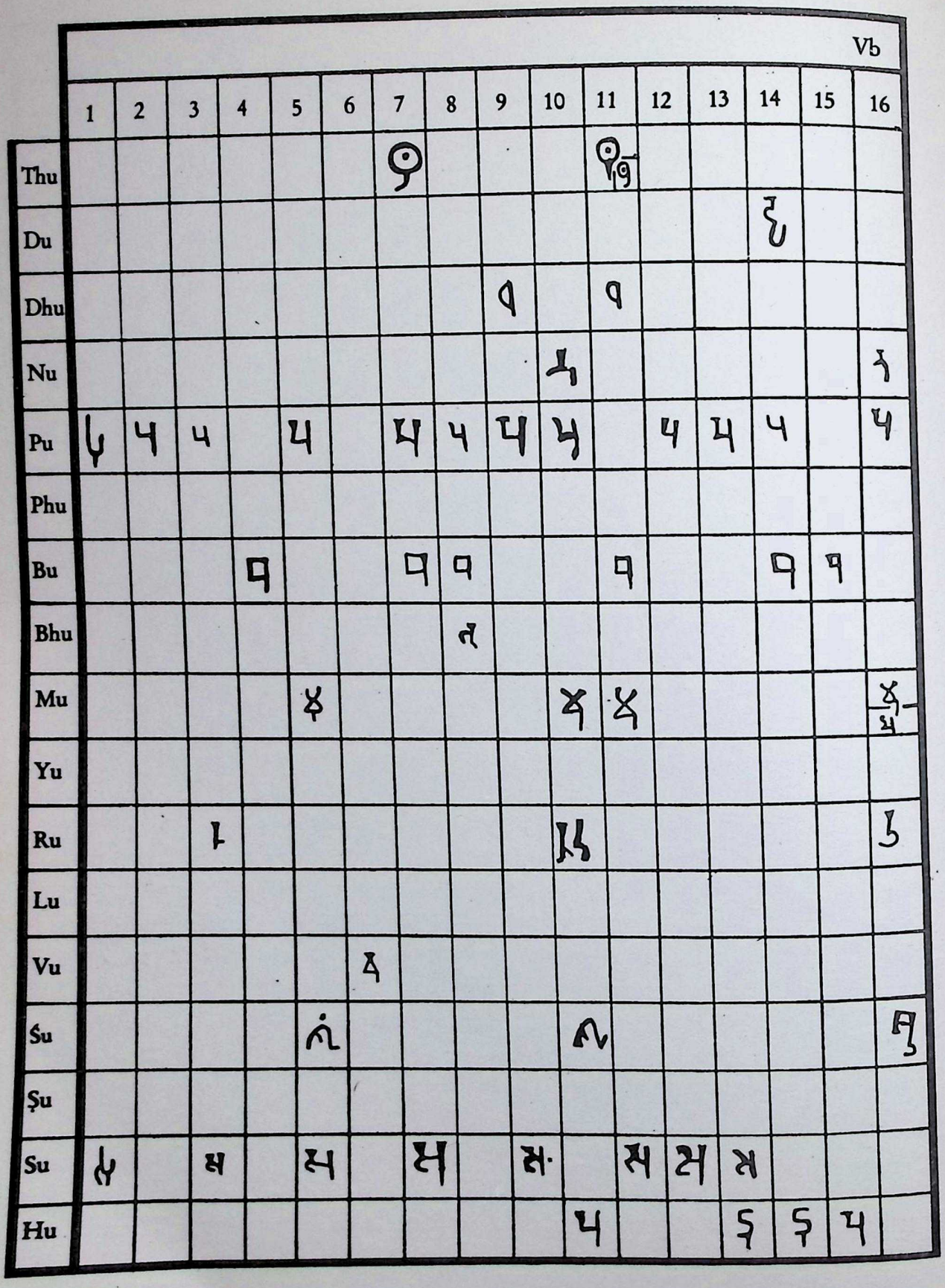

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
Ī
Kī
Khī
Gī
Ghī
Cī
Chī
Jī
Jhī
Ñī
Ṭī
Ṭhī
Ḍī
Ḷī
Ḍhī
Ṇī
Tī

IVb

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Thī																
Dī																
Dhī																
Nī																
Pī																
Phī																
Bī																
Bhī																
Mī																
Yī																
Rī																
Lī																
Vī																
Śī																
Ṣī																
Sī																
Hī																

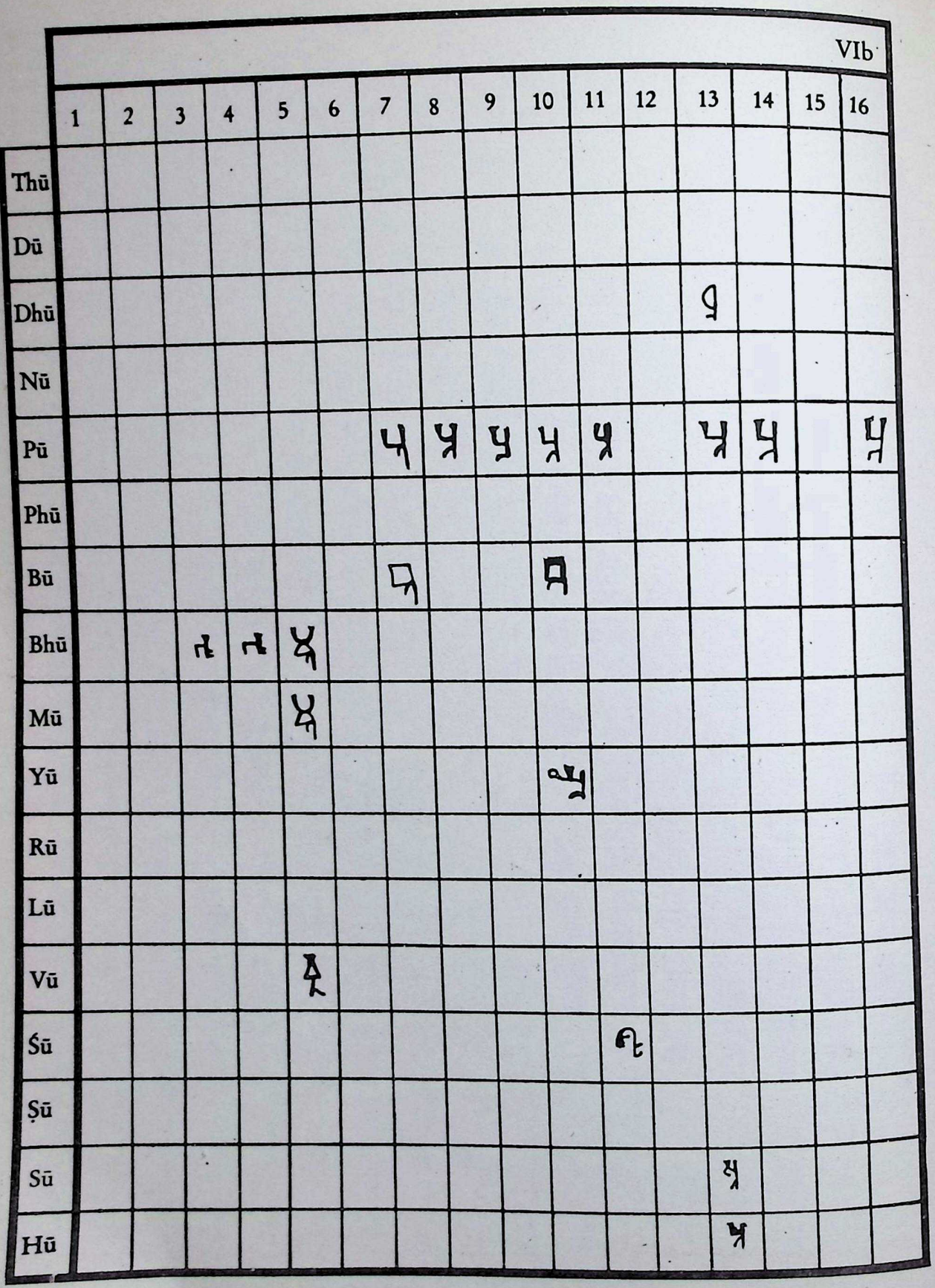
Va

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
U																
Ku																
Khu																
Gu																
Ghu																
Cu																
Chu																
Ju																
Jhu																
Ñu																
Ṭu																
Ṭhu																
Ḍu																
Ḷu																
Ḍhu																
Ṇu																
Tu																


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
Thu
Du
Dhu
Nu
Pu
Phu
Bu
Bhu
Mu
Yu
Ru
Lu
Vu
Śu
Ṣu
Su
Hu

VIa

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ū																
Kū																
Khū																
Gū																
Ghū																
Cū																
Chū																
Jū																
Jhū																
Ñū																
Ṭū																
Ṭhū																
Ḍū																
Ḷū																
Ḍhū																
Ṇū																
Tū																


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
Thū
Dū
Dhū
Nū
Pū
Phū
Bū
Bhū
Mū
Yū
Rū
Lū
Vū
Śū
Ṣū
Sū
Hū

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ṛ																
Kṛ																
Khṛ																
Gṛ																
Ghṛ																
Cṛ																
Chṛ																
Jṛ																
Jhṛ																
Ñṛ																
Ṭṛ																
Ṭhṛ																
Ḍṛ																
Ḷṛ																
Ḍhṛ																
Ṇṛ																
Tṛ																

VIIb

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Thṛ																
Dṛ																
Dhṛ																
Nṛ																
Pṛ																
Phṛ																
Bṛ																
Bhṛ																
Mṛ																
Yṛ																
Rṛ																
Lṛ																
Vṛ																
Śṛ																
Ṣṛ																
Sṛ																
Hṛ																

VIIIa

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
E																
Ke																
Khe																
Ge																
Ghe																
Ce																
Che																
Je																
Jhe																
Ñe																
Ṭe																
Ṭhe																
Ḍe																
Ḷe																
Ḍhe																
Ṇe																
Te																

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
The																
De																
Dhe																
Ne																
Pe																
Phe																
Be																
Bhe																
Me																
Ye																
Re																
Le																
Ve																
Śe																
Ṣe																
Se																
He																

IXa

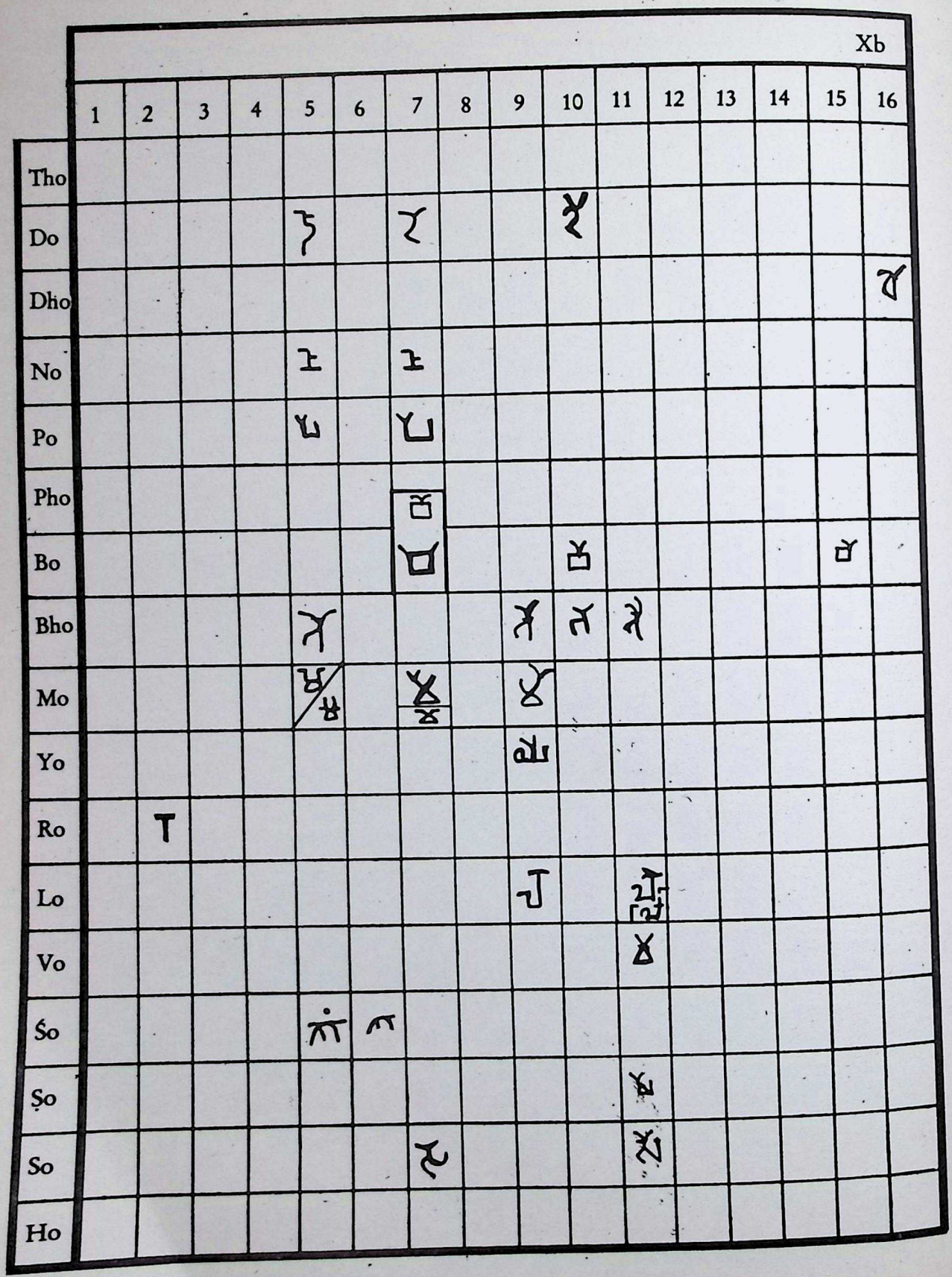
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Ai																
Kai																
Khai																
Gai																
Ghai																
Cai																
Chai																
Jai																
Jhai																
Ñai																
Ṭai,																
Ṭhai																
Ḍai																
Ḷai																
Ḍhai																
Ṇai																
Tai																

IXb

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Thai																
Dai																
Dhai																
Nai																
Pai																
Phai																
Bai																
Bhai																
Mai																
Yai																
Rai																
Lai																
Vai																
Śai																	
Ṣai																
Sai																
Hai																

Xa

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
O																
Ko																
Kho																
Go																
Gho																
Co																
Cho																
Jo																
Jho																
Ño																
Ṭo																
Ṭho																
Ḍo																
Ḷo																
Ḍho																
Ṇo																
To																

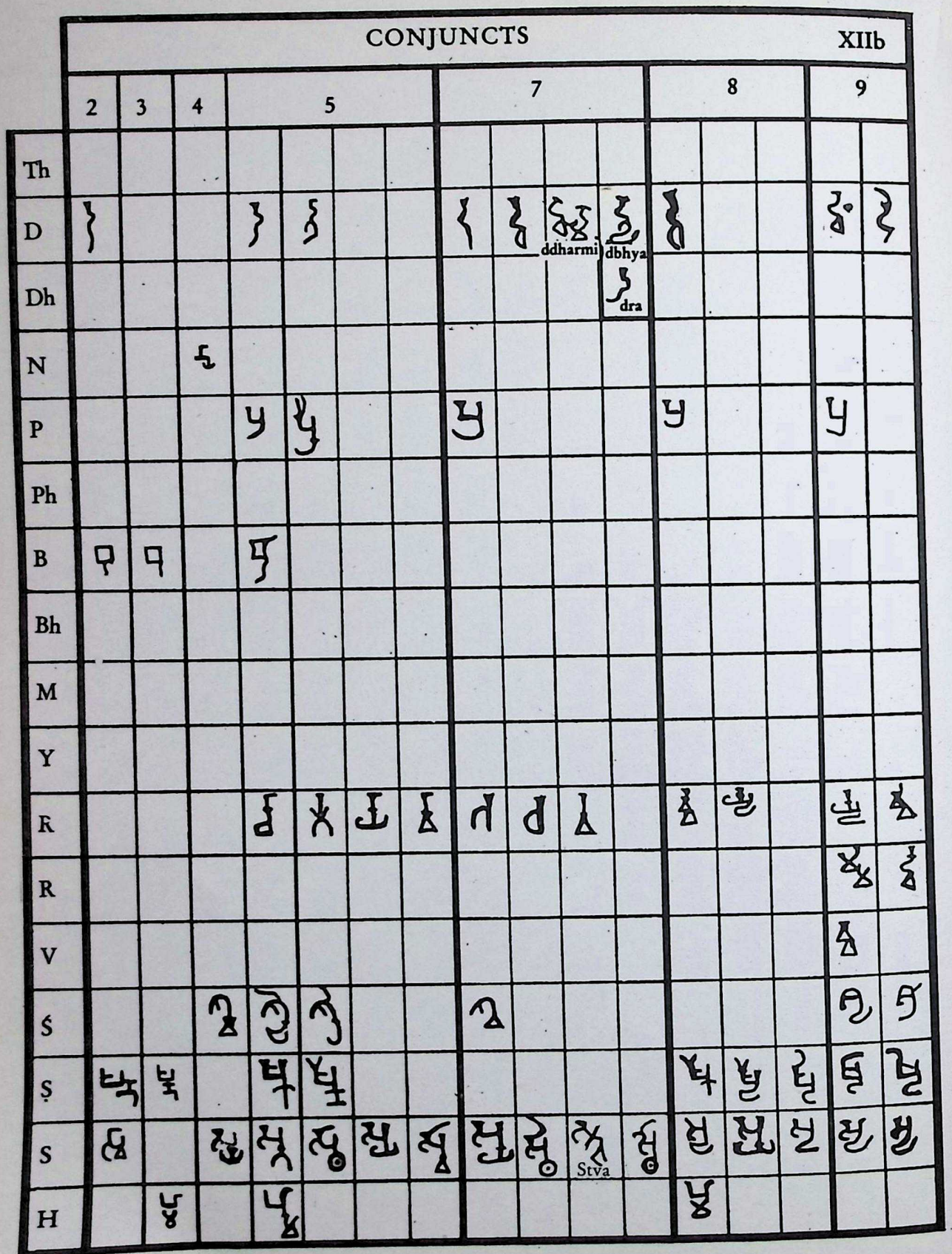

Xb
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
Tho
Do
Dho
No
Po
Pho
Bo
Bho
Mo
Yo
Ro
Lo
Vo
Śo
Ṣo
So
Ho

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Au																
Kau																
Khau																
Gau																
Ghau																
Cau																
Chau																
Jau																
Jhau																
Ñau																
Ṭau																
Ṭhau																
Ḍau																
Ḷau																
Ḍhau																
Ṇau																
Tau																

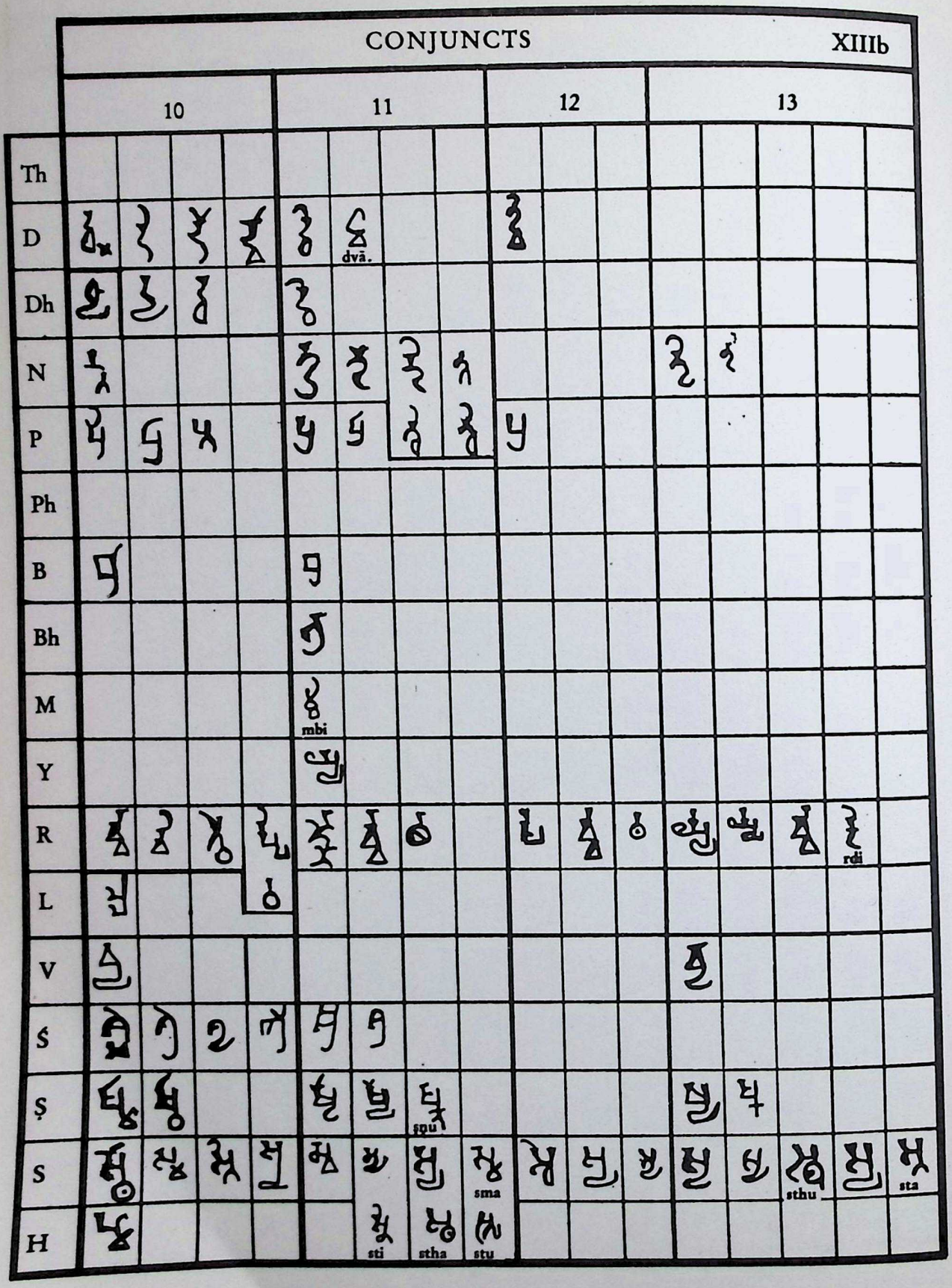
XIb

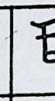
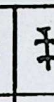
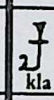
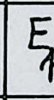
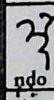
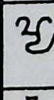
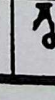
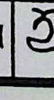
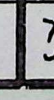
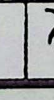
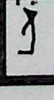
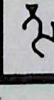
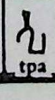
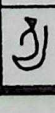
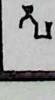
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Thau																
Dau																
Dhau																
Nau																
Pau																
Phau																
Bau																
Bhau																
Mau																
Yau																
Rau																
Lau																
Vau																
Śau																
Ṣau																
Sau																
Hau																

	2	3	4	5				7				8			9	
K																
Kh																
G																
Gh																
Ṅ																
C																
Ch																
J																	
Jh																
Ñ																
Ṭ																
Ṭh																
Ḍ																
Ḷ																
Ḍh																
T																
T																


2
3
4
5
7
8
9
Th
D
Dh
N
P
Ph
B
Bh
M
Y
R
R
V
Ś
Ṣ
S
H
ddharmi
dbhya
dra
Stva

	10				11				12			13				
K																
Kh																
G												gra				
Gh																
Ṅ																
C																	
Ch																
J																
Jh																
Ñ																
Ṭ																
Ṭh																
Ḍ																
Ḷ																
Ḍh																
Ṇ									ṇḍa							
T																


10
11
12
13
Th
D
Dh
N
P
Ph
B
Bh
M
Y
R
L
V
ś
ṣ
s
H
dvā.
mbi
rdi
ṣṭu
sma
sthu
sta
sti
stha
stu

	14					15			16							
K									 kla							
Kh																
G																
Gh																
Ṅ																
C																
Ch																
J																
Jh																
Ñ																
Ṭ																
Ṭh																
Ḍ																
Ḷ																
Ḍh																
Ṇ									 ṇḍo							
T											 tpa		tkhyā			

	14					15			16							
Th																
D			dyāṁsa													
Dh																
N									ndra	nta	nna					
P																
Ph																
B																
Bh																
M		mma	mmi							mbo						
Y																
R												rthe				
L																
V																
Ś																
Ṣ																
S											sva					
H																

	5	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		7	10	13	
1																90
2																200
3																500
4																
5																
6																
7																
8																
9																
10																
20																
30																
40																
50																
60																
70																
80																

30. The Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions and the Supercession of Prākrit by Sanskrit in North India in General and at Mathurā in Particular

TH. DAMSTEEGT

The numerous inscriptions found at Mathurā[1] date from several periods and contain several kinds of contents. For instance, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu inscriptions as well as records of a more secular character are known, and they date back to various periods from the pre-Kṣatrapa age up to the Gupta period. Moreover, the inscriptions are also composed in different idioms, viz. Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), Sanskrit (Skt.), and a mixture of both which I call Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit (EHS) on the analogy of Edgerton's term Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.[2] The Mathurā records are, therefore, a good starting-point for examining the process of Sanskritization in inscriptions. It will be investigated here how far links can be detected between the Mathurā inscriptions and records from other localities by means of characteristic expressions, and how the determination of such links may lead to an explanation of the Sanskritization shown by northern Brāhmī inscriptions. In this connection, it will also be necessary to examine characteristic phrases in the different groups of Mathurā records themselves, such as the Buddhist, Jaina and Nāga inscriptions. Characteristic means that, for example, the presence of a common Buddhist word like *bhikkhu* in two Buddhist inscriptions from different regions does not indicate the existence of any link between the two records. Obviously, each case should be judged by itself, considering also the historical probability of any specific links between regions.[3]

It is known from history that Mathurā had been the target of repeated invasions from the North-West, and therefore it appears to be appropriate to look for links between the inscriptions of that region and the Mathurā records. Many inscriptions have been found in the North-West written in the Kharoṣṭhī script,[4] probably all of Buddhist inspiration, and contemporary with those from Mathurā. So we may first compare the Buddhist Mathurā inscriptions with these Kharoṣṭhī records, and thereafter consider the Mathurā inscriptions of different contents.

However, first a few words about the chronology that I have adopted. The inscriptions can be divided into five chronological groups, to wit pre-Kṣatrapa, Kṣatrapa, late Kṣatrapa, Kuṣāṇa, and Gupta inscriptions. The arrival of the Kṣatrapas in Mathurā may have taken place in the early years of our era. The regnal year of Kaniṣka I is probably about A.D. 200, as proposed by Plaeschke,[5] and the dates of the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa age refer to two centuries, Kaniṣka II and Vāsiṣka ruling in the second one. The Gupta period starts about A.D. 350. It will be observed below that the vocabulary of the Mathurā records and of some inscriptions connected with Mathurā appear to support the theories of a late regnal year of Kaniṣka I and of the existence of two Kuṣāṇa centuries.

Two Buddhist Mathurā inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period (M 86, 187) contain an expression which appears to be characteristic of North-Western inscriptions, viz. (cited here in Skt. form) *sarvabuddhapūjāyai*. In the form of *sarvabudhana puyaē* it is found in four Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period (XIII, XV, XVII, XXVII)[6], one of these notably the Mathurā Lion Capital (XV), which the Kṣatrapa rulers themselves had inscribed and erected at Mathurā. The same expression is also found in later Buddhist Mathurā inscriptions (e.g. M 123, 157). The fact that the donor

mentioned in one of these later documents (M 123) appears to be of Śaka descent, tends to support my conclusion that the occurrence of this expression in Mathurā inscriptions is due to an influence of the North-West. The expression is found in other localities also, but only in inscriptions which appear to be connected with those from Mathurā or the North-West.

Those words or expressions which in post-Kṣatrapa Buddhist inscriptions from Mathurā appear to indicate a link with the North-West, will now be briefly enumerated. They are the following (again cited in Skt. form): *sarvasattvānāṁ hitasukhāya* or *-sukhārtham* in records of the Late Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāṇa periods (e.g. M 1, 2, 135, 157; cf. XXIII, LXXII, LXXIV), and *ārōgyadakṣiṇā* (M 44, 46, 180; cf. e.g. XXVII, XXXV), *dēyadharmaparityāga* (e.g. M 29, 46, 60–62; cf. XXVII, XCII), *pratigraha* (M 150, 157; cf. LXXII, XCII), *mātāpitṛṇām pūjāyai* (e.g. M 90, cf. M 44; cf. e.g. II, XXIII, LXXXV), and *vihārasvāmin* (M 136, cf. e.g. LXI, LXXIV) in records of the Kuṣāṇa period. Moreover, the idea of stating in an inscription that a donation is made in, or to the community of the four quarters—the word *cāturdiśa* is used in this connection (e.g. M 31, 33, 39; cf. e.g. XXII, XXXIII)—also seems to originate from the North-West. It should be noticed that the donors mentioned in several of the relevant inscriptions appear to be connected with the North-West, judging from their names or other facts.[7] Another point worth noting is that the forms of these expressions in the Mathurā inscriptions are often different from those exhibited in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In most cases they have been either written down in the spelling of the MIA dialect of Mathurā, or been subjected to Sanskritization.[8]

So far, my conclusion is that the vocabulary of Buddhist inscriptions found at Mathurā shows a link with the North-West, and in this connection we may recall Senart's theory[9] that the simple type of Buddhist votive inscriptions, as found at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, was changed and further developed in the North-West. We can easily imagine that this developed type of inscription reached Mathurā from the North-West with the invasions of the Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas. On the other hand, we should not underestimate the influence of the local communities in Mathurā either. In one of the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period cited above as giving evidence of links with the North-West (M 187), expressions are found which do not occur in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, like *sahā mātāpitibhi*.

Two of the nine or so Nāga inscriptions from Mathurā, which are mostly fragmentary or short, contain some interesting elements of vocabulary (M 27, 102). They both date from the Kuṣāṇa age. The phrase *sarvasattvānāṁ hitasukhārtham*—or, as a compound, *sarvasattvahita°*—which occurs in both of them has already been mentioned in connection with the Buddhist inscriptions. In the case of these Nāga records we could, therefore, think of a connection either with the North-Western Buddhists or with the Buddhists of Mathurā. A second expression in one of these documents (M 27), to wit (in Skt. form) *mātā-pitṛṇām agrapratyaṁśatāyai bhavatu*, is found in no other Mathurā inscriptions, but recurs in two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions only which date from the Kuṣāṇa period but are earlier than the Mathurā record (LXXVI, LXXXVI). A link with the North-Western Buddhists seems, therefore, to be present. Moreover, a noticeable point in both Nāga records is the designation *māthura*, i.e. 'of Mathurā', of the donors mentioned in them; it also suggests foreign contacts. Some further information about these contacts is to be obtained from M 27. In Lüders' translation, it records a gift to a Nāga temple by 'the sons of the actors of Mathurā, who are known as the Cāndaka brothers'. It has been supposed[10] that these actors were Vaiṣṇavas, travelling from their center at Mathurā in order to give performances. However, in view of my conclusion that the vocabulary of the inscription gives evidence of contacts with the North-Western Buddhists, I feel that they were Buddhist actors of Mathurā, travelling also to the North-West. As we know from literature and finds, Buddhist drama was well known in the North-West, and the connection between Buddhists and the Nāga-cult is in Mathurā itself apparent from an inscription that records a gift of a Nāga-priest to a Buddhist Vihāra (M 34).

In Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā one or two phrases can be pointed out which indicate a connection with the North-Western Buddhists or with the Buddhists of Mathurā. An admittedly dubious case is the expression *arahata-pujāyē*, which occurs mainly in the Kṣatrapa period (e.g. LL 59, 96, 100). The phrase as such is not found in inscriptions elsewhere but expressions with *°pūjā* are very frequent in and characteristic of North-Western inscriptions, and we have already seen that two of them recur in Buddhist Mathurā inscriptions. A more solid instance is the phrase *sarvasattvahitasukhārtham*, well-known to us by now, which is found in records of the second Kuṣāṇa century (e.g. LL 19, 22, 29). One of the inscriptions containing this phrase (LL 122) refers to the wife of a foreigner from the North-West as donor and a direct connection with that region is, therefore, conceivable. It will presently be seen that Mathurā

Jaina records contain one non-religious expression which is quite characteristic of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and is not found in inscriptions anywhere else, nor even in non-Jaina Mathurā inscriptions.[11] On the other hand, it should be emphasized that many words in the Mathurā Jaina inscriptions are unique to them, such as *nirvartana* ('request'), *paṇatidhara*, or [*pratimā*] *sarvatōbhadrikā* ('four-sided [image]'). It may also be briefly noted that those of the Kuṣāṇa period differ from the earlier ones in containing references to subdivisions of the Jaina saṁgha (*gaṇa*, *kula*, *śākhā*, and occasionally *sambhoga*) and in the absence of references to āyāgapaṭas, which are very frequent in the Kṣatrapa period.

The remaining Mathurā inscriptions do not contain any expressions which might indicate a connection with the Mathurā records examined above, or with the Kharosthī inscriptions.

It will be noticed that we have dealt with the Mathurā inscriptions on the basis of religion. Expressions of a more general type, like dates, have not yet been taken into consideration, but will be dealt with later. I shall first discuss the material from places other than Mathurā—the North-West excluded, of course—taking records of Buddhist inspiration as a starting point. In view of the theme of this paper I shall limit the material to northern India, but in a few cases mention will also be made of more southern localities. As in the non-Buddhist Mathurā inscriptions, phrases are often found which occur in North-Western inscriptions as well as in Buddhist records from Mathurā owing to connections with the North-West, and then it is difficult to determine whether the occurrence of such an expression is the result of contacts with the North-West, or of connections with Mathurā.

In the age of the Kṣatrapas the expression (cited in its Skt. form) *sarvabuddhānām pūjāyai* is found in a Kosam inscription (ed. A. Ghosh, 'Buddhist Inscription from Kausambi', *EI* 34 [1961–1962], pp. 14 ff.). As observed above, its presence in Buddhist Mathurā records of the same age is due to an influence of the North-West. Thus, a link between this Kosam inscription and Buddhist records from Mathurā or the North-West can be assumed. As to the other Buddhist inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period, only some which have been found in more southern parts, at Nāsik (LL 1131, 1133, 1140) and Kārle (LL 1106), show a connection with the North-Western (or Mathurā) inscriptions in their vocabulary. In no other inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa age, or earlier, does the vocabulary exhibit any traces of links with records of some other region. It is noteworthy that those records which have been mentioned here as containing traces of such links are composed in EHS.

In the post-Kṣatrapa age we may first note three inscriptions found in eastern India, at Kosam (ed. K. G. Goswami, 'Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Kanishka: Year 2', *EI* 24, [1937–1938], pp. 210 ff.), Sārnāth, and Saheth-Maheth. They date back to the early years of Kaniṣka I. Actually the one from Sārnāth consists of three separate parts (LL 925–927), while that from Saheth-Maheth is present in two almost identical copies (LL 918, 919). These inscriptions all refer to the same persons as donors, and these persons are mentioned again in a Mathurā inscription (M 24). Two expressions in these eastern records, to wit *bodhisattva* with *pratiṣṭhāp-* (cf. e.g. M 72, 73, 126), and *sahā mātāpitihi* (cf. e.g. M 1, 80, 135), indicate a connection with Mathurā and a third phrase, viz. *sarvasattvānāṁ hitasukhārtham*, recurs in inscriptions from Mathurā and the North-West. Thus, these records appear to be connected with Mathurā. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the material and style of the pieces concerned also point to Mathurā. Three more inscriptions, found at Sāñchī[12] and probably dating from the reign of Vāsiska, show connections with records from Mathurā or the North-West, in phrases like *sarvasattvānāṁ hitasukhārtham* and *dēyadharmaparityāga*. The word *madhurikā*, indicating the female donor, in one of them (LL 161) seems to derive from the place-name Mathurā. Moreover, here again the material and style of the three pieces indicate a link with Mathurā. An inscription from a locality somewhat nearer to Mathurā, namely Kāman (LL 12), contains two phrases which point to Mathurā or the North-West; the record is dated in the year 74 of the Kuṣāṇa era.

It should be emphasized that, as in the case of the inscriptions dating from the Kṣatrapa age, all records mentioned in this connection are composed in EHS,[13] and that in hardly any other inscriptions, traces of a link with another region or locality can be discovered. Three Buddhist[14] inscriptions from eastern India, found at Kosam (N. G. Majumdar, ed. 'Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaiśravana of the Year 107', *EI* 24 [1937–1938], pp. 146 ff.) and Deoriya (LL 910, cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 118)—both dating from the Kuṣāṇa age—and at Mankuwar[15]—dating from the Gupta age—and two Mathurā inscriptions (M 81, and a record edited by V. S. Srivastava, 'Two Image Inscriptions from Mathura', *EI* 37 [1967–1968], pp. 151 ff., no. A), both of the Kuṣāṇa period, are the main exception. Lüders, discussing M 81, referred to the Deoriya and Mankuwar records and observed that

the terminology of M 81 is characteristic of eastern inscriptions. The other two inscriptions should now be added to this group. These five records contain a common vocabulary (for instance, *bhagavat pitāmaha, samyaksambuddha, [sarva]duḥkhaprahāṇārtham*) which is entirely independent from that of the records found at Mathurā, in the North-West, or in any other region. An eastern influence upon these Mathurā records is apparently to be assumed, the more so because the script of one of them (M 81) has eastern characteristics. It is noteworthy that this vocabulary is limited to these five documents and does not occur in any other eastern inscriptions, not even in two Buddhist records of a somewhat later date from Deoriya (LL 911, 912). With the exception of the Mankuwar inscription, which is written in Sanskrit, all these records are composed in EHS. It is also these inscriptions which, in my view, give some support to the theory of a late regnal year of Kaniṣka I. The two Mathurā records are dated in the years 14 and 93 of the Kaniska era, while the Mankuwar inscription is dated in the year 129 of the Gupta era, i.e. A.D. 448. This means that if an early date like A.D. 78 or 128 is assumed as the regnal year of Kaniṣka I, quite a large gap exists between the Mathurā inscriptions and the Mankuwar record—a gap which is lessened by assuming a late regnal year of Kaniṣka I. The gap is further lessened by ascribing the year 14 of one of the Mathurā inscriptions to the second Kuṣāṇa century, as has been done by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Rosenfield, and Plaeschke. The theory of a second Kuṣāṇa century is also supported, it may be briefly noted, by the way in which references to the subdivisions of the Jaina Saṁgha are made in the Mathurā inscriptions, viz. by means of the loc. sing. in records which antedate the year 84 of the Kaniṣka era and are supposed to date from the first Kuṣāṇa century (e.g. LL 34, 42), and by means of the abl. sing. in records of a later year or which are supposed to date back to the second Kuṣāṇa century (e.g. LL 70, 16).

Let us return now to the inscriptions from places other than Mathurā. In addition to those of Buddhist inspiration, some additional groups of EHS records with common contents can be distinguished. There are, for instance, the inscriptions on memorial pillars found in Gujarat (e.g. LL 962), which date from the age of the Western Kṣatrapas and share some amount of common vocabulary. The vocabulary of none of these groups, however, gives evidence of a link with inscriptions from some other region.

So far, we have been able to discover connections between several inscriptions, and thereby propose connections between Mathurā and other localities. However, the vocabulary of a more general character, such as dates, titles etc., has not yet been taken into consideration, and for a complete survey I shall now discuss it. It should be noted that for this purpose I have examined all inscriptions known to me dating from the period under discussion, including those written in the Kharoṣṭhī script. I shall limit my enumeration of the results to those which refer to links between Mathurā and other localities.

The earliest occurrence of the auspicious formula *siddham* at the beginning of inscriptions is in records at Nāsik and Kārle connected with the Śaka ruler Uṣavadāta and his wife (LL 1099, 1131–1134). Thereafter its use spreads in southern inscriptions but in the North it is found from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards only, in Mathurā inscriptions of several religions (e.g. LL 35, M 27, 94, 157) and in some records from places near Mathurā such as Kāman. However, it does not occur in eastern inscriptions, not even in those which are connected with Mathurā, or in the North-Western records. Apparently some influence of southern inscriptions upon Mathurā is to be assumed.

As to dates, the Mathurā inscriptions dated in the reign of the Kuṣāṇas show a characteristic way of dating, in which the number of the year, the number of a month of some season, and the number of the day are mentioned, often with abbreviations. The Brāhmī Kuṣāṇa records from other places bear similar dates; examples come from eastern India which have already been mentioned as being connected with Mathurā (Kosam, Sārnāth, Saheṭh-Maheṭh), and from Sāñchī and Kāman. Non-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions in eastern India (e.g. LL 922, 924 from Sārnāth) bear quite a different type of date, so obviously the Kuṣāṇa dates in these records are the result of connections with Mathurā. At Mathurā, the only dated inscription of the Kṣatrapa period (LL 59) contains the same kind of date; apparently this way of dating is not a Kuṣāṇa innovation but a local characteristic. Among the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions only those written in Kharoṣṭhī bear a different type of date, which is typical also of earlier records in that script and therefore a regional type. Interestingly, two Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period (M 81, and an inscription edited by S. Konow, *EI* 21, pp. 55 ff.) show the same North-Western way of expressing the date. One of them refers to a North-Western donor, but the other (M 81) has been mentioned above as containing a vocabulary characteristic of eastern inscriptions. I cannot think of a satisfactory explanation of this North-Western influence upon an inscription of an apparently eastern character.

Dates comprise often also a concluding formula, like *asmi kṣuṇē* in a number of Mathurā Jaina inscriptions which date back to the Kuṣāṇa age (e.g. LL 34, 77, 87). This phrase, which is not found in any other Mathurā records, should be compared to expressions like *iśē kṣuṇammi* in Kharoṣṭhī records (e.g. LXXV, LXXIX, LXXX). However, *kṣuṇa* is a Śaka loanword, and the presence of this phrase in Mathurā inscriptions is obviously due to an influence of the North-West. In other words, the 'North-Western expressions' have not necessarily reached the Mathurā Jaina inscriptions through the Mathurā Buddhists.

A similar formula is (in Skt. form) *ētasyām pūrvāyām*. The earliest record in which it occurs is a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the Kṣatrapa period (no. XIII). Mathurā inscriptions of that period do not contain it, but it is very frequent in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from that locality, whereas in the North-West it recurs only once. Since many Mathurā records which show this formula contain expressions which are characteristic of the North-Western records, it is possible that the presence of *ētasyām pūrvāyām* in Mathurā inscriptions is due to an influence of the North-West; but it has to be admitted that this can hardly be proved on the strength of its occurrence in the Kharoṣṭhī records. The formula recurs in inscriptions from several other regions of India, but it is not clear how its use spread.

Of the titles borne by several dynasties of Kṣatrapas, that of *svāmin* occurs first in Mathurā inscriptions which date from the age of Śoḍāsa (LL 59, M 64, 115), and later, probably owing to connections with Mathurā, in the Junnar inscription of Nahapāna's age (LL 1174). Other Kṣatrapa titles found in Mathurā records occur earlier in the North-West.

Now that we have seen what connections can be deduced between inscriptions from their vocabulary, I will proceed to a discussion of the phenomenon of Sanskritization. In Mathurā, as elsewhere, the inscriptions of the pre-Kṣatrapa age are all composed in MIA. In the Kṣatrapa period a number of Sanskritized inscriptions of Buddhist (e.g. M 2, 72, 187), Jaina (e.g. LL 78, 95), Hindu (an inscription edited by D. C. Sircar, 'Kulūta Inscription from Mathura', *IMB* 7, 1972, pp. 14 ff.), and more or less 'secular' (M 64, 98) contents are found. Not all Mathurā records of that age are composed in EHS. Some MIA inscriptions of Buddhist (e.g. M 1, 86) and Jaina (e.g. LL 59, 100) inspiration and a number of Hindu records in Sanskrit (e.g. M 113, 178) also exist. On the other hand, a pre-Kṣatrapa Hindu inscription from Mathurā (M 139) is composed in MIA.

Thus, Sanskritization appears only after the arrival of the Kṣatrapas from the North-West. It has been observed above that elements of the vocabulary of Buddhist and Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā give evidence of a link with the North-West, and it would appear to be a logical conclusion that the initiative of Sanskritization in these inscriptions is connected with the arrival of the Kṣatrapas and the subsequent influx of immigrants from the North-West. However, some objections to assuming a direct influence of these immigrants can be raised. In the first place, no Sanskritization is to be observed in the Kharoṣṭhī records of the Kṣatrapa period. Secondly, those Mathurā inscriptions which show an influence of the North-Western records upon their vocabulary are not always the same as those which are composed in EHS.[16] Therefore, another factor that explains the Sanskritization should be taken into account, and this appears to be the geographical position of Mathurā, in Āryāvarta, the well-known region of classical Sanskrit culture. The Buddhists and Jainas, penetrating into this region from the East, must have gradually come under the influence of Brahmanical culture and its characteristic language, Sanskrit. However, the influence of the North-Western immigrants cannot be excluded either, because most contemporaneous Buddhist inscriptions from other places in Āryāvarta are composed in MIA.[17] Apparently, both factors have been at work simultaneously.

A more or less 'secular' fragmentary Mathurā inscription of the Kṣatrapa period (M 64) is composed in EHS, although its language very nearly approaches the classical standard. It records a donation by Śoḍāsa's treasurer, a brāhmaṇa, and should be connected with three Hindu Sanskrit inscriptions from Mathurā that date from the same age, because those, too, appear to be connected with the Kṣatrapa court (M 113, 115, 178). Judging from these inscriptions, it appears that the Kṣatrapa court was at least as much influenced by the Brahmanic culture as the Buddhists and Jainas. In this connection we may be reminded of the fact that apart from the early Mathurā Lion Capital no inscriptions have been found at Mathurā which definitely record donations by the Kṣatrapa court to Buddhists or Jainas. Another Mathurā Hindu inscription of the Kṣatrapa age which is also composed in Sanskrit but unconnected with the Kṣatrapa court (M 162) supports my conclusion that the Sanskritization in these records is due, not to the fact that they are connected with the court, but to the fact that they are under the influence of Brahmanic culture. On the other hand, another Hindu inscription (ed. D. C. Sirkar, 'Kulūta,' *IMB 7*, 1972, pp. 14 ff.), recording a donation of a similar character

as that referred to in the inscriptions just mentioned, is composed in EHS instead of Sanskrit. The explanation is probably due to the fact that the donor is a private person from the North-West, not a member of the Kṣatrapa court nor an original inhabitant of Āryāvarta (like the donor mentioned in M 162).[18] The reason why a pre-Kṣatrapa Hindu inscription from Mathurā is written in MIA, seems to be its contents which refer to the donation of a Yakṣa image. Some more examples of Mathurā inscriptions which refer to popular Hinduism and are not written in Sanskrit will be noticed presently.

I shall now briefly mention the other EHS inscriptions which have been found in northern India and date from the Kṣatrapa period, and discuss the reasons of their Sanskritization. In the eastern part of Āryāvarta, inscriptions have been found at Pabhosā (two connected records, LL 904, 905) and at Kosam (two records). As to their contents, the Pabhosā records mention the gift of a cave to followers of probably either Buddhism or Jainism. One of the Kosam inscriptions (A. Ghosh, ed. 'Kausambi', *EI* 34, pp. 14 ff.) is of Buddhist inspiration; the other (A. Ghosh, ed. 'A Fragmentary Inscription from Kosam', *IC* 1 [1934–1953], pp. 694–695) is too fragmentary to allow a decision about its purport and cannot, therefore, be discussed. With the exception of a few Hindu records in Sanskrit, all other northern inscriptions of this age are composed in MIA. The first Kosam inscription has been noted earlier in this paper for its vocabulary that indicates a link either with Mathurā or with the North-West. In view of the Sanskritization of its language, one may suppose that it was connected with Mathurā. Another possibility is, of course, that its Sanskritization occurred independently of Mathurā but under the same circumstances as at that locality. The vocabulary of the Pabhosā records shows no link with Mathurā or the North-West, or with any other region. Actually most of its contents consist of genealogical information about the donor. In this case we cannot, therefore, be sure whether the Sanskritization was or was not independent of Mathurā. An EHS inscription from a more northwestern region has been found at Kanhiāra (LL 8). It actually consists of two more or less identical records, one written in Brāhmī script and EHS, the other in Kharoṣṭhī and MIA dialect. Such a connection between script and language is not without parallels as for example the coins of Caṣṭana and Nahapāna. Since the inscription is very short and contains only the word *ārāma* ('garden') and two genitives which probably indicate the owner of the garden, the exact reason of its Sanskritization cannot well be determined.

Many inscriptions composed in EHS date from the Kuṣāṇa age. They are written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī and many among them bear a date, which sometimes refers to one of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Those found at Mathurā belong to the following types: Buddhist, Jaina, Hindu, Nāga and official. MIA inscriptions dating from this period have not been found at Mathurā, but Sanskrit records of the same five types do occur. EHS inscriptions of the same age have also been found at Kosam, Sārnāth, Saheṭh-Maheṭh, Durā, Lākhanū, Sāñchī, Kāman, Deoriya, and Kailvan. They are almost all Buddhist, with the exception of the inscription from Durā (ed. D. C. Sircar, 'More Brāhmī Inscriptions', *EI* 35 [1963–1964], pp. 190 ff.), which records the donation of a house by some lady, and that from Kailvan (D. C. Sircar, ed. 'Brāhmī Inscription from Kailvan', *EI* 31 [1955–1956], pp. 229 ff.), which refers to the offering of a teacher's bowl to two rivers and may be Hindu. The record from Lākhanū (LL 151[b]) and two from Sārnāth (LL 922, 924) are too fragmentary. Some other inscriptions from northern places other than Mathurā are composed in Sanskrit, but no comparable MIA inscriptions have been found (with the exception of the Bandhogarh inscriptions, to be dealt with later).

Since the Buddhist and Jaina inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa age from Mathurā are already composed in EHS, it is not surprising to find Sanskritization in records of these religions in the Kuṣāṇa age too. An element of progression in the Sanskritization may be seen by the fact that even Sanskrit inscriptions of Buddhist (e.g. M 47, 55, 63) and Jaina (LL 31) inspiration are found now. It is apparent from the vocabulary of the Buddhist and, to some degree, Jaina records that the influence of the foreign immigrants still existed, and had possibly grown even stronger. On the other hand, we have also noticed that the Mathurā Jaina records of the Kuṣāṇa period are different from the earlier ones, so apparently some other influence was also at work. The vocabulary of the Buddhist inscriptions from Kosam, Sārnāth, Saheṭh-Maheṭh, Sāñchī and Kāman shows connections with Mathurā, as we have seen, and that fact probably explains their Sanskritization. The Deoriya inscription belongs to the group of five records characterized by a common, eastern vocabulary. Since two of these records have been found at Mathurā, contacts with that locality existed, but the Sanskritization could also be due to the example furnished by earlier eastern EHS inscriptions. In this connection it should further be observed that Sanskritization is not always dependent on links with Mathurā, as is shown by a Buddhist record from Devnī-Morī in Gujarat (ed. P. R. Srinivasan, 'Devni-Mori Relic Casket Inscription

of Rudrasena, Kathika Year 127', *EI* 37 [1967–1968] pp. 67 ff.). Its vocabulary does not give evidence of a connection with Mathurā, but its language is Sanskrit.

Two Hindu inscriptions composed in EHS have come to light at Mathurā. One (ed. N. P. Joshi, 'Kuṣāṇa Varāha Sculpture', *AA* 12 [1965], pp. 113 ff., and K. L. Janert, 'A Mathurā Inscription on a Varāha Image', *JRAS* [1966], pp. 7 ff.) records a gift by someone from the North-West, and that fact explains the imperfect Sanskritization. The other (M 140) is engraved on an image of Kubera, and the reference to this popular cult is probably the reason why it is written in EHS instead of Sanskrit. The same observation applies to the Nāga records (e.g. M 27, 102). On the other hand, an inscription on a Yūpa found at Mathurā (M 94) is composed in grammatically pure Sanskrit. It is interesting that the Kailvan inscription, which may be Hindu, is written in a rather defectively Sanskritized language, while its script is rather old-fashioned. Apparently some kind of traditionalism, possibly connected with its fairly distant find-spot, is to be observed. Because the purport of the Durā inscription is rather obscure, an exact explanation of its language cannot be given; it may be noted that its find-spot is situated in Āryāvarta.

It remains to discuss the official inscriptions from Mathurā. Most of them are composed in EHS (e.g. M 98, 119, and an inscription edited by Sten Konow, 'Mathura Brāhmī Inscription of the Year 28', *EI* 21 [1931], pp. 55 ff.); some however are in Sanskrit (M 97, 99). These records generally refer to the erection or restoration of official buildings by officials of the Kuṣāṇa rulers, but interestingly two such records (M 99 and the one edited by Konow) also make mention of provisions made for Brāhmaṇas. It seems that the Kuṣāṇa officials in Mathurā had come under Brahmanical influence almost as much as the Kṣatrapa court. However, because the records were composed by officials who had come from the North-West[19] and their contents are of a more secular character than in the case of the Kṣatrapa court inscriptions, the language is not always grammatically pure Sanskrit.

We have not yet dealt with one category of northern EHS records, to wit those which are dated in the reign of the Maghas. One has been found at Giñja, six more at Kosam. The one at Giñja (LL 906) and one of the Kosam records (ed. D. R. Sahni, 'Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam', *EI* 18 [1925–1926], p. 159, no. II) are too fragmentary to allow a decision about their contents; one (ed. N. G. Majumdar, 'Kosam', *EI* 24, pp. 146 ff.) is a Buddhist inscription, and the other four refer to the setting up of *āsanapaṭṭas* ('sitting-slabs'; ed. K. Deva, 'Kosam Inscription of Bhadramagha's Reign: Year 81', *EI* 24 [1937–1938], pp. 253 ff.; S. Konow, 'Allahabad Museum Inscription of the Year 87', *EI* 23 [1936], pp. 245 ff.). The Buddhist record, found at Kosam, is the one that contains the typically eastern vocabulary discussed above, and the reason of its Sanskritization is of course the same as in the case of the Deoriya inscription. The exact purpose of the *āsanapaṭṭa* records is, unfortunately, unknown and so is the reason of their Sanskritization, although the occurrence of EHS in Āryāvarta in this period suggests in itself that the inscriptions do not have a purely Brahmanic character. The MIA cave-inscriptions at Bandhogarh (ed. N. P. Chakravarti, 'Brahmi Inscriptions from Banhogarh', *EI* 31 [1955–1956], pp. 167 ff.) may also be mentioned in connection with these Magha inscriptions, because Bandhogarh and Kosam appear to have originally belonged to one and the same kingdom. Script and dating-system of the Bandhogarh records suggest connections with the Deccan inscriptions, and that explains the lack of Sanskritization; most of the Deccan inscriptions of this period are composed in MIA. (It may be noted that the three [apparently] Sanskrit records at Bandhogarh [nos. 14, 18, 19] are those which refer to donations made by the Kosam Magha rulers.)

Finally, we may cast a brief glance at the inscriptions dated in the reign of the Western Kṣatrapa rulers. Most of these are private records engraved on memorial pillars and composed in EHS.[20] As to Sanskritization, the fact that they all contain the exact genealogy of the ruler in whose reign they are dated suggests some kind of official influence, while the script of the earliest of these records, found at Andhau (ed. D. C. Sircar, 'Andhau Fragmentary Inscription of Caṣṭana, Year 11', *JIH* 48 [1970], pp. 253 ff.; R. D. Banerji, 'The Andhau Inscription of the Time of Rudradaman', *EI* 16 [1921–1922], pp. 19 ff.; P. R. Srinivasan, 'Three Western Kshatrapa Inscriptions', *EI* 37 [1967–1968], pp. 139 ff., no. A) points to a connection with Mathurā. However, there is also an official record, viz. the well-known Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I (LL 965), an extensive eulogy which was composed in Sanskrit by a professional author. Why was it written in Sanskrit? In my opinion, it was a matter of prestige. A ruler who had such a eulogy of himself written, in which his literary achievements are praised, must have been attracted by the prestige of Sanskrit as the language of culture. In this respect it may be recalled that Rudradāman I was the first great ruler of his foreign dynasty, distinguished from the Kuṣāṇas by the fact that his territory was entirely within India itself, and he tried to 'establish' himself by means of cultural activities.[21]

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Arts Asiatiques*
abl.	ablative
ed.	edited by, or: editor
IC	*Indian Culture*
IMB	*Indian Museum Bulletin*
LL	H. Lüders, 'A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400, with the exception of those of Aśoka,' appendix to *EI* 10, 1909/10
loc.	locative
M	See note 1
n.	footnote
sing.	singular

NOTES

1. Main editions: G. Bühler, 'New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā', *EI* Vol. I (1892), pp. 371 ff. G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā', *EI* Vol. II (1894), pp. 195 ff. H. Lüders, 'Epigraphical Notes', *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXXIII (1904), pp. 33 ff., 101 ff., 149 ff. R. D. Banerji, 'New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period', *EI* Vol. X (1909–1910), pp. 106 ff.; corrections by H. Lüders, 'On Some Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum', *JRAS* (1912), pp. 153 ff. J. E. van Louhizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period*, Leiden, 1949 (mainly in Chaps. IV & V). H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, unpublished papers edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961. Henceforward abbreviated as M, the number following it indicating the paragraph.
2. It may be noted that the term EHS (equivalent to, but more expressive than 'mixed dialect') does not denote a homogeneous language, in the sense of its having, for instance, a morphology of its own as distinct from Skt. and MIA morphology. It is rather a *type* of idiom, representing a stage of transition between the use of MIA dialects as the epigraphical idiom, and the occurrence of Skt. in inscriptions, and it has not been a spoken language. Thus, to study EHS is to study the way Skt. came to replace the MIA dialects in inscriptions, and to discuss the 'spread of EHS' is to discuss the spread of this type of language (i.e. of the idea of giving up the use of MIA dialects in epigraphy). The features of EHS as found in some inscriptions are dependent, partly on the MIA dialect of the region concerned, partly on the person composing the text of the inscription (his knowledge of Skt., for example).
3. An extensive argumentation of the theories summarily presented in this paper will be found in the author's study *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit, its rise, spread, characteristics and relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina Vol. 23), Leiden, 1978.
4. Most of the relevant inscriptions are to be found in Sten Konow (ed.), *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (*CII* Vol. II, part 1), Calcutta, 1929. The inscriptions will be cited here by means of their number in Konow's work.
5. H. Plaeschke, *Die Mathurā-Schule, ein paläographischer und kunsthistorischer Beitrag zur Lösung des Kaniṣka-Problems*, Halle (Saale), 1971 (unpublished dissertation). See also H. Plaeschke, 'Die Chronologie der Mathurā-Inschriften und das Kaniṣka-Problem,' *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, Ges.-Sprachw. Reihe 25 (1976), pp. 333 ff.
6. See note 4.
7. It has, for example, been pointed out by Lüders that the names of the donors mentioned in M 60–62 and (probably) M 135 are Iranian. The alternative spellings *Vaḍakṣa* and *Vaṇḍakṣa* in M 39 and 40 suggest that the word (which probably refers to the geographical origin of the donor) is of Śaka origin, cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 97, 100 (with notes). On the personal name *Gunda* in M 136, cf. R. Schmitt, 'Zwei iranische Namen auf Brāhmī-Inschriften,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 24 (1980), pp. 15 ff.
8. During the seminar discussion, objections to these and other conclusions have been raised by G. Fussman. They have now been published as part of an extensive review of the work cited in n. 3 (*Journal Asiatique* 268, 1980, 420 ff.), where even an earlier version of the above passage has been quoted in extenso. Though it will be impossible here to deal with all misunderstandings contained in that review (not to mention the consistent spelling of the present author's name with an 'intrusive r'), some of them will be touched upon in the notes. Here it seems necessary to state explicitly the basic facts (alluded to in the next paragraph) supporting the above conclusions. The oldest Buddhist votive inscriptions in India are of a very simple character, containing the name of the donor (in the genitive) and the word *dānaṁ* ('gift'), and in some cases some additional information like the object of donation, the donor's occupation or function, the place he has come from, etc. Inscriptions of this type are found at Bhārhut, Sāñchī and Bodh

Gayā. The religion to which the pre-Kṣatrapa records from Mathurā are to be ascribed is not known in most cases, but in any case they are of the type described above, viz. containing either a genitive of the donor followed by *dānaṁ* (M 88, possibly Buddhist, and M 181), or an instrumental of the donor followed by the words *dat(t)a* ('given') or *kārita* ('caused to be made') (M 109, 110, 116, 120, 139). It is only in the Kṣatrapa age, after the arrival of the North-Western immigrants, that a more extensive type of donative inscription starts to make its appearance in Mathurā, containing expressions like those cited in the text above. Similar extensive inscriptions, containing (among other phrases) the same expressions, occur in the North-West from early times (see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, nos. I, II, XIII etc.). Thus, the idea that the appearance of the extensive type of votive inscription in Mathurā is due to a North-Western influence does not seem to be far-fetched, nor is it far-fetched, that the occurrence of the phrases cited above are on the whole due to that same influence. It is quite true, of course, that the expressions themselves are not characteristic of the North-West and might be found in almost any Buddhist sect. Characteristic, however, is their occurrence in donative inscriptions. This does not mean that any Mathurā inscription containing such an expression has been subject to a specific North-Western influence, but on the whole these phrases demonstrate a North-Western influence upon the Mathurā records. The above conclusions have been rejected by Fussman because in his opinion my supposition (regarded by him as a key-concept) that, instead of church-officials, the donors themselves may in some cases have drawn up the texts of the inscriptions, is incorrect. Unfortunately, the data about this issue are scarce, but the fact, for instance, that peculiar spellings found in inscriptions which refer to North-Western donors (M 60–62 etc.) are due to an influence of the Śaka language (as suggested by Lüders, cf. *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 95–98), seems to indicate a rather high degree of influence of the donors themselves upon the actual texts. However that may be, the supposition is far from essential to the above conclusions. It is not at all improbable that the North-Western immigrants told the persons drawing up the texts of their inscriptions what ideas should be expressed in them, and thus the North-Western way of formulating donative records came to be accepted in Mathurā. My observation that the inscriptions are not strictly formulaic, again considered a key-concept by Fussman, is equally irrelevant to the above conclusions, which do imply the existence of formulas. However, the inscriptions are not formulaic to such a degree that two (Jaina) records referring to one and the same teacher are almost or completely identical (e.g. LL 53/54; 57/58).

9. E. Senart, 'Notes d'épigraphie indienne', *Journal Asiatique* 8, 15 (1890), pp. 113 ff.
10. N. Hein, *The Miracle Plays of Mathurā*, New Haven, 1972, pp. 233 ff.
11. It is not clear to me how the above conclusion might be contradicted (as alleged by Fussman, *Jour. Asiatique* p. 424) by the well-known fact that the Jainas have not had a monastery in the North-West. It is known that some of the donors mentioned in Jaina records have been North-Western immigrants (judging not only from their names, but also in some cases from other data, cf. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, 1967, p. 216). It is quite probable that expressions common in North-Western records thus came to be used in Mathurā Jaina inscriptions. At the same time it is quite conceivable that those who have drawn up the texts of the Jaina inscriptions have been influenced by the contemporary Mathurā Buddhist records. Fussman's interpretation, in the same paragraph, of the above conclusions as implying that the North-Western immigrants have imported EHS from their home-country into Mathurā is of course quite unwarranted. We are dealing here with two processes: one, the adoption of 'North-Western expressions' in the Mathurā inscriptions, demonstrating a North-Western influence upon Mathurā epigraphy, the other, the Sanskritization of the language of the inscriptions (which will be dealt with below, cf. also n. 17).
12. LL 161, and two inscriptions edited by M. M. Hamid, R. C. Kak and R. Chanda, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 30, 31, nos. A 83 and A 84.
13. This observation does not imply that the expressions cited above should be regarded as 'characteristic EHS expressions' (cf. n. 2). Note, in this respect, the EHS records containing a typically 'eastern vocabulary', to be dealt with presently.
14. The vocabulary of these records (*sarvaduḥkhaprahāṇ-ārtham*, for example) is certainly Buddhist. On the designation of the Buddha as *pitāmaha*, see Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, 118, n. 4.
15. Ed. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* (*CII* 3), Calcutta (1888), pp. 45 ff., no. 11. Cf. also Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 119.
16. It has been observed above that M 86 contains a 'North-Western expression', but its language is MIA.
17. In Fussman's interpretation (*Jour. Asiatique* 424–426), these observations imply that the Kṣatrapa rulers have brought a Sanskritized language into Mathurā and imposed it on its inhabitants, the Sanskritization thus being due to their political will. Rejecting them, he explains the role of the North-Western invaders in such general terms as the political stability and economic prosperity brought by the reign of the Kṣatrapa rulers. To me it would seem more probable that the arrival of the North-Western immigrants—by whom I do not mean only the Kṣatrapa rulers themselves—resulted in some kind of innovating force, which is apparent from the change in the type of donative inscriptions. It is this force, it seems, which has made the Buddhists and Jainas at Mathurā give in (hesitantly, at first) to the pressure exerted by the Hindu culture. Thus, a Sanskritized language—not imported,

of course—starts to make its appearance in their records.

18. This supposition is supported by the fact that a Hindu inscription of the Kuṣāṇa age which refers to a private North-Western donor (and will be mentioned below), is also composed in EHS. Because of the lack of data, however, the exact implication of this explanation is dubious. Is it to be supposed that these North-Western donors, even though giving donations of a Hindu character, have not been fully integrated within Brahmanial circles? M 98 will be dealt with below, because its contents are connected, more with the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period than with those of the Kṣatrapa age.
19. Cf. the defective Sanskritization in M 60–62, which record gifts to the Buddhists by Kuṣāṇa officials.
20. For example, the Wandh inscription (P. R. Srinivasan, ed. 'Three Western', *EI* 37, pp. 142 ff., no. B), and LL 962 (Mulwāsar).
21. The possibility that Uṣavadāta's eulogy at Nāsik (part of LL 1131), which is composed in Sanskritized language, has exerted some influence cannot be excluded.

31. New Inscriptions from Mathurā

R. C. SHARMA

A.

ŚOḌĀSA INSCRIPTION FROM MIRJĀPUR VILLAGE

The Mathurā Museum has recently acquired a stone inscription (No. 79.20) belonging to the reign of Śoḍāsa and it is of great significance from a variety of aspects. Measuring 96 cms. in length and 44 cms. in width, this rectangular buff sandstone slab with red patches records a five line epigraph in pre-Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī characters (Pl. 31.I.A). It was an accidental discovery as the result of levelling of the ground for long jump by the boys of the hamlet Mirjāpur, in the southern outskirts of Mathurā near the Delhi-Agra National Highway. The find was made over to the Museum on August 4, 1979 by Bābā Bāl Kishan Das, the priest of a small Śiva temple from the ground of which the slab was unearthed.

The inscription, preceded by a beautifully carved Śrīvatsa motif, is sharply incised in large and bold letters and can be read easily except for one or two spots where the letters are rubbed off due to weather effect. I read it as follows:-

L.1 Svāmisya Mahākṣatrapasya Śuṇḍāsasya gāṁjava-
rasya Brāhmaṇasya
L.2 Śegravasa[1] gotrasya Mūlavasusya bhāryāye
Vasusya mātare
L.3 Kauśikīye Pākṣakāye kāritā puṣkariṇi imāṣam
yamaḍa pu-
L.4 ṣkaraṇīnam[2] pūrvā puṣkaraṇi ārāmo sabhā udapāno
stambho śiriye pratimā
L.5 ye śilā paṭṭo ca

Translation

Kauśikī Pākṣakā, mother of Vasu and wife of Mūlavasu (who was the) treasurer of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa and (who was) a Brāhmana belonging to the Śaigrava gotra, caused to erect the eastern (water) tank out of the twin tanks, a grove or garden, place for assembly, a well, a pillar and a stone slab of the image of Lakṣmī.

Palaeography

The language of the epigraph is Prākrit or hybrid form of Sanskrit as was generally used in Kuṣāṇa and pre-Kuṣāṇa period. Rules of grammar have been ignored as indicated by the use of svāmisya instead of Svāminaḥ etc. The document does not refer to any era or year but from the name of the reigning king Svamī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa we can infer that it was recorded in the later half of the 1st century B.C. The synopsis of the succession of levels as drawn by Prof. Herbert Härtel on the basis of his excavations at Sonkh, in Mathurā District, suggests that the Kṣatrapas held their sway in the Mathurā region towards the end of the 1st century B.C.[3] But the other scholars opine that the Kṣatrapas exercised their influence at Mathurā in the beginning of the 1st century A.D.[4] The formation of Brāhmī letters does not differ much from other contemporary records from Mathurā. The scribe had a set hand for calligraphy as the writing is sharp and perfectly legible.

The author of the epigraph has not hesitated in adopting the foreign words which had become current in the local dialect. 'Gāṁjavara' which connotes the meaning of 'treasurer' is a Persian[5] term introduced in India by the Central Asian invaders. The use of this word with slight variation is 'Gamnavara', noticed in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription excavated by Sir Aurel Stein in

Chinese Turkestan.[6] It found place in *Rājataraṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa[7] and is also mentioned by Kṣemendra in *Lokaprakāśa*.[8] T. P. Verma seems justified in associating the word 'Gañja' with the current Hindī or Hindustānī namesake which means 'a market or a Maṇḍī'.[9] Several villages and markets in the northern and eastern part of the country bear names with the suffix 'Gañja.'

Pākṣakā should be the name of the lady, and as is the usual practice in the early documents, Kauśikī is the name of the girl of the Kauśika-gotra.[10]

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF ŚOḌĀSA

So far the Mathurā region has revealed eight inscriptions recording the name of Śoḍāsa. Of these, two were set up in the reign of his father and predecessor Rajuvula who has been mentioned as Mahākṣatrapa while Śoḍāsa is referred to as Kṣatrapa. The first inscription in Kharoṣṭhī script incised on a Lion Capital was unearthed at the Saptarṣi mound in 1869 by Bhagwān Lāl Indrājī. It was installed by Kamuiā the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula and refers to the erection of a Buddhist monastery and stūpa and other religious deeds at the instance of the Sarvāstivādin ācāryas.[11] The second inscription is recorded on a large stone slab acquired from village Mora in Mathurā District.[12] Dating to the time of Śoḍāsa, it records the installation of five statues of Vṛṣṇi heroes in the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula. The title of his son 'Svāmī' is intact but the remaining part is damaged although the scholars have restored the name as Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.[13] As revealed from other epigraphs, the son of Rajuvula associated with Mathurā region was certainly Śoḍāsa. This large slab was discovered by Cunningham in 1882 and was shifted to the Mathurā Museum in 1908 (No. Q.1).

The third inscription is a fragmentary slab from Mathurā now in the Indian Museum Calcutta (No. N.S. 6482). Much of the part of the epigraph is damaged and it is not possible to render its complete translation. It refers to the erection of a stone building, a place for assembly and a stone slab.[14] It must have been Brāhmanical in nature.

While excavating at the site of Kaṅkālī between 1888 and 1891 Dr. A. Führer, Curator, Lucknow Museum unearthed a Jaina Śilāpaṭṭa or Āyāgapaṭṭa, besides hundreds of other architectural remains and sculptures which were moved enbloc to Lucknow Museum. The upper horizontal band of the slab bears a three line epigraph which informs that in the year 42 or 72 of Lord Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa one Āryāvatī was set up by Amohinī for the worship of the Arhat and Āryāvatī.[15]

The fifth inscription was discovered at Jail or Jamālpur mound during the last century and it bore almost the similar draft as the newly acquired slab. It however, did not bear any name of the donor as some of the words are obliterated and missing. Although the epigraph was reported by Dowson, Cunningham, Lüders, Janert etc., its present whereabouts are not known and we have to remain content with the facsimile reproduced in different publications.[16] The contents of this inscription will be discussed later.

The sixth document mentioning Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa was recovered by Pt. Rādhā Kriṣṇa in 1913 from a well in his Koṭhī in Mathurā Cantt. (Mathurā Museum No. 13.367). Originally it belonged to some other site and the scholars have different opinions about the provenance of this antiquity. Lüders thought that it belonged to the Bhāgavata shrine of Mora about 12 kms. to west of Mathurā. But V. S. Agrawala opined that it must have originated from the site of Kaṭrā, the famous Bhāgavata spot. We shall see that the conjecture of Agrawala carries weight. The epigraph is seen on the side of a temple doorjamb showing beautiful lotus creeper and some other vertical bands. The upper part of the inscription is corroded and five lines cannot be made out properly. The remaining part is better preserved and it can be translated as: 'At the great temple of Lord Vāsudeva, a gateway and a railing was erected by Vasu son of Kauśikī Pākṣakā. May Lord Vāsudeva be pleased and promote the (welfare) of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.'[17] This is the earliest archaeological evidence to prove the tradition of the building of Kṛṣṇa's shrine.

The seventh inscription is seen on a fragmentary architectural piece representing a male with a bow and a female with a quiver on one side and woman and child on the other. The incomplete Brāhmī epigraph informs that a gateway was erected by the wife of a minister of Śoḍāsa. Its detailed significance will be discussed below. It was acquired by the Mathurā Museum in 1954[18] from the site of Kaṭrā Keśavadeva, the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa.

The eighth and the last epigraph of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa is the recent discovery (Mathurā Museum No. 79.20) which has been discussed at the outset of the present paper.[19] Its contents to a great extent resemble the epigraph found from Jail or Jamālpur mound, referred to above.

CORRELATION BETWEEN THE INSCRIPTIONS

The above mentioned inscriptions seem to be correlated; the name of Śoḍāsa is common in all. He either appears as Kṣatrapa, viceroy, or Mahākṣatrapa (i.e. the

reigning king). The consolidated study of these epigraphs reveals that there are several other interesting affinities among some of these documents.

If we read the fifth epigraph with the recently discovered slab, we are apt to arrive at the conclusion that both the documents belonged to one spot and the charitable deeds recorded in the inscriptions were of the same nature and were performed by the same family. The distance from the District Collectorate to the village of Mirjāpur is about 2 kms. and it is quite likely that one slab was removed from one site to the other spot. There is no justification to assume that many deeds of the same nature were simultaneously performed at a distance of two kilometers from each other. This is also improbable in the light of the fact that the same person or persons are responsible for these activities. Either the slab discovered in the 19th century was removed from the site of Mirjāpur to Jail mound or the recent epigraph was shifted from Jail mound to Mirjāpur. The problem finds a solution when we are able to pinpoint two water tanks near Mirjāpur hamlet besides a well, some remains of the place for assembly and the slab describing these tanks. We do not notice such traces at Jamālpur which has taken a different shape after the construction of the Collectorate and allied buildings.

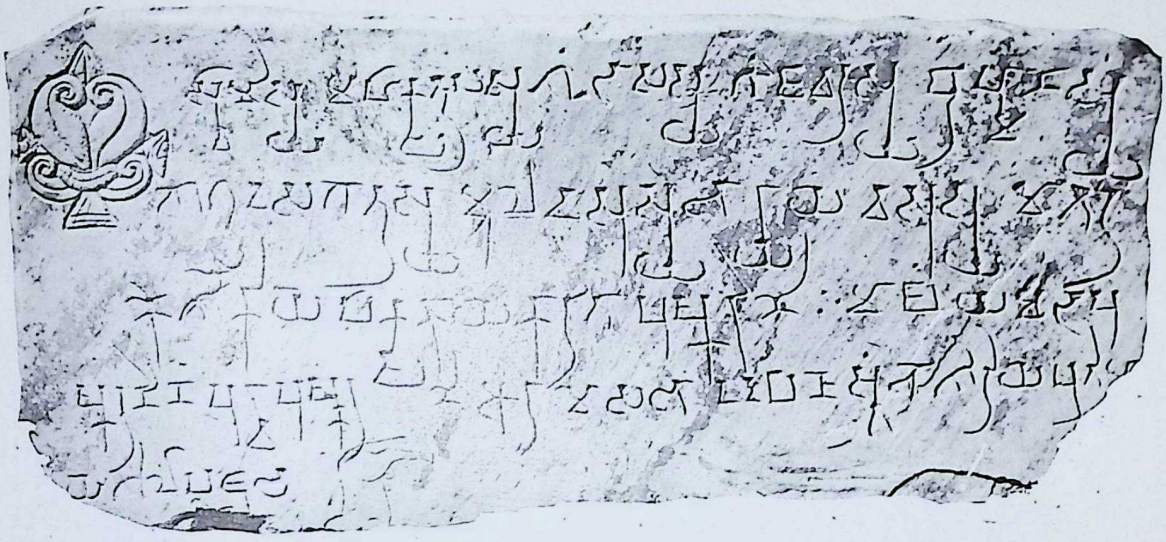
Why should we assume that both the slabs belonged to one family? The answer has to be found from the drafts of the two documents. Although the previous inscription does not mention the proper name of the donor or his kin, what is left affirms our line of thinking. The person in question is to be identified from the titles referred to in the epigraph. He is Brāhmaṇa by caste and his Gotra is Śaigrava. The same caste and Gotra have been mentioned in the new document. Again in both the epigraphs his post or designation has been recorded as Gāṁjavara (i.e. Treasurer of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa). Moreover, in both the inscriptions twin watertanks have been described. Of these the eastern tank was erected by the lady while the western tank was completed by the gentleman. The other items (i.e. well, garden, pillar and slab) are similar. We are no. sure about the sectarian nature of the shrine in the previous document as some of the letters are missing but the new slab definitely records that it was dedicated to Śrī or Lakṣmī.

On the basis of these similarities we can safely conclude that one and the same family was responsible for performing the charity (Iṣṭāpūrta). It can also be convincingly suggested that both were husband and wife. The new epigraph clearly indicates that Kauśikī Pākṣakā was the wife of Mūlavasu who was the Treasurer of Śoḍāsa. The western tank (paścimā puṣkariṇi) was erected by Mūlavasu himself as indicated by the use of instrumental affix (tṛtīyā vibhakti) while the eastern tank (pūrvā puṣkariṇi) was the creation of his wife. During an extensive survey of the area Sri K. Deva pointed out that the depression to the western side of the Mathurā-Achnerā railway line should be the location of the western tank of the lost epigraph. It may, therefore, be admitted that this inscription was removed from the site of Mirjāpur to Jail or Jamālpur site wherefrom it was unearthed during the last century. May it also be suggested that the eastern tank of Kauśikī was meant only for ladies while the western tank of her husband Mūlavasu was for the use of the gents?

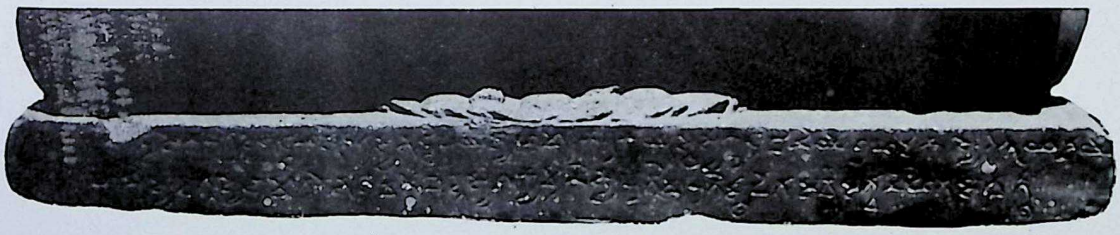
The other question which attracts our attention is whether the image of Lakṣmī was installed or not. B. N. Mukherjee once thought the slab (Mathurā Museum No. 79.20) represented *stambhaśrī* giving the combined reading of *stambha* and Śrī, but he did not insist on this suggestion.[20] Actually the word '*stambho*' has been used as nominative affix (*prathamā vibhakti*) and not as compound (*samāsa*) combined with the subsequent word Śiri. As *puṣkariṇi, ārāmo, sabhā* and *udapāno* are separate items, similarly *stambho* also denotes an independent task. We have the tradition of setting up of a pillar in front of a religious shrine or a monastery at Mathurā and other places right from the pre-Christian centuries.

I feel that the new inscription should not necessarily refer to the installation of a separate image of Lakṣmī and that the slab itself serves this purpose. This can be corroborated by two facts; firstly by the use of words in genitive form (i.e. *śiriye pratimāye śilāpaṭṭo ca*), meaning the stone slab of or for the image of Lakṣmī. Secondly the inscription is preceded by a beautifully carved Śrīvatsa motif in bas relief and this could also serve the purpose of Śrī or Lakṣmī.

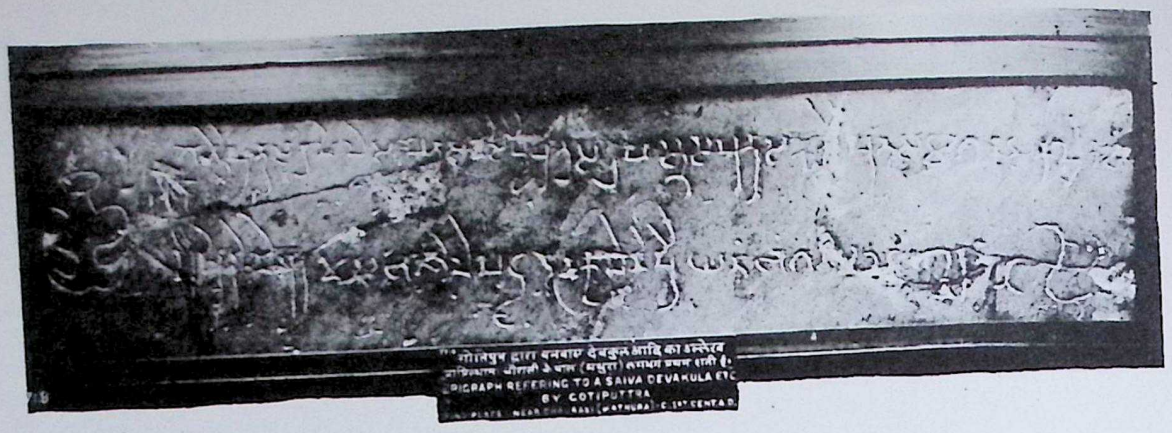
T. P. Verma of Vārāṇasī, however, does not ascribe to my views and according to him the Śrīvatsa symbol cannot be taken for the image of Śrī. He opines that during the Śaka period people could differentiate between the *pratimā*, *śilāpaṭṭa* and *Āyāgapaṭṭa*. The sculptors of Mathurā at that time were far ahead in the country in the art of making images. The epigraph under discussion certainly refers to the stone slab (a) on which the image of Śrī was carved (of course above the epigraph portion) or (b) attached or put around the image. The Śrīvatsa symbol is just a *pratīka* to refer to the goddess.[21] While there is not much disagreement between my opinion and that expressed by Verma, it may, however, be pointed out that the slab belongs to a transitional phase of aniconic and iconic worship and



Pl. 31.I.A Mathurā Museum No. 79.20.



Pl. 31.I.B Mathurā Museum No. 78.34.



Pl. 31.II.A Mathurā Museum No. 71.8.

Pl. 31.II.B Mathurā Museum No. 77.30.

Pl. 31.II.C Mathurā Museum No. 78.80.

symbols were also frequently used in the pre-Kuṣaṇa period. It may be made clear that while chairing one of the Mathurā Seminar Sessions, Prof. D. C. Sircar did not agree with my observation and upheld the view of Dr. Verma. Anyway, Lakṣmī was a popular deity in the pre-and-post-Christian centuries and even the coins of Śoḍāsa bear the figure of this goddess.[22] The mention of Śrī *pratimā* in the epigraph of his reign arouses great interest.

Another interesting issue arising from the present epigraph is a figure of a headless bull carved at the end of the epigraph. In comparison with the beautiful carving of the Śrīvatsa motif, it is a crude sketch and to me it first appeared to be a later addition. But Sri K. Deva drew my attention to the letter 'Ra' which cuts the tail and the hind part of the bull and in that case the figure has to be accepted as anterior to the slab. I am inclined to suggest that the slab probably belonged to some Śaiva shrine and it was reused for writing the epigraph in the time of Śoḍāsa. The headless figure of the animal further indicates that the slab was of larger dimensions and it was continuing, but the scribe cut it to suit his requirement. The remaining portion of the stone probably bore more figures. If it was extracted from some Śaiva shrine in the time of Śoḍāsa, we have to think of some sectarian rivalry between the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas at Mathurā.

It appears that Kauśikī Pākṣakā had a high social status and was a devout Bhāgavata. Besides the complex at Mirjāpur referred to above, she and her son Vasu appear to have constructed some shrine with a gateway at the site of the present Janmabhūmi. The temple doorjamb in Mathurā Museum No. 13.367, already discussed, in all probability bears the same name. The name of Vasu also appears in the new epigraph and the doorjamb inscription which omits the name of his father Mūlavasu.

There remains but one important issue to be discussed. The stone slab carved with the figure of a male with bow and female with quiver etc.[23] records that one lady had a door erected and that she was the wife of a Minister (Amātya) of Śoḍāsa. Who was this lady? Was she the same Kauśikī Pākṣakā of the new epigraph? Was Mūlavasu elevated from the post of Treasurer to the rank of Amātya (if the post is held superior to that of Gañjavara) by Śoḍāsa? Or did his son Vasu become a Minister (Amātya) under Śoḍāsa, and did he erect a shrine and gateway at Janmasthāna as hinted in the two epigraphs (Mathurā Museum No. 13.367 and 54.3768)? This slab was acquired in 1954 from Kaṭrā Keśavadeva, the site of the birth place of Kṛṣṇa and it is quite likely that Kauśikī Pākṣakā who seems to be a Bhāgavata in the light of the discussion, built some shrine at the holy spot and in that case the doorjamb No. 13.367 of Mathurā Museum also formed a part of the shrine of Kṛṣṇa constructed by Kauśikī as referred to in the inscription.

CHRONOLOGY

The survey of these eight inscriptions enables us to fix a timetable for these documents. Of the first two epigraphs, the Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the Lion Capital is the earliest, belonging to the reign of Rajuvula who has been called Mahākṣatrapa while Śoḍāsa is mentioned as Kṣatrapa. The Mora Well epigraph may be presumed to be second; it records Rajuvula as Mahākṣatrapa and his son (most probably Śoḍāsa) also as Mahākṣatrapa. The epigraph in the Calcutta Museum (No. N.S. 6482, No. 3 of the present paper) may be third as it refers to Śoḍāsa as Mahākṣatrapa but also records Rajuvula whose position and context are not clear. Here the noteworthy point is that the word Svāmī is not preceded with the epithet Mahākṣatrapa. As fourth and fifth come the two inscriptions from Jamālpur and Mirjāpur referring to the erection of water tanks etc. by Mūlavasu and his consort Kauśikī Pākṣakā. These are No. 5 and 8 of this paper. Śoḍāsa now figures as the reigning king assuming the title of Svāmī Mahākṣatrapa. The Āryāvatī stone tablet (J.1 of Lucknow Museum) belongs to year 72 (read by some as 42) in reign of Śoḍāsa (No. 4 of this paper) and this will be taken up again. The slab consisting of a fragmentary epigraph (Mathurā Museum No. 54.3768 and No. 7 of this paper) referring to the gift of a gateway by the wife of an Amātya of Śoḍāsa should be No. 7 in chronology as it belongs to the phase when Mūlavasu was probably promoted from Treasurership to the Amātyaship. Alternatively his son Vasu had become an Amātya at the court of Śoḍāsa. The last in chronology may fit the temple doorjamb probably from the same site again (Mathurā Museum No. 13.367 and No. 6 of this paper). The shrine was built for Vāsudeva by Vasu, the son of Kauśikī. The king remains the same (i.e. Śoḍāsa) but the boy Vasu is now grown up and he probably follows the footsteps of his parents Mūlavasu and Kauśikī Pākṣakā and constructs a railing with a gateway. Probably he, like his father, was an official of Śoḍāsa and enjoyed his confidence. In the inscription he wished for the welfare of his master through his pious acts.

The time allowed for the reign of Śoḍāsa in the light of the circumstances mentioned in these epigraphs, is a matter of conjecture. We feel that sufficient time has to be given to shape the events. Vasu who is introduced

just as a son of Kauśikī, later on became, as the reference would suggest, a man of status.

In the light of these facts and few probabilities referred to above, it may be presumed that Śoḍāsa enjoyed a long period as ruler. His year 72 (also read as 42) is given on the Amohinī or Āryāvatī tablet (Lucknow Museum No. J. 1, No. 4 of this paper) but the scholars are hesitant to allow such a long time span for Śoḍāsa and presume that the date is given in some other era.[24] But the study of all inscriptions of Śoḍāsa's reign warrants us to review this issue afresh and to consider the possibility of an era founded either by Śoḍāsa or his father Rajuvula. The Amohinī tablet should be dated accordingly. If the figure is read as 42 it may be the regnal year of Śoḍāsa and if it is 72 then we may consider the eventuality of the beginning of an era commenced by his predecessor and father Rajuvula and continued by his son Śoḍāsa. But it is certainly a crucial issue which requires a deeper probe from different angles.[25]

B.

NOTES ON OTHER NEW EPIGRAPHS FROM MATHURĀ

1. Buddha Image Inscription Recording Kāyastha (No. 78.34)

An interesting headless Buddha image measuring 62 cms. in height and 63 cms. in breadth was made over to the Government Museum Mathurā by the General Manager, Triveṇī Engineering Works Ltd. on May 30, 1978. It was unearthed on the premises of the factory, situated near the Govardhan by-pass in the vicinity of Delhi-Agra highway to the west of Mathurā city. The sculpture represents the Buddha seated cross legged—padmāsana—with soles turned upward decorated with auspicious motifs of double circled spoked wheel and *triratna*. The toes of the left foot are rubbed off but the toes of the right foot show marks such as full vase, *śrīvatsa* and svastika. The right hand, raised in abhaya, bears a sharply chiselled spoked wheel with a beaded rim inside a circle. The finger tips show a bowl or basket with flowers, *triratna*, full vase and *śrīvatsa symbols*. The background of the hand is carved with criss-cross pattern, suggesting a webbed hand. The left arm is broken and the hand is clenched on the left knee. The deity wears an *ekānsika sanghāṭī* which covers the left side only and shows schematic loose folds. A decorated girdle is fastened around the waist and it hangs down to the pedestal. The fragmentary halo rises above the waist and is carved with a lotus in centre succeeded by the traces of a band of shooting arrows, and a scroll; it terminates with a scalloped border. The sculpture is in spotted red stone, three-fourth carved. Stylistically it must belong to late 1st century A.D.

The real interest of the image, however, lies in a two line Brāhmī epigraph in Kuṣāṇa characters and the occurrence of word Kāyastha in it (Pl. 31.I.B). It reads as follows:-

1. (Bha)ṭṭisena putrasya Bhaṭṭihasti potrasya Bhaṭṭi priyasya
   hamārakāra[26] Kāyasthasya Kuṭumbiniye Grahadīnasya dhitū yaśāye
2. Hastisya Dattasya ca mātare bhagavato Buddhasya Śākyamunisya pratimā pratiṣṭhāpitā sarvva sattvānaṁ hita sukharthaṁ

Translation

This image of Śākyamuni Buddha was set up for the welfare of all beings by Yaśā daughter (?) of Grahadīna, mother of Hasti and Datta and housewife of goldsmith (?) Kāyastha Bhaṭṭipriya who is son of Bhaṭṭisena and grandson of Bhaṭṭihasti.

This is probably the earliest reference of Kāyastha but we do not know whether it stands for some community, caste or profession.

2. Inscription of Gotipurtra No. 71.8 (Pl. 31.II.A).

The inscription which on the palaeographic grounds appears to be contemporary or slightly later than the above epigraph was unearthed from the Delhi-Agra highway near Caurāsī in the western outskirts of Mathurā but was acquired for the Museum in 1971 from a Delhi dealer.

The two line Brāhmī epigraph is incised on a 93 × 33cms. horizontal red sandstone slab and owing to its mutilation and defective restoration some letters pose difficulty in reading. The document is preceded by a stylised full vase and ends with svastika. It can be read as :

1. Goti putrasa Rāhilasa (pau)trasa Vasi (ṣṭi) putrasa (Pra)hastasa putrasa Ko(tsi) putrasa Māgakasa Kula (totasa)
2. (piski) ri ni ārāma sabhā śilāpaṭṭa devakula ni priyatāṁ bhaga(vān) (ma)heśvaraṁ

Translation

A water tank, garden, assembly hall, stone tablet (and) temple were erected (by) the son of Goti, grandson of Rāhila, son of Vasiṣṭī son of Prahasta, son of Kotsi of Magaka (and) of Kalatota? May god Mahéśvara be pleased.

References

R. C. Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, pp. 48–49

and 'New Inscription from Mathurā,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* No. 8 (Dec. 1971), pp. 24–25.

D. C. Sircar, 'Kuluta Inscription from Mathurā', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. VII, no. 1 (Jan. 1972), pp. 14–15.

Lokesh Chandra, 'Stone Inscription of Kuluta from Mathurā', *Studies in Indo-Asian Art & Culture*, Vol. 3 (1973; Āchārya Raghuvīra Commemoration Vol.) pp. 77–82.

3. Buddha Image Inscription of Year 93 (No. 76.1)

Another epigraph mentioning the word Kāyastena is recorded on the pedestal of a Buddha image dated in the year 93 (171 A.D.). The sculpture acquired in 1976 represents about half the figure of the standing Buddha wearing an unusual tunic type lower garment. Between his legs is seen a turban type of decoration. He is flanked by four men on right and four women on the left side in adoration pose. The epigraph as read and published by Sri V. N. Shrivastava before it became a Museum acquisition is as follows:

1. (Siddha)ṁ mahārājasya devaputrasya Vāsudevasya saṁ 90 3 he 4 di 20 5 asya (yam) purvvayam bhoga (va) to pi
2. tāmahasya svamatasya avirudhasya pratimā chatraṁ ca pratiṣṭhāpitaṁ aryya Dharmeśvarm arya Māgham
3. arya Dhanaṁ pitaram ca Śarvanandi mātaraṁ ca Jiva (śi) ri puraskṛtya sramaṇenaṁ Kayastenaṁ

Translation

In the 93rd year (171 A.D.) of Mahārāja Devaputra Vāsudeva, in the 4th month of Hemanta (winter) and on the 25th day an image of the Buddha, who has full grasp of knowledge and whose faith is unshakeable, was set up along with a parasol by a Buddhist monk who was *Kāyastha* (?) after paying due respect to his father Sarvanandi, mother Jīvaśrī and Ārya Dharmeśvara, Ārya Māgha and Ārya Dhanna.

References

V. N. Shrivastava, 'Two Image Inscriptions from Mathurā', *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII Part IV (1967), pp. 151–154 and 'Mathurā Ki Naveen Abhilikhita Buddha Mūrti, Saka Samvat 93' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.* No. 4 (Dec. 1969) (Hindi).

Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, p. 67.

4. Bodhisattva Set up by Senaka (No. 74.26)

This is the lower part of a seated Bodhisattva image in *padmāsana*, with folds of drapery falling on the pedestal which consists of three lions (two in profile and the middle one enface). The soles of the feet of the Bodhisattva are carved with *triratna* and wheel motifs. Traces of auspicious marks are seen on the toes also. There is sufficient proof to suggest that the left hand was resting on the left knee. Made in spotted red sandstone, the sculpture should be assigned, on the stylistic ground, to the end of the 1st century A.D. It was acquired in 1974 from Vrindāban. The three line epigraph which was jointly deciphered by me and Dr. K. K. Thaplyal of Lucknow University can be read as follows:-

1. Sindhuka putrasya Śreṣṭhasya Hastikasya . . . sa putro Senukah Bodhisattva (prati) ṣṭhāpaya (ti) . . . Sarva budha pujāye
2. Sarva sattvānaṁ hitartha mātā pitṛnaṁpūjaye atra can Bodhisattva . . . .
3. Senakenaḥ Dama putra ca

Translation

Senaka the son of Śreṣṭhahasti who was son of Sindhuka (?) installs (this image) of Bodhisattva . . . . for the worship of all Buddhas and for the welfare of all beings in the honour of parents . . . .

By Senaka and son of Dama

5. Pillar Inscription of Kaniṣka's Reign No. 76.36

A fragmentary red sandstone octagonal pillar with square base consists of a three line small epigraph in bold Brāhmī characters. It is read as follows:

1. Mahārājasya Devaputrasya
2. Kaniskasya samvatsare 10 2
3. hemanta māsa

Translation

In the (month of winter) 12th year of great king, son of gods, Kaniṣka . . . .

It was acquired from the site of Govindnagar near Mathurā in 1976.

Reference

R. C. Sharma, 'New Buddhist Sculpture from Mathurā', *Lalit Kala*, no. 19 (1979), p. 19, Fig. 1.

6. Amitābha Buddha Inscription No. 77.30 (Pl. 31.II.B)

The site of Govindnagar revealed another important pedestal of an Amitābha Buddha image measuring 77 × 51 cms. with an inscription in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script. I read it as[27]:

1. Mahārājasya Huviṣkasya saṁ 20 (6)[28] va di 20–6

2. etasya pūrvaya sattvakasya sārthavāhasya pautreṇa bala ka (kī) rtasya śreṣṭhisya nātikenā.
3. Buddhabalena putreṇa Nāgarakṣitena bhagavato Buddhasya Amitābhasya pratimā pratiṣṭhāpi (tā)
4. (sarva) Buddha-pujāye imena kuśala mūlena sarva (sattvā) anuttara Buddha jñānaṁ (śrāvitaṁ)

Translation

On the 26th day of the second month of rainy season in the year 20 (6) (106 A.D.) on this occasion the image of Amitābha Buddha was installed by Nāgarakṣita son of Buddhabala grandson of the merchant Sattvaka and grandson (daughter's son) of the trader Balakīrti (?) for the worship of all Buddhas. Whatsoever merit is in this charity let it be for listening the supreme knowledge of the Buddha.

The document is significant for various reasons. It records the first year of the reign of Huviṣka. The creed of Anuttarajñāna which became very popular in the Gupta period is met with for the first time in the Kuṣāṇa period. But here the word occurs as *śrāvita* (listened?) and not *avāpti* (attained). The most striking feature is the name of the Buddha as *Amitābha*. This is the earliest inscriptional evidence which furnished the name of this Buddha. On the iconographic and stylistic grounds it was held that the tradition of the Dhyāni Buddhas was evolved in the Kuṣāṇa period but no epigraphic evidence had come to light.[29] The lotus decoration adjacent to the left foot of the Buddha does not appear to be just accidental. Usually the deity is flanked by attendants on both sides. But in this case the legs of acolyte to the right side of the Buddha are quite distinct but absence of traces of any such figure on the other side presents a problem. The answer is found in the Buddhist texts which ascribe the lotus as the motif of Amitābha.[30] Discovery of this pedestal pushes back the development of the Mahāyānist pantheon at least to the 1st century A.D. It was Mathurā which made a beginning and the other centres followed it. Thus this inscription opens a new chapter in the history of the Buddhist church and development of the Buddhist pantheon in India.

7. Inscription of the year 35 No. 78.80 (Pl. 31.II.C)

A fragmentary inscription is recorded on the pedestal of a deity, probably a Jina, who was sitting cross legged on the lion throne carved with devotees worshipping a Dharmacakra. Measuring 34.5 × 42 cms. this Kuṣāṇa period sculpture is made of spotted red sandstone and was acquired from Saptarṣi mound in Mathurā city. The inscription can be read as:

Siddham sam 30 5 va 3 di 10 asya purvvāyāṁ diyasa grahato—to ku . . . .

It may be loosely translated as:

Success in the year 35 of rainy season on the tenth day as specified above from Diyasa graha . . . .

NOTES

SECTION A

1. The correct reading of this word and that of Yamaḍa in the third line was offered by Dr. T. P. Verma of the Banaras Hindu University.
2. Can be read as Pu.
3. H. Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh,' *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1976, Fig. 10.
4. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 120; B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 25.
5. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 121, fn. 6.
6. H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed. by K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961, p. 100.
7. Rājataraṅgiṇi, 5. 177.
8. See reference no. 6
9. I have received his suggestion in a communication received after the discovery of this inscription.
10. D. C. Sircar, 'Gotrantara or a change of a woman's Gotra,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1945), pp. 48 ff.
11. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Pt. I (1929), pp. 48–49.
12. H. Lüders, 'Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā,' in *Ep. Indica*, 24 (1937–38), 1942, pp. 194–200, no. 1.
13. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 122.
14. Lüders, List No. 85c. Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, no. 178, pp. 203–4.
15. Lucknow Museum No. J. 1; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa* 2nd Edition, Delhi, 1969, p. 21.
16. It was read as:
    1. Svāmisya mahākṣatrapasya Śoṁḍāsasya gaṁjavareṇa brāhmaṇena Śegravasagotreṇa (p) (. . .)
    2. raṇi imāṣāṁ yamaḍapuṣkaraṇīnāṁ paścimā puṣkaraṇi udapāno stambho i
    3. (śilā) paṭṭo ca . . . .

    Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. V (1870), p. 188, no. 29; A. Cunningham, *ASIAR*, Vol. III (1873), p. 30, Inscription No. 1 and Pl. 13; H. Lüders, List No. 82; K. L. Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 99–100, Pl. 64; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 121–22.

17. H. Lüders, 'Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 208–09; R. P. Chanda, *Archaelogical Survey of India*, Memoir No. V, pp. 169–73, Pl. XXV and XXVI; R. C. Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, Mathurā, 1976, pp. 31–32; V. S. Agrawala, Mathurā Museum Catalogue, *J. U. P. H. S.* (1951–52), pp. 134–36; D. C. Sircar reads and translates it differently. See *Proceedings of the Gwalior Session of the Indian History Congress* (1952), p. 63. Lüders, 'Seven Brāhmī Ins.'
18. Mathurā Museum No. 54.3768. It reads:
    . . . . . Śoṇḍāsasa amātyasa
    . . . . . (bhāryā) ye deviye toraṇaṁ kāritaṁ
19. B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, pp. 218–20, Pl. IV, Fig. 24.
20. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, p. 220.
21. Dr. T. P. Verma has expressed his views in a letter dated September 8, 1979. He agrees with my identification of the twin water tanks at one spot and renders a conjectural restoration in the lost epigraph after the word 'gotreṇa,—Mūlavasunā kāritā puṣka—in the first line and—yam Siriye pratimaye—at the end of the second line.

    There can be some other name as substitute for Śrī according to the personal devotion or reverence of the donor.
22. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, p. 24.
23. Discussed in Reference No. 18.
24. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, p. 50.
25. Dr. K. K. Thaplyal of Lucknow University offered some valuable suggestions during the course of revising this paper.

SECTION B

26. Read as Hemarakara and translated as goldsmith by Dr. T. P. Verma of the Benaras Hindu University. As *hemakāra* is a goldsmith, the occurrence of the *akṣara ra* in the word needs to be explained. [D. C. S.]
27. R. C. Sharma, 'New Buddhist Sculpture from Mathurā (Pre-Gupta approach),' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U. P.*, no. 17–18 (June–December 1976), pp. 1 and 10 and *Lalit Kalā*, no. 19, p. 19, Fig. 18.
28. B. N. Mukherjee read it as 6 while I deciphered it as 8.
29. V. S. Agrawala, 'Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,' *J. U. P. H. S.* (1938), Vol. XI; pt. II.
30. Agrawala, 'Dhyāni Buddhas,' p. 3.

32. Modification of Early Brāhmī into Middle Brāhmī and Late Brāhmī Stages at Mathurā

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Mathurā is one of those few well-known early Indian cultural centres which have yielded a large number of inscriptions throwing light on the cultural life of the Indian subcontinent.[1] But Mathurā excels them all in as much as a fairly large number of the epigraphical records found there admit of being dated precisely on account of the mention in them of the ruling chiefs[2] during whose reigns they were inscribed and/or of the years of the eras with known beginnings.[3] By comparison with these dated inscriptions even such records as do not contain these details can be dated approximately. These inscriptions are not only themselves datable but, what is more important, furnish valuable evidence for dating the objects on which they are engraved and thereby prove to be of great value for cultural history. As will be evident from a glance at any major collection of the epigraphs from Mathurā and its environs,[4] most of these records belong to the period of the rule of the Śaka Kṣatrapas and the Kuṣāṇas who flourished during the two opening centuries of the Christian era while a much smaller number belongs to the preceding and following periods.

These epigraphs are mostly engraved on divine images, votive tablets (*āyāgapaṭṭas*) and architectural members and only rarely on other objects like pillars[5]; they aim to record pious acts of the votaries of diverse faiths. The epigraphs are religious in character and shed welcome light on religious history of India in general and of Mathurā in particular.[6] A vast majority of these records are composed in Prākrit and a few in Sanskrit. The language of the Prākrit inscriptions is influenced by Sanskrit while that of the Sanskrit inscriptions evinces influence of, or mixture with, Prākrit.[7] It is noteworthy that Mathurā has given us some of the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions on the subcontinent. The role of the foreign rulers in the gradual emergence of Sanskrit as an epigraphical language, though indirect, is outlined not only by these inscriptions but also by those of the Western Kṣatrapas.[8]

All the records except the famous Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription[9] are written in the Brāhmī script of the period in question. The study of these inscriptions is valuable not only for their contents in which they are indeed rich but also for the development of Brāhmī in its early phase. At Mathurā epigraphical activity was quite brisk specially during the early centuries of the Christian era. Some innovations were also attempted. They played an important part in the creation of new forms and thereby determined, to a considerable extent, the direction of the development of Brāhmī. This study is facilitated by the availability of precisely datable material of the type nowhere else available.

The palaeographers of the earlier generation studied the progress of Brāhmī primarily as a chronometer for the reconstruction of early Indian history and were accordingly inclined to apply dynastic designations to various phases in the development of the script.[10] But the difficulties involved in this dynasty-based nomenclature soon became evident with the progress of epigraphical studies and modern palaeographers are no longer in favour of such designations which have only a partial coverage and are otherwise misleading.[11] Therefore labels indicative of broad periods, keeping in view the different stages in the development of the script, are now generally favoured. Some of the more

recent writings on the subject evince a total refusal to apply any designation, and content themselves merely, by indicating the period in terms of centuries in the captions.[12] On the other hand, scholars like D. C. Sircar would prefer to designate the main phases in the development of Brāhmī from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. as Early, Middle and Late. The phase from the third to the first century B.C. is called Early while those between the first century B.C. and third century A.D. and between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. are termed Middle and Late with due allowance being made for regional fluctuations.[13] We feel that the latter classification may be accepted as a working hypothesis.

Earlier epigraphists like G. Bühler[14] and Henrich Lüders[15] were of the opinion that the earliest inscriptions at Mathurā dated from the second century B.C. On the other hand, recent writers on Indian palaeography, including A. H. Dani[16] and T. P. Verma[17], deny the presence of any inscription belonging to such an early date and think that the oldest epigraphs at the site should be referred to the period of the Śaka Kṣatrapas who ruled over the Mathurā region in the first half of the first century A.D. However, we find it difficult to accept this position. Even a cursory glance at the published facsimiles of some of the inscriptions would leave no room for doubt that they are attributable to a period prior to the Kṣatrapa rule and may be justifiably assigned to the first century B.C. Even otherwise, it will appear inconceiveable that there was absolutely no activity before the Kṣatrapas and that it began so briskly all of a sudden after the establishment of the Śaka Kṣatrapas. It is important to note in this connection that in the domain of art and coinage the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā simply continued the local traditions and only accelerated their pace by extending patronage and establishing peace. The same must have been the case in the domain of epigraphy. A few of the inscriptions assigned by Henrich Lüders to the third and second centuries B.C.[18] and the nine records stated to belong to the Śuṅga period[19] have definitely a much earlier look. No one familiar with the general appearance of the characters of the Kṣatrapa inscriptions will class the inscriptions under reference with them. These epigraphs obviously give us specimens of Early Brāhmī characters. These inscriptions do not exhibit even a single peculiarity of the Middle Brāhmī represented by the Kṣatrapa epigraphs. On the other hand we find no effort at the equalization of the upper verticals and the giving of angular forms to letters.[20] The lower limb of *ma* is round, not triangular, *ta* still has an angular, not rounded form and *da* still opens to the left. One of these records, no. 88 of Lüders, in particular has a distinctly Aśokan appearance and must be assigned to a date not later than the second century B.C.[21]

Reference must be made at this stage to the palaeography of the legends on the coins of the local rulers of Mathurā which are dated to the pre-Christian centuries. Without going into chronological controversies, we can say that the Śaka chiefs Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa ruled in the first half of the first century A.D.,[22] the former probably beginning his rule a few years prior to the close of the first century B.C. According to the generally accepted chronology, Rajuvula was preceded by three more Kṣatrapas, to wit, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa and Hagāna, the last two ruling jointly for some time after the rule of the former alone.[23] The commencement of the Satrapal rule may therefore be dated around the middle of the first century B.C. No less than thirteen local chiefs are known to have ruled over Mathurā before the Kṣatrapas established their power over the same area. The beginning of this line of local rulers may be placed somewhere about the middle of the second century B.C. In the legends on these coins we note, from the very beginning, the tendency to equalize all the upper verticals of the letters though on the coins of the two Gomitras, Brahmamitra, Ghoṣadatta and Dṛḍhamitra it is not fully carried out, especially in the case of the letter *sa* which has slightly unequal verticals side by side with instances of equalized verticals on some later coins also. But the verticals of other letters are found equalized from the time of Brahmamitra onward; we now come across angular forms of the letters *ha*, *sa*, *pa*, *va*, and *la*.[24] But completely angular *ma* with a triangle serving as its lower limb is first met with on the coins of Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta, that on the earlier specie retaining its older rounded form. We also find on these coins rounded *bha* and *ta*, though the latter sometimes has also an angular form. This was evidently due to the impact of the lettering of the legends on Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pahlava coins where all letters are of equal size and have an angular look and appear beautiful on account of symmetry. But the more interesting fact that emerges from the study of these coin-legends concerns the use of broad or edged reed pen. Its use resulted in the thickening of the tops of the vertical of the letters and their gradually thinning down as the pen moves. According to Dani, this new writing instrument was first introduced in India in the first century A.D. during the period of the rule of the Śaka Kṣatrapas at Mathurā.[25] But it has been pointed out by Vidya Dehejia from personal observation of the Mathurā local coins in the British Museum that the coins of at least five chiefs, viz., Puruṣadatta, Uttama-

datta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta and Balabhūti show distinctly thickened tops of verticals. It may thus be reasonably concluded that the reed pen, which resulted in due course in the revolutionary alterations in the writing styles, was already in existence in India in c. 100 B.C.[26] The use of this pen was probably due to the contact with the Greeks who appear to have been familiar with it as early as the third century B.C.[27] It would thus follow that the Śaka Kṣatrapas had no role to play in the introduction into India of the reed pen, the use of which, of course, became more popular during their rule.

It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that the progress of Brāhmī was not even on coins and in stone inscriptions. Coins showed much more developed forms of letters and these made their appearance in inscriptions considerably later. Thus, while we have Early Brāhmī forms in inscriptions, coins bear legends in what may be described as Middle Brāhmī during the same period. As pointed out above, this imbalance was due to the influence of the symmetrical Greek lettering in the legends on the coins of foreign rulers and the employment of the reed pen which took time to be felt in inscriptions.

In the domain of epigraphy, the beginning of Middle Brāhmī is markedly felt in the inscriptions of the time of the Śaka Kṣatrapas and it matured in the epigraphs of the Kuṣāṇa period. The impact of the use of the reed pen, which was employed in the field of numismatic epigraphy earlier, is noticed in the thickening of the tops of the verticals of the letters. A new shape resulted from the gradually tapering and varying thickness which itself was the result of the twist of the new reed pen. The features noticed earlier in connection with the palaeography of coin-legends, to wit, equalization of all the upper verticals with the exception of *la*, angularization of the curves of *gha*, *ja*, *pa*, *pha*, *ṣa* and *ha*, turning of the circular limbs of the letters *kha*, *ma* and *va* into triangles and the rounded *ga*, *ta* and *śa*, are now found emphasized in inscriptions. The letter *cha*, besides having the earlier elliptical lower limb, in some cases, has its lower part formed in the shape of a double loop. The medial *i* has a curved form while the medial *o* is expressed either by a single horizontal line, e.g. in *ko*, *go*, *to*, *mo* and *so* or by a couple of uprising slanting strokes added to the left vertical of the letter as in *gho* and *po*. These traits are found in a more accentuated and mature form in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions which may be taken to represent the next phase of the Middle Brāhmī.[28] The inscriptions of this period are mostly dated and if the ascription of these dates to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. is correct, they are assignable to the period from the last quarter of the first century A.D. to about the close of the second century A.D. It has been rightly pointed out that the dubbing of all the letter-forms found used in the records of this period into a single style is not possible and they have to be studied within the framework of regional styles, sometimes with mutual admixtures.[29] Sometimes inscriptions at the same place and of the same period show differing letter-forms and an attempt has been made to explain away this phenomenon basing it on the classification of inscriptions of the period into 'official' and 'private'.[30] Without going into the intricacies and fineness of these classifications, we may note here those important features in respect to which the alphabet of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions differs from that met with in the Kṣatrapa inscriptions. The thickening of the tops of verticals resulting from the employment of the reed pen noticed in the earlier records now degenerates into a short head-mark generally called serif and sometimes into a short head-line from which the letters are supposed to be suspended. The upper verticals of *ka*, *ca*, *cha*, *na*, *bha* and *va* are extremely suppressed. The three dots of the initial *i* are replaced by short lines. The cross-bar of *ka* is somewhat curved. The right vertical of *ga* is elongated downward while the left one, which is shorter, has a serif at its bottom. The same is sometimes true of *śa* the mid-limb of which is turned into a cross-bar. The forms of *ṇa* of which one or both the horizontal lines are strongly curved or the vertical is split into two with the top of each retaining a part of the horizontal line are quite new innovations and possibly result from the effort to write the letter with a single stroke without raising the hand. The lower vertical of *da* is done away with and its bulge opens to the right. The horizontal of *na* is either curved or turned into a loop on the left. The left limb of *ya* is turned into a loop or hook while the right limb sometimes shows a strong angle. The mid-horizontal of *ṣa* now becomes a cross-bar. The appendage of *sa* on the left is sometimes turned into a loop. The *anusvāra* is now generally placed above instead of to the right of the letter concerned. The subscript *ya* is generally bipartite. The medial *ā* sign in *ā* is attached below.

Before we conclude our discussion of Middle Brāhmī at Mathurā a reference must be made to the Mathurā inscriptions of Kaniṣka of the years 4[31] and 14[32], and of Huviṣka dated in the year 33[33] which contain the so-called Gupta forms of the letters *ma*, *sa* and *ha*. Scholars have been at great pains to explain away the occurrence of the advanced and late forms of these letters in such early inscriptions.[34] We feel, however, that these letter-forms need not pose any problem and can be

accounted for easily. It is true that these forms do not occur in other Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period. But they are found in the Magha inscriptions at Kosam and Bandhogarh[35] which are also datable to the Kuṣāṇa period. The advanced form of *h* seen in these inscriptions is also met with on the solitary coin of Mahārāja Magha[36] and in the coin-legends of the Western Kṣatrapas.[37] The occurrence of these forms at Mathurā may therefore have to be explained on the assumption of the migration of scribes from one area to the other and with them of writing styles. Similar studies in the field of art history have proved very useful and are worth trying in the domain of epigraphy also.

The Late Brāhmī stage at Mathurā is represented by the two inscriptions of the time of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, one of them dated in G. 61,[38] and two inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta I[39], besides a few other records assignable to the Gupta period on palaeographical and linguistic grounds.[40] The Mathurā inscription of the time of Candragupta II dated in the year 61 presented a problem for palaeographers inasmuch as it presents letter-forms and a general appearance which are decidedly of the Middle Brahmī stage as represented by the Kuṣāṇa epigraphs at Mathurā; but for the mention of Candragupta II it would not have been possible to attribute it to the Gupta period.[41] It shows the continuance of the Middle Brāhmī forms in some quarters at Mathurā, whereas in other quarters at Mathurā itself and at other places Middle Brāhmī forms had been modified into Late Brāhmī forms. But Dani feels that this inscription also contains characteristics noticed in the Gupta records and there is nothing Kuṣāṇa about it.[42] Be that as it may, we may now notice some of the important modifications noticed during this period. The head-mark on the verticals is now a solid triangle. There is comparatively less stress on angularism. The right vertical of *ga*, *ta*, *bha* and *śa* is longer than the left one while the *ṇa* is open-mouthed. The central dot of *tha* has turned into a cross-bar and the circle has become elliptic. *Dha* has sometimes an oblong form. The looped form of *na*, which is found elsewhere,[43] is absent at Mathurā. Of *ma* we get both the older form with a triangle at the bottom as well as that without it, sometimes with a curve in the left corner. The letters *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* retain their older forms which are supposed to characterize the western variety of the so-called Gupta alphabet. The medial *ā* is attached to the initial at the bottom of the right vertical in the form of a curve open to the left. The medial *i* is indicated in the inscriptions of the time of Candragupta II by a strong curve bent to left while in those of the time of Kumāragupta I it is brought down almost to the bottom of the letter. The medial *ī* turns to the right. The medial *u* generally turns to left and opens to the left as in Nāgarī though sometimes it turns upward to the right. The subscribed *ya* is bipartite and is curved upward so as to be as high as the letter to which it is attached. The medial *ṛ* is attached in the same manner as in modern Nāgarī. These are only some of the most important points of difference from the Middle Brāhmī and no claim is laid to have exhausted all the variations.

To sum up, it will be observed from the foregoing discussion that the different stages in the modification of Early Brāhmī into Middle Brāhmī and Late Brāhmī stages are well represented at Mathurā. What is of even greater interest is that some important experiments, mainly due to the contact with foreigners, were made which culminated into some writing styles which had a great bearing upon the development of Brāhmī. The study of Brāhmī at Mathurā is therefore highly instructive if we wish to understand the development of the script with its different stages clearly marked.

NOTES

1. Some other centers are Amarāvatī, Nagarjunakonda, Sāñchī, Bhārhut, Kauśāmbī, and Buddhist caves of Western Deccan.
2. Mostly they belong to the Kṣatrapa, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta dynasties.
3. Dated Kṣatrapa inscriptions are now generally referred to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. The dates of the Kuṣāṇa records are believed to belong to the Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D. Dates of most of those inscriptions which do not refer to any ruler are also referred to the Śaka era. Gupta records are, of course, dated in the Gupta era.
4. See G. Bühler, 'New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), Vol. I (1892), pp. 371–93; 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, pp. 393–97; 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 195–212; H. Lüders, 'A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of those of Aśoka,' *EI*, Vol. X (1909–10), Appendix nos. 13–151 and pp. 162–75 under 'Additions and Corrections'; Henrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K. Janert), Göttingen, 1961.
5. *E.g.*, Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription of the time of the

Kṣatrapas and Mathurā pillar inscriptions of the time of Candragupta II.

6. *E.g.*, see G. Bühler, *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, London, 1903, for the study of the material on the history of Jainism.
7. For Sanskrit inscriptions, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, nos. 26, 26A, 26B, 47A, 54. For Sanskrit epigraphs with influence of Prākrit, see nos. 26–26B and 54.
8. See the famous Junagarh rock inscription of Rudradāman I which exemplifies a beautiful composition in classical Sanskrit and occupies an important position in the history of classical Sanskrit literature. It is noteworthy that this is an official record belonging to the *praśasti* class. The Andhau inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman are composed in Prākrit and the rest of the Western Kṣatrapa records in Sanskrit sometimes show Prākritic influence. One of the Nāsik cave inscriptions of Nahapāna is also composed in Sanskrit. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, no. 59.
9. Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII*), Vol. II, part I, Indian reprint, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 30–49. A short one-word Kharōṣṭhī inscription engraved on a relievo-figure of an elephant preserved in the Mathurā Museum is also known. See, Konow, *Kharoshṭhī*, pp. 49–50.
10. Bühler studied the Brāhmī alphabet of the early centuries A.D. in northern India under such captions as 'the Alphabet of the Northern Kṣatrapas,' 'the Alphabet of the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions' and 'the Alphabet of the Kṣatrapas of Malwa and Gujarat.' One of the best examples of the dynastic nomenclature in the field of palaeographical studies is provided by the designation 'Gupta Alphabet' found in well-known works on Indian palaeography. The culmination of this tendency can be seen in C. Sivaramamurti's *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts* (Madras, 1966) wherein palaeographic charts showing evolution through the ages of Brāhmī letter-forms are given dynastic designations. The same is true of the descriptions of the forms of individual letters in the text portion.
11. These appellations ignore the fact that all the inscriptions in a given form of the script do not emanate from the ruling chiefs and that a majority actually belong to private individuals. Secondly, these designations do not take into account the fact that the script did not always go through the same process of development at the same time in all the region.
12. Cf. captions of chapters 5 and 6 in A. H. Dani's *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford University Press, 1963. T. P. Verma does the same though he gives some attractive captions to various chapters in his *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India* (from 236 B.C. to *c.* 200 A.D.), Varanasi, 1971.
13. D. C. Sircar, 'Introduction to Indian Epigraphy and Palaeography,' *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. IV (1970–71), pp. 113–15.
14. 'Further,' *EI*, Vol. II (1894), p. 195, where inscription no. 1 at p. 198, is assigned to the second century B.C. The date appears, however, too early in view of its palaeographical features. There is a clear attempt at the equalization of upper verticals of the letters though it is not always fully carried out. *Pa* and *ha* are angular and the lower parts of *ma* (excluding the second *ma*) and *va* are triangular. It is obvious that this inscription belongs to a date not earlier than about the middle of the first century B.C. and may be even later.
15. He assigned one inscription to the third century and one to second century B.C. (nos. 116 and 91 respectively) and designated nine other records as Śuṅga (nos. 83, 88, 89, 108, 139, 159, 160, 168 and 173). See his *Mathurā Inscriptions*.
16. *Indian Palaeography*, p. 63.
17. Cf. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India*, where inscriptions from Mathurā appear for the first time in Ch. V dealing with the state of the Brāhmī script in the first century A.D.
18. Klaus L. Janert (Ed.), *Mathurā Inscriptions*, nos. 116 and 91. The latter, however, is very short containing only a couple of letters. The former undoubtedly presents early features.
19. Of the records assigned to the Śuṅga period by H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, nos. 88, 108, 139, 159, 160 and 173 present a definitely early appearance. This is most obvious in no. 88.
20. But nos. 168 and 89, which are also termed Śuṅga by Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, cannot be dated so early. They illustrate the tendency towards the equalization of the upper verticals of letters, which is not fully carried out in the case of the letter *sa*, and *va* with a triangle forming its lower part and an angular square *pa*. The medial sign for *u* consists of the downward extension of the right vertical of the letter while medial *o* in *so* is indicated by a single top-line.
21. To us it seems to be earlier than any of the inscriptions included in the *Mathurā Inscriptions* by H. Lüders.
22. The year 72 of an unspecified era mentioned in the famous Amohinī tablet inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, Vol. II [1894], p. 199, no. II) is generally referred to the Vikrama era commencing 58 B.C. If this is correct, Śoḍāsa was obviously ruling in 15 A.D.
23. But *contra* D. C. Sircar in *A History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. II: *The Age of Imperial Unity* (ed. R. C. Majumdar), second edition, Bombay, 1953, p. 135, who places all these Kṣatrapas later than Śoḍāsa.
24. Angular form of *ha* is found on the coins of Brahmāmitra, that of *sa* on the specie of Goṣadatta, Viṣṇumitra and Puruṣadatta, that of *pa* on the pieces of Puruṣadatta, that of *va* on the issues of Viṣṇumitra and that of *la* on the coins of Balabhūti.
25. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 52–53 and 63–64.

26. Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronological Study*, London, 1972, pp. 38–40.
27. It was adopted by the Greeks perhaps in the third century B.C. in Egypt where a paint-brush-like reed pen was known from earlier times. See E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford, 1912, p. 39, quoted in Dehejia, *Rock Temples*, p. 216, fn. 26.
28. Some recent palaeographers place a few Mathurā inscriptions in a post-Kṣatrapa and pre-Kuṣāṇa period. But if the dates of the Kuṣāṇa records are correctly referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D., the gap between the Kṣatrapas and the Kuṣāṇas will be so little that it is difficult to make such a fine distinction. For the distinction see Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 85; Verma, *The Palaeography*, p. 85.
29. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 78–79; Verma, *The Palaeography*, p. 112.
30. Verma, *The Palaeography*, pp. 112–13; Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 85. The division of these records into 'official' and 'private' on the basis of the mention and non-mention respectively of the ruling chiefs is not only unscientific but also misleading. The omission of the king's name in the latter class of records is purely accidental. The scribes in both the cases were private individuals and not in the royal employment. In view of these facts, such a distinction between these two categories cannot be maintained unless it is established on unimpeachable evidence that the letter-forms in these two categories have a decidedly distinct appearance.
31. D. C. Sircar, 'Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *EI*, XXXIV (1961–1962), pp. 9–10, no. 1.
32. D. R. Sahni, 'Mathurā Inscription of the Kushāṇa Year 14,' *EI*, XIX (1927–1928), pp. 96–97.
33. T. Bloch, 'Two Inscriptions on Buddhist Images,' *EI*, VIII (1905–06), pp. 181–182.
34. See B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushāṇas*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 70–71, where the question is discussed at some length.
35. See Verma, *The Palaeography*, Pl. VI, XXXIII.
36. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, Nagpur, 1979, Pl. I.l.
37. See E. J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty*, London, 1908, Introduction, p. cxcix, column II.
38. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, G.E. 61,' *EI*, XXI (1931–1932), pp. 1–9 and plate facing p. 8. The other Mathurā inscription of his time is fragmentary and the date, if any given originally, is lost. See J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, *CII*, III (1888), pp. 25–28, Pl. IIIA.
39. Bühler, 'Further,' *EI*, II (1894), p. 210, no. XXXIX and plate facing p. 209 (year 113); Fleet, *Inscriptions*, *CII* III (1888), pp. 262–64 and Pl. XXXIXA (year 135).
40. See H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, nos. 8–10, 65, 67, 78, 152, 161, 167, 170, 174, 179, 185, 186.
41. See Bhandarkar, 'Chandragupta II,' *EI*, XXI (1931–1932), pp. 1–3; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 267, fn. 2.
42. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 104.
43. See Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl. XIIIa.

PART VIII

ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

33. The Case of the Omitted Hundreds: Stylistic Development in Mathurā Sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa Period

JOANNA G. WILLIAMS

At least ninety-nine Kuṣāṇa images and fragments of images from Mathurā bear inscriptions with dates ranging from the years 2 through 98. Surely this is a situation in which the objective evidence of epigraphy should establish a sequence of sculpture whose evolution can be studied. That hope rests on the assumption that there is agreement about the sequence of inscribed dates. Here, however, a major controversy arises. The seemingly obvious arrangement of the years between 2 and 98 is but one solution. An alternative has been proposed on the basis of epigraphic and stylistic features: to assign about a third of the inscribed pieces to a second century of Kuṣāṇa rule. This second hypothesis has been explained in two slightly different ways. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has postulated that the year 100 was omitted in the inscribed dates of the second series.[1] J. Rosenfield has suggested that a second Kuṣāṇa era was employed at some point after the year 98 of the Kaniṣka Era.[2] The difference between those two explanations is minimal, and for the sake of simplicity in argument, I shall consider this general hypothesis in terms of Lohuizen's explanation, the 'omitted-hundreds' theory.

According to the 'omitted-hundreds' hypothesis, the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions would range between K.E. 2 and 157 in date, whereas according to the simple assumption of a single century they would range from the years 2 to 98. This difference in absolute time-span of 59 years is not very great, if we consider the general uncertainties of ancient Indian history. Nor do the two general hypotheses differ in the basic chronology of the major Kuṣāṇa rulers: Kaniṣka I (K.E. 1–23), Vāsiṣka (third decade K.E.), Kaniska II (41), Huviṣka (29–60), Vāsudeva I (64/7–98), Kaniṣka III (94 ff.), and Vāsudeva II (after both preceding rulers).[3] For proponents of the single sequence of dates, Vāsudeva II is known only from coins. For Lohuizen and Rosenfield, some inscriptions previously assigned to Kaniṣka I are given to Kaniṣka III, and a number of inscriptions that mention no ruler are assigned to the last two reigns. This controversy may thus be of less interest to historians in general, for whom the differences are trivial, than for art historians, for whom it is significant that the sequence of important works of Kuṣāṇa art is quite different according to the two hypotheses.

I must confess at the outset a certain reluctance to take on this topic, assigned to me by the organizers of the Mathurā seminar. In the first place, the positions are firmly entrenched, and it seems unlikely that those on either side of the battle lines will change their minds. A second and more serious hesitation arises from my growing belief that detailed chronology is not worth all the fuss. There are more significant questions to ask than whether a given piece is dated K.E. 22 or 122. It seems that for the history of Indian art in general, an excess of scholarly attention has been devoted to establishing precise dates, beyond what the dubious evidence permits and beyond what helps us understand the images themselves. In this case, however, two significantly different pictures of the very nature of style emerge. This may justify reviewing the two positions, less to change the opinions of the participants in the dispute than to clarify the issues for those concerned with the general development of art in ancient India. This review will therefore begin by outlining the picture

of Kuṣāṇa sculptural style as presented by both camps of scholars.

Lohuizen and other proponents of the omitted-hundreds thesis see a clear developmental sequence in the sculpture of Mathurā under the Kuṣāṇas.[4] There are three broad phases, beginning with the development of a 'national' Buddha type, undergoing Gandhāran influence, and finally showing 're-nationalized' forms. The three are clearly visible in the treatment of the hair of Buddha and Tīrthaṅkar images:

1) Karpardin type, with smooth skull and uṣṇīṣa consisting of a long coil of hair (Pl. 33.I).
2) Wavy hair, generally in tiers of semi-circles on both skull and uṣṇīṣa (Pl. 33.II.A; 33.III).
3) Snail-shell curls covering both skull and uṣṇīṣa (Pl. 33.IV).

Other factors progress in the same general way. Thus the drapery of images of Type 1 leaves the left shoulder bare and clings to the body, forming folds only on the right shoulder; that of Type 2 covers both shoulders as well as the feet and has symmetrical, rounded folds all over; that of Type 3 comes gradually to reveal the feet and forms flat folds that fall asymmetrically across both shoulders. Likewise the lions on the throne at first face outwards, then turn frontally, and finally face inward while protruding above the slab on which the main figure sits. New forms of decor appear on the halo, progressing from the simple scallops of Pl. 33.I to the elaborate bands of Plate 33.IV. These stages overlap but have the general rough limits:

1) from K.E. 2[5] through at least 39[6]
2) from K.E. 51[7] (and probably before) until K.E. 140[8]
3) from at least K.E. 112[9] until 157[10].

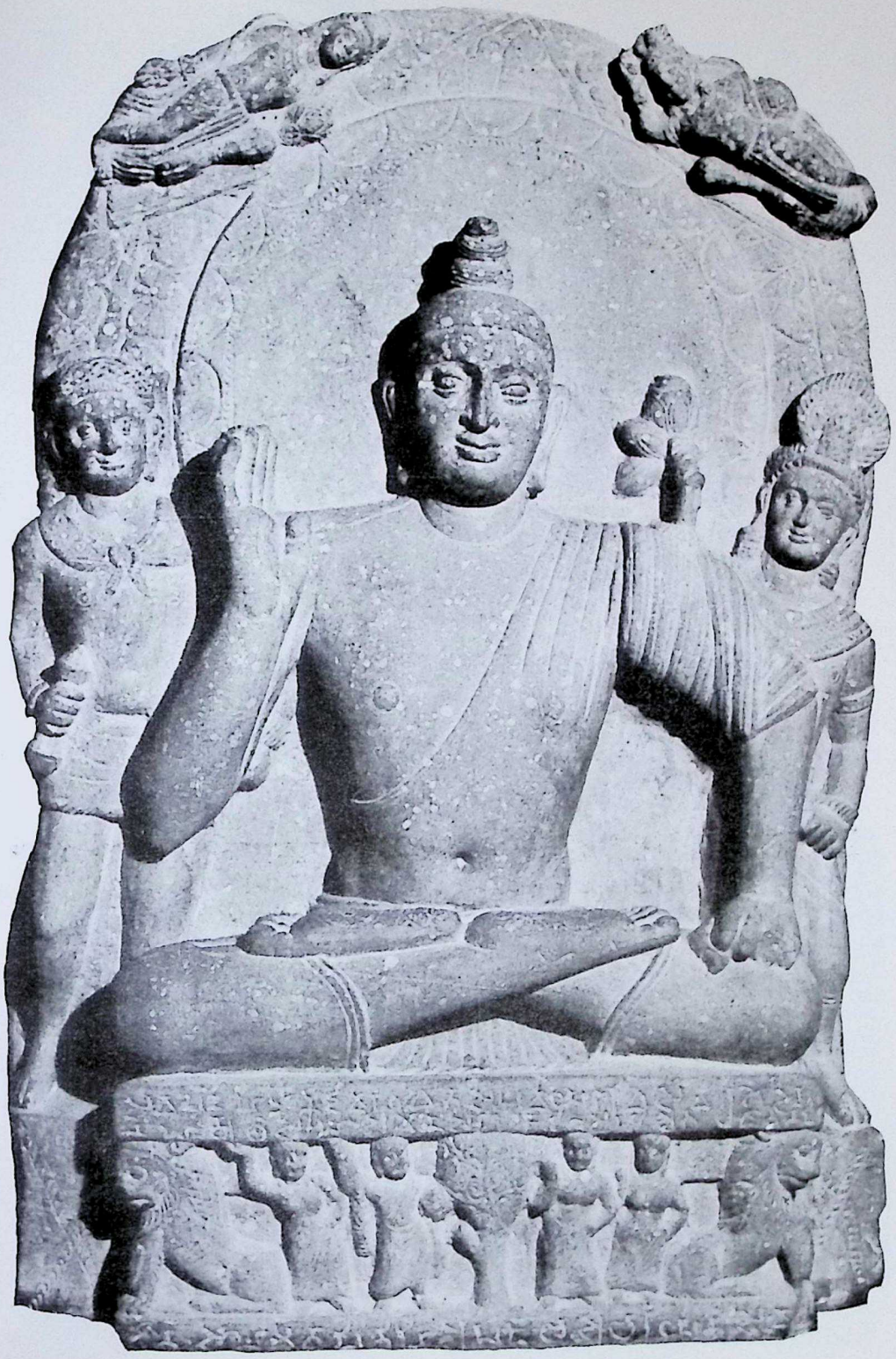
To escape the fragmentary and schematic impression created by such lists of motifs, it is worth comparing some entire images that exemplify these stages. In the Ahicchatrā Buddha dated K.E. 32 (Pl. 33.I), there is a peaceful warmth, not only in the radiant facial expression but also, at an abstract level, in the insistently horizontal curves of shoulders and face. The hand held high in abhaya mudrā, perhaps even suggesting the raised arm of the cakravartin,[11] gives the figure (like others of this type, relatively large) a certain majesty. In the Anyor Buddha of K.E. 51 (Pl. 33.III), these forms have been overlaid with elements ultimately derived from a more representational tradition, although there is compromise implicit here and in the other diverse members of this group. Hair, body, and drapery show both a Western infatuation with surface texture and an Indian concern with volume. The lowered left hand is less emphatic, and the entire person of the Buddha seems fitted into a triangular frame. Finally, the Buddha dated (1)36 (Pl. 33.IV) in some ways pursues Gandhāran patterns more completely: the asymmetrical drapery and the extension of the lions above the throne edge. Yet in other ways there is a return to the Indian sense of rounded forms: the uncovered feet and the curls of the hair, harmonizing with the spherical head. The understanding of the significance of the Buddha's hairdress and of the uṣṇīṣa itself must have changed at this point.[12] There may be a general decline of artistic quality, visible in hard, if elaborate, lines and in a pinched, frozen expression of faces.

The alternative view of Kuṣāṇa sculptural style, based on the ascription of all inscribed dates to a single century, has been most forcefully articulated by B. N. Mukherjee.[13] He cites the first appearance of many of the characteristics mentioned above, but because of the different sequence of images, no chronological progression emerges. For example, he lists the following co-existent ways of treating the hair:

I) Shaven head—noticeable in the figure of the Sārnāth Bodhisattva, year 3.
II) Shaven head with coil-like uṣṇīṣa—can be noticed in the Ahicchatrā Buddha or Bodhisattva, year 32 (Pl. 33.I).
III) Hair with curls looking like snail shells and ending with a knot or tuft or a protuberance (?) on top—noticeable in the female figure in a panel of the year 10 of Kaniṣka I; (the Saheṭh-Maheṭh Buddha and certain Gandhāra Buddha figures have similar hair-style).
IV) Snail-like curls—cover the head of a male figure in a panel with an inscription of Kaniṣka I, year 10.
V) Hair indicated by elongated curls in coils rising in tiers (to be placed stylistically before the round spiral curls?)—may be seen in an image of Ariṣtanemi, year 18, and in an icon of the year 51 (Pl. 33.III).[14]

Likewise the Buddha's robe is carved in various ways at the same time, simultaneous styles comparable to the dhoti and Kuṣāṇa secular dress for other types of figures. Haloes simply vary in decor. There is no phase when Gandhāran influence is particularly concentrated. Mukherjee does however suggest some general tendencies, while noting exceptions to them. Thus the drapery thins down in some cases, faces may become more expressive, and the body, notably women's breasts, may be treated more realistically.

From this viewpoint, the Ahicchattrā Buddha of the year 32 (Pl. 33.I) and that inscribed 36 (Pl. 33.IV) would be close in time, followed by the Anyor Buddha



Pl. 33.1 Buddha from Ahicchatrā, National Museum, year 32.

Pl. 33.II.A Parśvanātha from Mathurā, Lucknow Museum J 113.

Pl. 33.II.B Dedicatory slab from Mathurā, British Museum 1887, 7–15, 53, year 10.

Pl. 33.III Buddha from Anyor, Mathurā Museum A 65, year 51.

Pl. 33.IV Buddha from Mathurā, National Museum 58.12, year 36.

Pl. 33.V.A Sarvatobhadrika image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura Museum B 71, year 5.

Pl. 33.V.B Sarvatobhadrika image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Lucknow Museum J 230, year 15.

Pl. 33.VI.A Sarvatobhadrika image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura Museum B 70, year 35.

Pl. 33.VI.B Sarvatobhadrika image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Lucknow Museum J 234, year 40.

in K.E. 51 (Pl. 33.III). Mukherjee would explain the difference between the examples in Pls. 33.I and 33.IV not by the lapse of four years but by other factors. One of these factors might be the skill of the sculptors, if we take the work dated 36 to be inferior, for its small size would indicate less wealth on the part of the donor. Another explanation might lie in the iconographic implications of different robe types; certainly the disposition of the robe in the first case may correspond to the rule in the Pāli *Vinaya* that a monk should expose the right shoulder when saluting a superior.[15] Another line of argument might be that these are simply alternative types left to the preference of individual carvers or of workshops in the same town. It is significant, however, that Mukherjee does not explore any of these possibilities as a basis for explaining stylistic differences as an alternative to chronological progression. For him there is not really a need to discover regularities of form within the ninety-eight year span of Kuṣāṇa carving.

What then are the grounds for these divergent pictures? Previous discussions have drawn upon both epigraphy and style and have woven between particular cases and general considerations, which makes it somewhat difficult to separate these lines of reasoning. Because opponents of the omitted-hundreds hypothesis have had the last word in print, I propose to scrutinize their discussion most systematically. One might note that the counter-arguments on both sides are of three kinds. The opposing view may be held to be impossible, improbable, or simply not necessarily true. To anticipate what follows here, I am persuaded by contentions that the omitted-hundreds thesis is not necessarily true. I am in no case persuaded that this hypothesis is impossible. We are thus left to weigh the intervening probabilities.

Epigraphy provides a fundamental basis for scepticism about the omitted-hundreds hypothesis—the very fact that 100 never appears. There are analogies for this in the much later Laukika era, as well as among the coins of the Maukharis.[16] Mukherjee notes, however, that the latter include the numeral 100 in at least some cases, a mark against the probability of its total omission under the Kuṣāṇas.

The content of inscriptions provides Lohuizen with grounds for placing some records after K.E. 100. A certain venerable (Aryyā) Vasulā appears in records of both the years 15 and 86, in each case identified as the pupil of the venerable (Aryyā) Saṅgamikā, which makes it likely that this is indeed the same woman.[17] Thus Vasulā would have been revered as a teacher over a period of seventy-one years if the two inscriptions are taken in the more obvious sequence, whereas the less improbable span of 29 years results if 15 is taken to stand for (1)15. Mukherjee points out, however, that it is not impossible that she held a position of respect for seventy-one years, and he notes that it is also not absolutely necessary that Vasulā was alive at the time of the record of the year 86.[18] Nonetheless probability here seems to weigh in favor of the omitted-hundreds.

Palaeography figures often in Lohuizen's arguments, for she finds differences between early Kuṣāṇa forms and those ascribed to the second sequence.

Ka shows a horizontal cross-bar in the earlier examples and a bent one later (from to).
Ma moves from the early to the later
Ya is composed of two similar curves at first and later acquires a loop to the left side (from to).
Ha shows a final curve that turns down more (from to).

M. S. Gai has questioned the distinctness of these types.[19] He cites an inscription of the year 23 as having *ma* in both early and later form. In fact this akṣara occurs once as and once as , both of which seem to be of the early variety. Gai's second example is a record that mentions Kaniṣka and includes the date 4. Here he is correct that both early and late forms of *ma* and *ha* occur, as well as late versions of *ka* and *ya*. But it would also seem that this inscription may belong to the second series, under the late Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka III, whose existence historians such as Mukherjee admit on the basis of coins.[20] A mixture of early and late types at that point, K.E. (1)04, is not particularly damaging to the omitted-hundreds thesis. Mukherjee focuses on the Buddha inscribed 22, which Lohuizen takes to mean 122. He notes that its *ka* and *ma* resemble those of a slab in the British Museum from the year 10 of Kaniṣka, who both Rosenfield and Mukherjee agree is Kaniṣka I (Pl. 33.II.B).[21] Mukherjee also points out that *ya* on the Buddha dated 22 resembles the *ya* on an inscription of Huviṣka, year 33.[22] Indeed there do seem to be late forms in these early inscriptions, which indicate that there is no palaeological necessity to date the record of 22 to 122. Yet this evidence does not prevent this late position either.

In general, it appears that there is a great overlapping of letter types throughout Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, be they spread over 98 or 157 years. There are, however, broad developments between the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Gupta forms. Thus for placing an individual undated piece, palaeography is no more than a tenuous guide. At the same time, palaeography does not rule out the omitted-hundreds thesis as a whole.

In considering the arguments from sculptural style, we may begin with some specific cases that have been adduced in disproof of this thesis. Mukherjee contends

that the presence of snail-shell curls on the head of a small figure in the slab of Kaniṣka I, year 10, just mentioned (Pl. 33.II.B) makes it impossible to think of this hair style as a late characteristic.[23] In fact Lohuizen has written, 'This way of indicating curly hair had existed in the art of India for a long time, but it is now (in the late Kuṣāṇa period) applied to the Buddha image also.'[24] The two small figures on the slab of the year 10, perhaps to be identified as Nāgas, hardly falsify the theory that the treatment of the Buddha's hair evolved in regular stages. In general, while Mukherjee mentions that 'religious injunctions may have helped the continuation of archaic traits,' his comparisons jump across iconographic types quite freely.[25] Obviously it is a knotty problem to recognize what constrictions the content or subject matter impose on the form chosen by the sculptor, and why he may also at some points ignore those constrictions.

For the treatment of drapery, Mukherjee argues that the depiction of the robe as covering both shoulders is not a late characteristic (Lohuizen's second phase) because it appears on an inscribed image of the year 4 or 30 + x, now in the Calcutta Museum.[26] Were the first date correct, this would indeed push back this type to make it contemporary with the clinging robe that bares one shoulder in Lohuizen's first phase. In fact, Mukherjee has himself argued in a previous work that 30 + x is a preferable reading.[27] This date does not alter significantly Lohuizen's suggestion that this drapery type, known by K.E. 51 on the Anyor Buddha (Pl. 33.III) had probably evolved previously.

For the evolution of thrones, Mukherjee reproduces an image with lions facing inward, their heads protruding above the bottom of the seat, which is inscribed with the date 44 or 58, under Huviṣka.[28] Again, it seems to introduce an unnecessary complexity to consider the reading 44, which goes back to Bühler; R. D. Banerji published a convincing emendation to the year 58.[29] Thus if we accept the latter, this example demonstrates the origin of such a treatment of the lions before any other inscribed work, but it does not rule out the possibility that it is a relatively late Kuṣāṇa characteristic. Brought to bear concretely on the problematic image inscribed 22,[30] these arguments once more support Mukherjee's contention that there is no necessity of adding 100 to that date. At the same time, they indicate no necessity for accepting 22 *per se*.

Underlying all of Mukherjee's objections is a reluctance to understand sculptural style as encased in a strait-jacket of chronological change. He points out that the skill of artists may vary and that the demand for carving may have led to the employment of inferior carvers, particularly at a time of economic affluence such as the Kuṣāṇa period. This is a welcome antidote to the frequently held, if rarely articulated, art-historical assumption that the quality of art rises in periods of prosperity. Mukherjee points out that religious requirements may restrict the artist's choice of forms, an issue already touched on above. He remarks that an artist, even of great skill, may be tempted to imitate traits from an earlier age. This point reminds us that even in the rapidly changing art of Renaissance Florence, the progressive Masaccio could precede the retardataire Fra Angelico. Finally, I might add that the existence of different workshops or families of artisans within Mathurā might well encourage the simultaneous existence of different versions of one motif, each version used as a kind of trademark.[31]

Some of these very valid contentions do not really conflict with Lohuizen's presentation of the style of Kuṣāṇa sculpture. She discusses several cases, both Buddhist and Jain, in which characteristics of different phases are combined in a single carving.[32] The explanation might be that these are transitional pieces in the general chronological sequence, although the Jain examples dated as late as (1)40 (Pl. 33.VI.B) strain this interpretation. A second explanation might be the archaism that Mukherjee suggests, although one might wonder why such archaism is limited to certain figures in each case. A third possibility is an iconographic explanation. In each case we have several Buddhas or Tīrthaṅkaras that require differentiation. Among the conventions in use on the *sarvatobhadrika* images, the seven-fold snake hood of Pārśvanātha (Pl. 33.V.B, center) was to remain in currency, as was the hair-style of long locks that distinguishes Ṛṣabhanātha (Pl. 33.V.B, right). The wavy hair style and snail-shell curls may have been used to differentiate Tīrthaṅkaras without entire consistency, for it seems that Pārśvanāta is given one hair-style in Plate 33.II.A and another in Plate 33.V.B. The fact that only hair types of Lohuizen's second and third phases appear on these *sarvatobhadrika* images might suggest that they are not in fact contemporary with the *kapardin* type dated between 2 and 39 K.E., and hence that 100 should be added to the dates of the former.[33] At any rate, the admission that such different forms were employed simultaneously can be reconciled with the general acceptance of stylistic progression.

One might also object that Mukherjee himself does not entirely eschew a sense of chronological development. In the discussion of hair types quoted above, for instance, he describes the tiered wavy style as 'to be placed stylistically before the round spiral curls.' He

often mentions 'advanced' characteristics, although he argues against the assumption that any one sculpture must incorporate the latest stylistic features available at that time. In short, both Lohuizen's and his pictures represent realistic compromises and escape the extremes into which each might fall: rigidly distinct chronological phases on the one hand, and complete haphazardness of stylistic progression on the other.

If we look outside the boundaries of the Kuṣāṇa Era, all scholars would agree that some developments of sculptural style are clear by the Gupta period. Among the motifs discussed so far, the versions of Lohuizen's third phase are consistently preferred by the Gupta sculptors of Mathurā. Snail-shell curls, for example, are found on all Buddha and Tīrthaṅkara images, except for those of Ṛṣabhanātha distinguished by his long locks. The standard Mathurā Gupta robe type for Buddha images seems to be derived from examples of this same group, with both shoulders covered while the feet are bare, and with sharp rather than rounded folds disposed over the entire body.[34] Halos for major Buddhist and Jain images are relatively elaborate, generally with all the decorative bands visible in the image dated (1)36 in Plate 33.IV.

Does the Gupta preference for the forms that characterize Lohuizen's third group shed any light on the choice between a simple sequence of Kuṣāṇa dates as they appear and the hypothesis of omitted-hundreds? To clarify the picture, a tabulation of the treatment of the hair of Buddha and Tīrthaṅkara images, inscribed with dates according to the two theories, is given below:

The absence of the *kapardin* type in the Gupta period gives us no basis for choosing between these two theories, for in both charts the type disappears relatively early in the Kuṣāṇa sequence. The preference for snail-shell curls represents a problem in the first hypothesis, for it would be hard to explain the continuity of this form rather than the wavy type, which appears to be more common in the late Kuṣāṇa period, in that no consistent iconographic rationale has been proposed. For the second hypothesis, the two types admittedly overlap for some time, but the snail-shell curls become progressively commoner, hence their survival in the Gupta period.

If this is to be accepted as a defence of the omitted-hundreds thesis, certainly more stylistic motifs need to be considered systematically, as well as palaeographic forms, which might likewise point to a statistical preference for forms that point towards the Gupta among late Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. One might note that art historians inevitably weigh such evidence of style more heavily than numismatists and historians, for whom the very hypothesis of the omission of the numeral 100 seems to be exceedingly improbable.

At the moment, the opponents of the omitted-hundreds hypothesis have not come up with an alternative to chronological development as an explanation

1. Mukherjee thesis

	K.E.	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140
A Kapardin hair		3			32											
B Wavy hair				18			51			82						
(B + C)			5	15			35	40								
C Snail-shell curls				12				36								

2. Omitted-hundreds thesis

	K.E.	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140
A Kapardin hair		3			32											
B Wavy hair							51			82				118		
(B + C)												105	115		135	140
C Snail-shell curls													112		136	

for the variety within Kuṣāṇa sculpture. Mukherjee has sketched several possible alternatives, but he has not developed these as complete systems. My brief pursuit of an iconographic explanation of the variation in hair type for Buddha and Tīrthaṅkara images suggests that this is more reasonable when combined with the omitted-hundreds thesis than with the sequence of dates ending in the year 98.

Another issue that may account for Indian scholars' resistance to the omitted-hundreds view is their distrust of an overly clear development in time, or rather their sense that several lines of development may operate simultaneously in India. Archaeologists and anthropologists are acutely aware these days of the danger of fitting historical sequences into a single linear pattern. The question in this case might be whether the omitted-hundreds pattern is justified by the limitations of its application to a single place of production (Mathurā), to a similar kind of product (stone sculpture), and to a relatively homogeneous urban population of patrons.

Even such a tentative preference for this hypothesis as a broad picture does not imply great confidence in using it to date uninscribed works of sculpture. An additional judgement of probability is introduced in that process, besides the probability of the overall hypothesis one accepts. To date an early Indian sculpture on the basis of style alone is a guess within a guess, albeit the kind of guess that is the stock in trade of much art history.

Finally, there are some grounds for agreement among the proponents of these two seemingly irreconcilable theories. The amount of sculpture produced in Mathurā was large, whether confined to one or one and a half centuries. In either case, moreover, it was cosmopolitan, incuding elements derived from the Kuṣāṇas' own Iranian traditions as well as from Gandhāra. Thus sculpture reflects the prosperity of the city and its critical role within a network of international trade. The speed of stylistic change is more rapid than in most other periods in early Indian art. Certainly, this was a period when new religious solutions were worked out, leading to the dramatic acceptance of stone images of the Buddha and of Tīrthaṅkaras, as well as to the burgeoning of new Hindu iconographic types. Moreover all scholars would agree that excavations with refined stratigraphy within the Kuṣāṇa level may elucidate precisely how such a wealth of sculpture developed and whether its style evolved with any consistency.

NOTES

1. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period*. Leiden, 1949, 235–60. The entire discussion in this paper deliberately avoids the issue of when the Kaniṣka era began and of absolute chronology. For a summary of the 1960 conference on that topic, see Alexander Soper, 'Recent Studies Involving the Date of Kaniṣka, A Review Article,' *Artibus Asiae* XXXIII (1971), 339–350 and XXXIV (1972), pp. 102–113. The present paper is intended as a similar review of the controversy about relative chronology.
2. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley and Los Angles, 1967, p. 106. This solution avoids the improbable ommision of 100's but raises other questions about why Kaniṣka III or some other minor ruler should found a new era. Rosenfield's book has the merit of addressing a wealth of issues other than chronology and of providing an extremely useful table of inscriptions in Appendix III.
3. The interpretation of the relationship between these overlapping reigns varies, however. One difference involving the dynastic chronology centers around two inscribed fragments from Sāñcī, one dated 22 (under Vasukuṣāṇa) and one 28 (under Vāsaṣka). Rosenfield ascribes these to a series of late Kuṣāṇa coins that l the name Vāsu and hence places the dates in his second era (*Dynastic Arts*, p. 113). B. N. Mukherjee ascribes these works to Vāsiska the successor of Kaniṣka I and denies the existence of any later ruler with a similar name (*The Kushana Genealogy*. Calcutta, 1967, p. 117). Since the major figures in these images are not preserved, they are extraneous to the present discussion, into which they would only introduce further uncertainties.
4. This apparent presentation of the conclusions before the reasoning behind them results from the inseparability of the two. No one kind of evidence is beyond controversy, and the two pictures of sculptural style color scholars' interpretation of questionable inscriptions. It should be underscored that both Rosenfield and Lohuizen describe chronological phases that overlap (cf. *Scythian Period*, p. 231, for a picture of the gradual transition from 2 to 3).
5. Bodhisattva dedicated at Kauśāmbī by Buddhamitrā: P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*. Bombay, n.d., pp. 61–2.
6. Bodhisattva from Pālīkherā, now Indian Museum Add. 4145: J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā. Ars Asiatica* Vol. XV. Paris and Brussels, 1930, Pl. XXVIb.

7. Bodhisattva from Anyor, Mathurā Museum A.65: Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, pp. 188 ff., fig. 39.
8. Sarvatobhadrika image from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Lucknow Museum J.234: *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 387, no. 11; Plate 33.VI.B in the present essay.
9. Tīrthaṅkara from Ahicchatrā, Lucknow Museum J.86: Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, p. 237, fig. 56.
10. Tīrthaṅkara from Sītalā Ghāṭī, Mathurā Museum B.15: Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, pp. 254–259, fig. 55.
11. This suggestion was made by Professor H. Härtel at the Mathurā Seminar.
12. Lohuizen here argues that the formal change occurred first, perhaps because curls were 'better known and appealed more to the people at Mathurā than the other method' (*Scythian Period*, p. 212). One can imagine a defence of an iconographic basis for the chance that might be reconciled with the omitted-hundreds chronology.
13. B. N. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images of the Mathurā School of Sculpture of the Kushan Period,' *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, ed. B. G. Gafurov *et al.* Moscow, 1975, pp. 346–362.
14. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' p. 355. I might note that the hair of the last example, the Anyor Buddha, which is rather small, is not entirely clear.
15. A. B. Griswold, 'Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture,' *Artibus Asiae* XXVI (1963), 88.
16. Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, p. 235. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' p. 350.
17. Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, pp. 242–243. The piece dated 15 is illustrated in the present essay, Plate 33.V.B.
18. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' p. 349.
19. M. S. Gai, 'Mathura Jaina Inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa Period—A Fresh Study,' *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky. Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 81–85.
20 Mukherjee, *Kushaṇa Genealogy*, p. 81–84.
21. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' p. 349; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, p. 265. *Epigraphia Indica* IX, 239–41; XIX, 65. I do not feel great confidence about the form of *ma* from published reproductions.
22. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' 249. *Epigraphia Indica* VIII, 81.
23. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' 249. *Epigraphia Indica* IX, 239–41.
24. Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, p. 206.
25. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' 357. His example of the absence of any robe on Tīrthaṅkara images seems self-evident. Another less obvious case might be the elongated arms of Tīrthaṅkara images, which hence often look clumsy in proportions. The *lakṣana* of having arms that extend to the knees, known also in Buddhist literature, seems to have been particularly important to the Jains.
26. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' 349, Pl. X.
27. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Genealogy*, 76–79.
28. Mukherjee, 'Problems of Dated Images,' 349, Pl. IX.
29. *Epigraphia Indica* II, 212; X, 113–114.
30. This image is illustrated in Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, Pl. XXX, no.54.
31. Studies which make it possible to explore this possibility in later periods of Indian art include B. N. Goswamy, *Pahari Painting: The Family as the Basis of Style*. Bombay: Marg, 1968. R. Maduro, *Artistic Creativity in A Brahmin Painter Community*. Berkeley 1976.
32. Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, pp. 224–230; 269 fn.
33. One Buddhist lintel includes robes of Phase 1 and Phase 3 (Lohuizen, *Scythian Period*, fig. 53). The Buddhist pieces likewise show no consistency in the iconographic conventions that govern robe and hair type, to judge both from the sequence of Buddhas of the past depicted on such lintels and from the inscriptions describing the images of the Buddha.
34. For general illustrations of these characteristics, see James Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*. Oxford, 1974. The treatment of the Buddha's robe is the least conclusive characteristic. Two Gupta examples have been found at Mathurā that are devoid of folds and that might derive from the clinging Kuṣāṇa type of Group 1 (as does, I believe, the type at Sārnāth, where later Kuṣāṇa works were not available as models); these are in any case exceptional. (Cf. my *Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province*. Princeton, 1982.) Asymmetrical disposition of the string-like folds is also found on some pieces. Thrones also frequently depart from the Kuṣāṇa type of Group 3, although they do not conform to the earlier Kuṣāṇa treatment of the lions either.

34. Early Jaina Icons from Mathurā

N. P. JOSHI

INTRODUCTION

Mathurā, up to the end of *c.* 3rd century A.D. flourished as an important centre of Jaina art and iconography. In comparison to contemporary Jaina centres in other parts of the country[1] the position of Mathurā is much superior. Epigraphical sources reveal that during *c.* 2nd century B.C. to about 3rd century A.D. the following monuments existed at Mathurā:

i. Palace gateway by Uttaradāsika (SML. J. 536).
ii. Gateway by Balahastinī (SML. J. 532).
iii. Palace of Dāmaghoṣā (SML. J. 557a).
iv. Sanctuary, hall, cistern and a Jaina temple built by the courtesan Vasu (MM. Q. 2).
v. Shrines of the Arhats (MM. 17.1262).
vi. Stupa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā termed as *deva-nirmita* due to its hoary antiquity (SML. J. 20), which continued to exist at least up to sam. 1036 that is 979 A.D. (SML. J. 236).

Epigraphical evidence is well supported by the archaeological finds from Mathurā in general and Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in particular. Apart from the vast number of architectural pieces such as pillars, lintels, door jambs, railings, cross bars, coping stones and other big or small fragments assignable to pre-Kuṣāṇa or Kuṣāṇa periods, the following archaeological material, which is strictly Jaina in nature and forms the data of our present study, has come down to us from the Mathurā region:

A. Stone symbols including 20 Āyāgapaṭṭas and 5 Śilāpaṭṭas (Appendix IIab).
B. Figures of seated Tīrthaṅkaras 93 in number (36 dated and inscribed, 38 undated and 19 uninscribed; see Appendix IV).
C. Figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras 26 in number (8 dated, 9 undated, 9 uninscribed; see Appendix VII).
D. Fourfold or Sarvatobhakrikā figures 28 in number (Appendix VIII).
E. Male Divinities 17 representations (Appendix IX).
F. Female Divinities 8 representations (Appendix IX).
G. Depiction of stories or events 3 in numer (Appendix III).
H. Detached heads of Tīrthaṅkara figures (Appendix V).

The above material supplies unparalleled information relating to the Jaina art and iconography of pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods. A good deal of work has already been done in this field, but the major portion of it deals with inscriptions, paleography, technical words, language, etc. In spite of all that, I started restudying the Jaina collection of the State Museum at Lucknow in particular, and that of Mathurā and other museums in general, being under the impression that first hand study of the original sculptures in my own way may reveal some untold and interesting facts. The study proved to be quite beneficial and the present paper aims to place the results of this study before the scholars.

Before we start discussing Jaina sculptures of the period under review, it would be worthwhile to take note of some clarifications regarding the system of dating.

Mathurā has yielded at least fifty-eight dated sculptures (Appendix I). Most of them (except one, SML. J. 2) record the date in the Śaka era, generally supposed

to have started in 78 A.D. Still it is not always easy to convert the Śaka year into the corresponding year of the Christian era as different theories have been propogated in this connection. Adopting therefore the safer side we have preferred to record the date in Śaka years as it appears in the inscriptions.

Another point worth remembering is that we have tried to discuss different motifs, patterns or practices, but no efforts have necessarily been made to trace their evolution. We hold that a good number of them flourished contemporaneously in a short span of about 200 years.

WORSHIP OF SYMBOLS

Similar to the two contemporary faiths, namely Brahmanism and Buddhism, in Jainism too Tīrthaṅkara figures seem to have been preceded by sacred symbols. Such symbols of early periods have been found at Udayagirī, Khaṇḍagiri and Bāwāpyārā caves in Orissa and Western India.

Symbol worship at Mathurā can be studied under the following heads:

Stūpas: The Jainas had their own stūpas, and stūpa worship has been depicted in a number of sculptures (SML. J. 535, J. 683, B. 207; MM. Q. 2; NM. J. 555). Actual Jaina stūpas were very few, but the most important of them was that of Mathurā at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

Pillars: They were known as *Cetiya-stambas*. One of the corner uprights (SML. J. 268) assignable to *c.* 2nd century B.C. shows a lion pillar within a railing being worshipped by a male and female devotee. It is true that there is nothing specifically Jaina in this case, but such lion pillars have been found on some of the Āyāgapaṭṭas and Śilāpaṭṭas (SML. J. 252, J. 623; MM. Q. 2).

An Elephant pillar was another object of veneration (NM. J. 249; MM. Q. 3 Fig. 34.1). One of the inscriptions dated in 38th year of Huviṣka records the setting up of an elephant Nandi Viśāla for the worship of the Arhats (Lüders No. 41).

Āyāgapaṭṭas and Śilāpaṭṭas: From Mathurā 27 stone tablets (Appendix II), mostly square or sometimes rectangular in shape have been brought to light. Very often in the inscriptions appearing on them they have been named as Āyāgapaṭṭas or Śilāpaṭṭas installed for the worship of the Arhats (SML. J. 252, J. 255; MM. Q. 2). The word *āyāgapaṭṭa* is obviously a compound word meaning a tablet or *paṭṭa* installed in an *āyāga*. In another inscription there appears the word *Āyāgasabhā* (MM. Q. 2) meaning thereby a hall or an assembly in an *āyāga*. But what is an *Āyāga*?

As far as Jaina literature is concerned, the word appears perhaps for the first time in the *Aṅgavijjā*, a Jaina work on the science of forecasting in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit attributed to *c.* 4th century A.D.[2] The author gives us a small list of names such as mountain (*pavvata*), ocean (*sāgara*), earth (*medinī*), temple or a sacred place (*cetīya*) and *āyāga*. The arrangement suggests that like *cetīya*, an *āyāga* was also a sacred and venerable place. In the Brahmanical literature the word appears in the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.[3] This passage seems to support the above interpretation. Vālmīki tells us that 'the bow in the house of king Janaka had become an *āyāga* (*āyāgabhūtam*) or an object of veneration and received incense, sandal paste, and other fragrant things as offerings'.

V. S. Agrawala holds that Āyāgapaṭṭas were installed on high platforms in the stūpa premises as is seen in an tympanum from Mathurā (NM. J. 555). In his opinion these slabs, perhaps sixteen in number, were objects of worship in themselves, but subsequently they served as media for the worship of the stūpa, and flowers and other offerings were directly placed on them.[4] We beg to differ slightly, as many of the Āyāgapaṭṭas are still in mint condition (e.g. SML. J. 248, J. 250; NM. J. 249, etc.) and do not show any sign of wear and tear caused by direct and constant use for centuries together. Actually they seem to have been fixed at some high place only to be seen and adored from a distance.

On stylistic and paleographic grounds most of the Āyāgapaṭṭas have been roughly attributed to a period between the time of Mahākṣtrapa Śoḍaṣa and Śaka year 21 (MM. 35.2563). This year suggests the period of Kaniṣka as we have his inscription of the year 23 from Sonkh near Mathurā.[5]

The Āyāgapaṭṭas and Śilāpaṭṭas show a very rich variety of religious and secular symbols such as the group of eight or even fourteen auspicious marks (*maṅgalas*) (SML. J. 248, J. 250, J. 252). Depicted are the wish fulfilling tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa* SML. J. 250, J. 252), full vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭe*, SML. J. 252), stūpa (SML. J. 248, J. 250), coiled reptiles with human bodies (*mahoraga*, *mahoragī* SML. J. 248, J. 250), dragons (SML. J. 252), creepers coming out from jars (SML. J. 686a) and so on.

Āyāgapaṭṭas and Śilāpaṭṭas are carved on one side only, the exceptions are found only in the case of reused stones (e.g. SML. J. 252; MM. Q. 3). In the border frame of the slab there appear motifs like wine creepers (*drākṣālatā*), sacred symbols (*maṅgalas*), winged animals (*īhāmṛgas*) and dancing figures. In the inner field along with the decorative motifs and auspicious marks, there are to be seen some sacred objects such as the wheel (*cakra*), sacred seat (*bhadrāsana*),

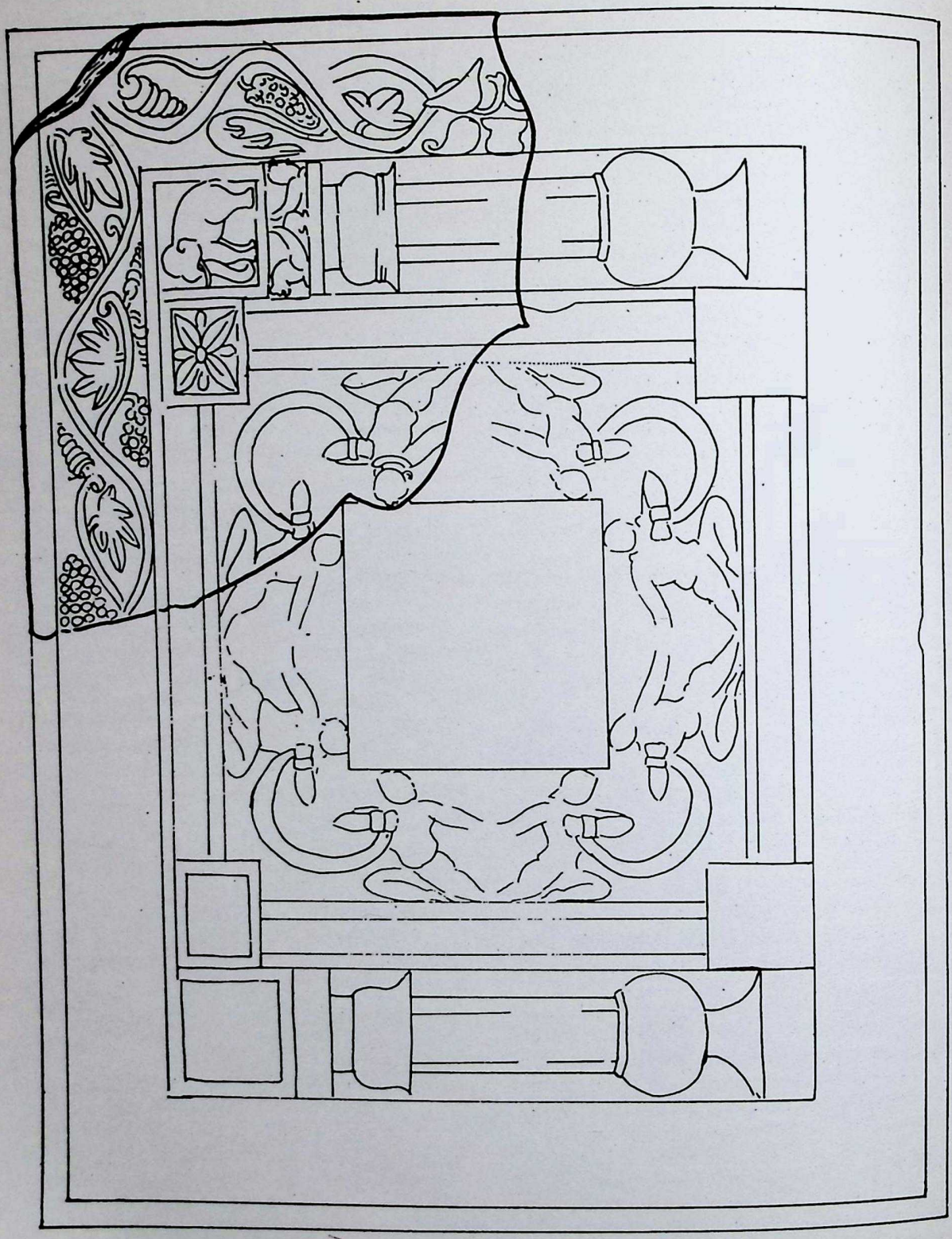


Fig. 34.1 Conjectural reconstruction of Āyāgapaṭṭa (MM. Q. 3).

cross with circular arms (*nandyāvarta*) and stūpa. Another group shows miniature figures of seated Jinas along with various sacred symbols. Āyāgapaṭṭas of this group serve as a link between symbol worship and image worship prevalent in early Jainism.

At Mathurā right from the Śuṅga period, figures of seated Jinas are seen in connection with narration of some story, but it is only on the Āyāgapaṭṭas that they appear as the main object of worship.

Briefly speaking Āyāgapaṭṭas and Śilāpaṭṭas can be grouped as under:

i Those depicting symbols only e.g. *Nandyāvarta* (MM. 35.2563, SML. J. 247), *Cakra* (J. 248), *Bhadrāsana* (SML. J. 256, Fig. 34.5) and stūpa (SML. J. 255, MM. Q. 2, 20–21.1603). This type does not show the group of traditional auspicious marks (*maṅgalas*).

ii Seated Jina within a group of four *Nandipadas* (SML. J. 252, J. 253, J. 686a, NM. J. 249, MM. 48.3426). In one type (e.g. SML. J. 250) however, seated Jina has been shown within a big *Nandyāvarta* (Figs. 34.7–9).

iii Fragmentary Āyāgapaṭṭas, but possible to be reconstructed:
– *Nandipada-paṭṭa* (SML. J. 260, Fig. 34.3) showing corner-facing *nandipadas*. This paṭṭa shows a new auspicious symbol also.
– *Nandyāvarta paṭṭa* (SML. J. 247, J. 264; MM. 35.2563, Figs. 34.2, 4.)

iv Mere fragments beyond reconstruction (SML. J. 257, J. 618, B. 128, B. 146, Francis Hopp Museum piece, Budapest).

v Upper left corner of an Āyāgapaṭṭa showing an elephant pillar (MM. Q. 3 Fig. 34.1)

Āyāgapaṭṭas with traditional *maṅgalas* on them may be taken as earlier in date than the others.

TĪRTHAṄKARA FIGURES

Pre-Kuṣāṇa:

Earliest representation of a Tīrthaṅkara seated in meditation is seen on what was a lintel in *c.* 2nd century B.C., but subsequently in a later age was turned into a railing pillar (SML. J. 354 together with J. 609).[6] Originally the lintel depicted the scene of *dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka* of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. Available portions of the lintel seem to have been divided in two parts, the first one shows Apsarā Nilāñjanā dancing in the royal court, while the second depicts two Jinas in meditation. The following features of these figures are noteworthy:

i. Cross legging is very loose.
ii. Jinas do not have *śrīvatsa* mark on chest. It is interesting to note that the Bombay Museum figure of the standing Jina, also attributed to a very early age, does not bear this mark.[7]
iii. Head with plain skull devoid of any carving.
iv. Each Jina has only one adorant carrying a flywhisk and standing almost on the same seat.
v. The Jina sits on a simple rectangular platform plain on all sides.
vi. What looks like a tuft of hair over the Jina's head is perhaps a garland held by the adorant.
vii. There is no nimbus.

Next stage of development appears on the Āyāgapaṭṭas. One of these (SML. J. 253, Pl. 34.I) can be attributed to the days of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa (*c.* 50 B.C.); Pārśvanātha is seen seated and canopied by a seven hooded snake. Loose cross legging, plain hair and absence of nimbus as well as of *śrīvatsa* still continue, but the following additional features are also to be noted in these figures:

i. Plain seat has been replaced by seats with either high base (SML. J. 252, J. 253; MM. 48.3426; NM. J. 249) or base of very small size (SML. J. 250).
ii. Front part of the seat shows in the middle a small rectangular mark with concave sides (NM. J. 249); in another case it is almost square (MM. 48.3426). In the Kuṣāṇa period this pattern further develops into a full rectangular frame providing space for the bas-relief.
iii. Cross legging gradually tightens (cf. NM. J. 249; SML. J. 250, J. 252, J. 253) and final stage is seen in the Mathura Museum Āyāgapaṭṭa (MM. 48.3426).
iv. Usually in cross legging, right leg is seen in front and the left behind, but in one case, which is an exceptional one (NM. J. 249), the position is reversed.
v. Pair of adorants appears in two cases only (SML. J. 253, MM. 48.3426). In the first case these are two fat monks, who continue in succeeding ages although they occupy a different place. In the second figure the two adorants are a man and a woman, both well dressed. This feature is rarely repeated.
vi. Single umbrella is seen over the head with suspended wreaths.

Kuṣāṇa Tīrthaṅkara Figures:

In the Kuṣāṇa period Tīrthaṅkara figures gradually came to be canonized. Unfortunately contemporary literary evidence throwing light on the making of Jina

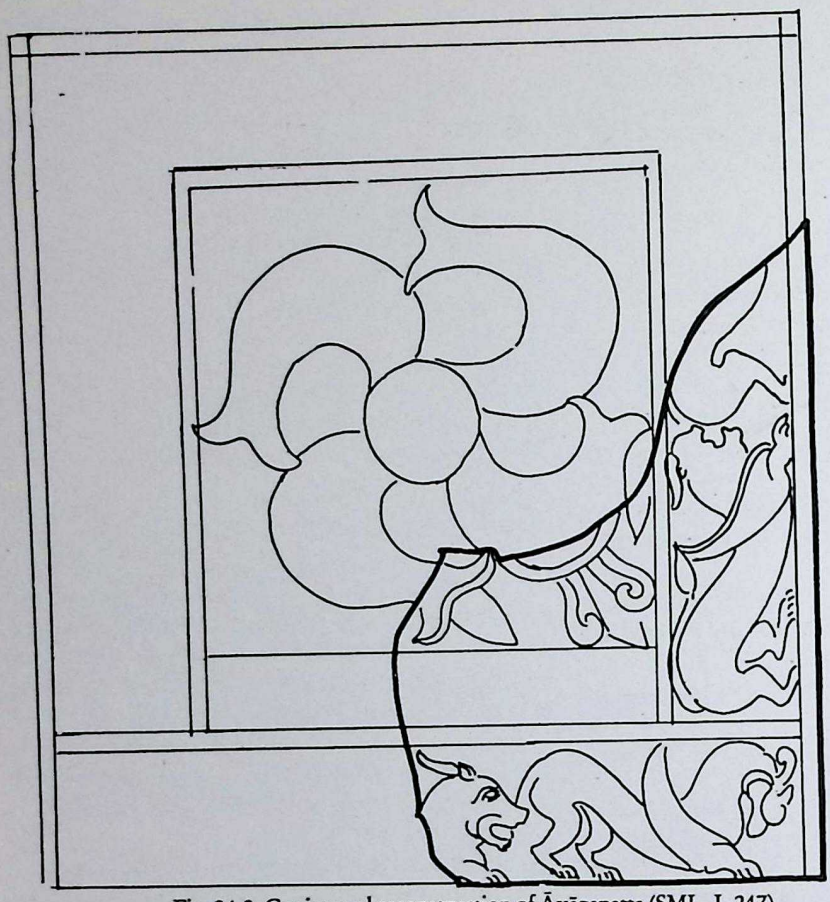


Fig. 34.2 Conjectural reconstruction of Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 247).

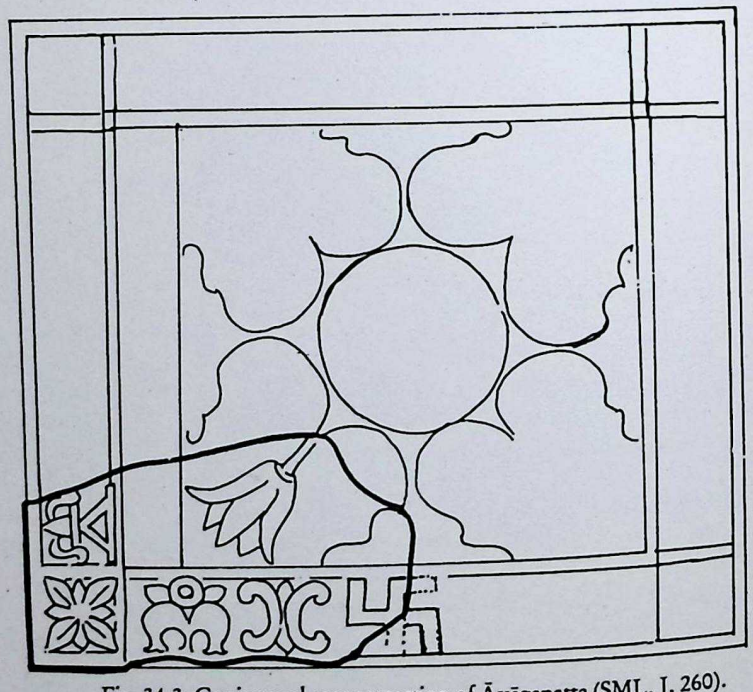


Fig. 34.3 Conjectural reconstruction of Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 260).

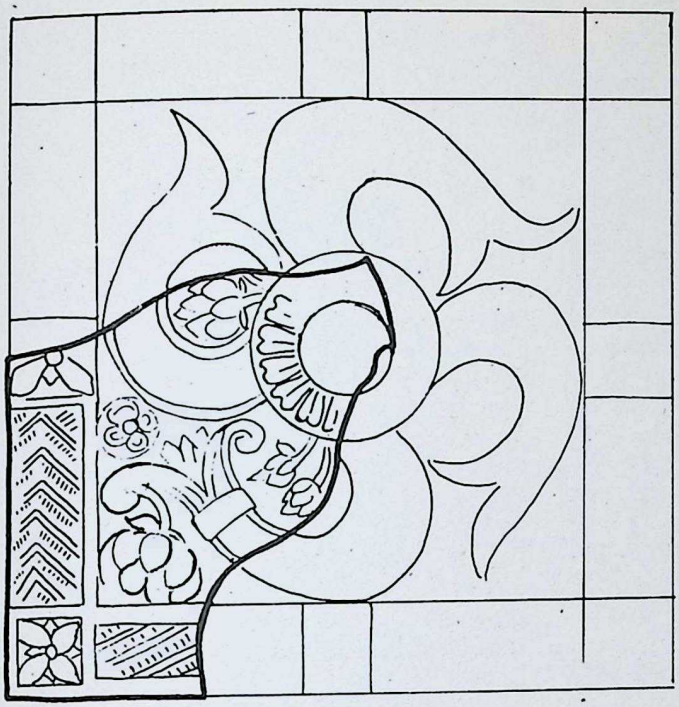


Fig. 34.4 Conjectural reconstruction of Āyāgapaṭṭa (MM. 35. 2563).

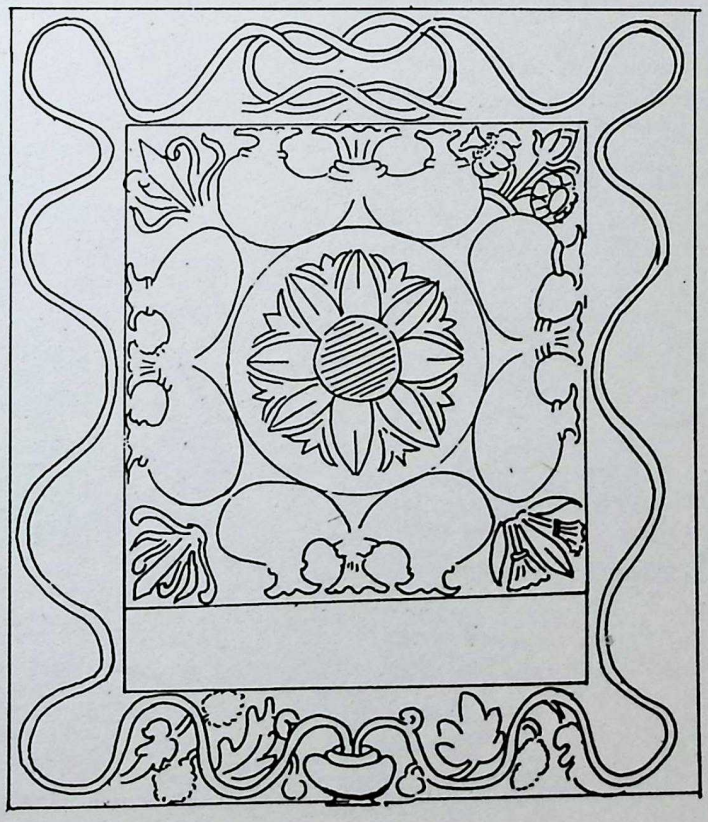


Fig. 34.6 Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 686a).

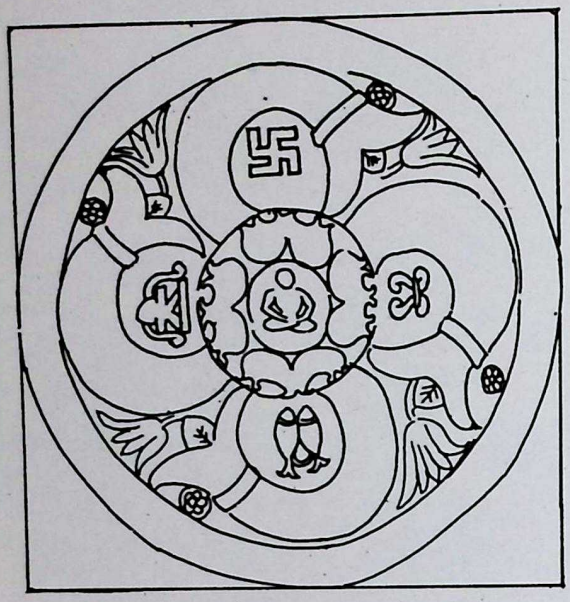


Fig. 34.7 Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 250).

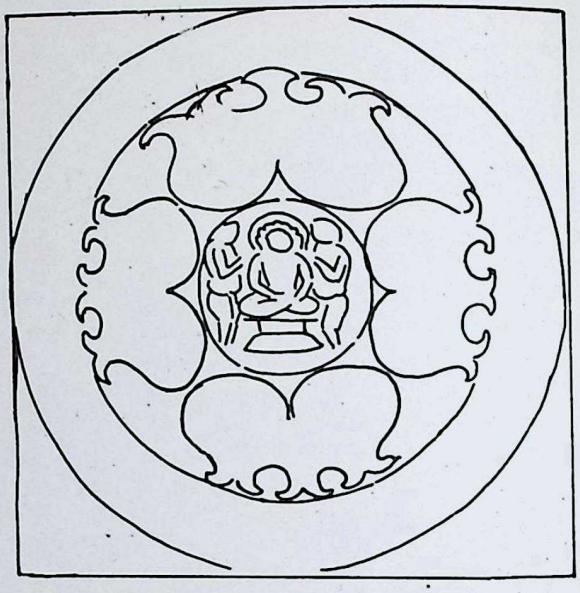


Fig. 34.8 Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 253).

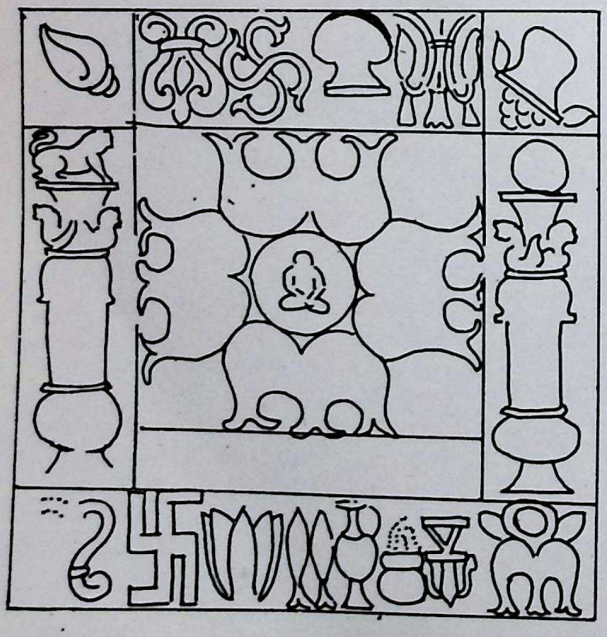


Fig. 34.9 Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 252).

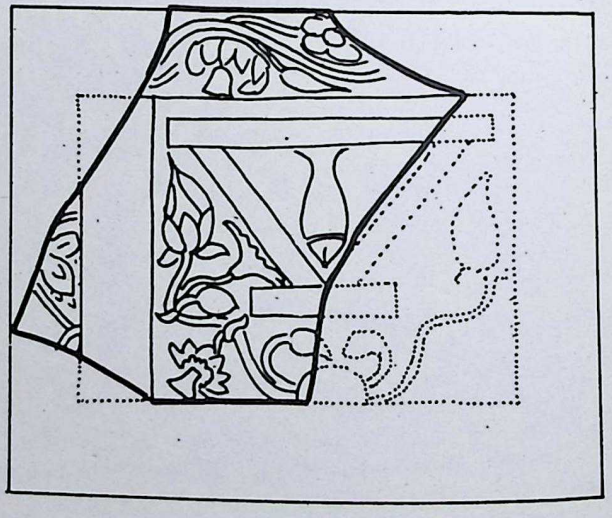


Fig. 34.5 Conjectural reconstruction of Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 256).

images is badly lacking, and therefore, the available figures themselves are the only source for our study.

The available data shows that the Tīrthaṅkara images were of medium size, though colossal figures were also not unknown as is clear from a fragmentary hand (MM. 14.433), which alone is 45 cm in length with a *cakra* of 10 cm embossed on it. One can easily imagine the size of the original figure to which this hand once belonged.

The Tīrthaṅkara figures are only found in two postures: either seated in *padmāsana* or standing erect in *khaḍgāsana* or *kāyotsarga mudrā*. Seated figures enjoyed wide popularity as we have 93 such icons against only 26 in standing posture.

The Kuṣāṇa images are generally stiff and have a well built body. The eyes are wide open and sometimes even the eyeballs have been shown. There is not much of difference between standing and seated figures so far as the hair arrangements, necks, auspicious marks on the bodies, nimbi and to some extent even the pedestals are concerned. These features, therefore, are being discussed at one place and not separately. Special features will, however, be taken up independently.

Seated Figures:

The earliest known dated figure, of which now only the pedestal remains, is of year 4 (SML. J. 3 Pl. 34.IV.B) and the last one is of year 95/98 (SML. J. 35). Without exception, these figures are well built, seated straight with right leg crossing the left, and with palms open and placed one over the other. Broadly speaking the following are the main features of these figures:

i. Tight cross legging (*padmāsana*).
ii. Appearance of auspicious marks (*maṅgalas*) on palms, finger tips, soles and toes.
iii. Presence of *śrīvatsa* on chest.
iv. Appearance of round mark in between the eye brows (*ūrṇā*).
v. Neck is either plain or with single horizontal line in the middle.
vi. New varieties of hair arrangements such as notched hair, hair combed back and curls.
vii. Pedestals with bas-reliefs with lions at the two extremeties and scenes of adoration in the frame.
viii. Pedestals often bearing inscriptions recording the date, donors, etc.
ix. Introduction of nimbus in a number of cases.
x. Appearance of *Aśoka* as *caitya-vṛkṣa* with or without an umbrella in one type.
xi. Presence of adorants in some cases.
xii. Carving on the reverse.

Let us now proceed to discuss these features in more detail.

i) Cross legging (*padmāsana*):

All the Jinas of this group sit straight with their legs tightly crossed. The right leg appears in front. Both the hands are brought near the navel and the right palm is placed over the open left. The eyes are wide open and sometimes the eyeballs are shown.

ii) Auspicious marks on body (*maṅgalas*) (Fig. 34.11):

Appearance of *maṅgala-cinhas* on palms and soles is an important characteristic of a Kuṣāṇa Jina. In some cases such marks are noted on finger tips and toes also. Besides, a triangular symbol (*maṇibandha*) can be seen on the wrists of some of the figures.[8]

Open palms, generally in all cases (only two exceptions have been noted till now namely SML. J. 60, J. 117), have the wheel mark (*cakra*) embossed on them. The practice was current during the entire period under review and lingered on till the beginning of the Gupta age.

Lower part of the palm, that is the portion of the wrist, in some cases shows the *maṇibandha* symbol looking like a triangle full of wavy lines. Below its base are to be seen very often small lines with or without chain pattern. Sometimes only the lines on the wrist or the triangle alone mark this symbol (SML. J. 6, J. 19, J. 29, J. 30, J. 31, J. 34, J. 53, J. 59, J. 69, J. 91, J. 108, J. 120, J. 686).

Besides the above, small auspicious marks can be noticed on the finger tips such as *svastika* on thumbs and other fingers (SML. J. 19, J. 29) and *nandipada* on the thumb (SML. J. 72).

On the soles *cakra* and *nandipada* are generally to be seen together, but sometimes they appear separately (*cakra* alone SML. J. 3, J. 4, J. 6, J. 27, J. 33, J. 70, J. 117, J. 156; *nandipada* alone J. 21). *Cakra* and *nandipada*, when together, evince two varieties. One has *cakra* on heel and *nandipada* in the middle of the sole (SML. J. 16, J. 30, J. 31, J. 35, J. 39, J. 58, J. 59, J. 66, J. 69, J. 91, J. 108, J. 120), the other shows *nandipada* on heel and *cakra* in the middle field (SML. J. 11, J. 19, J. 25, J. 29, J. 32, J. 34, J. 40, J. 53, J. 72, J. 686).

Like the finger tips, sometimes toes also bear the auspicious marks, namely *svastika* and *nandipada* (SML. J. 19, J. 25, J. 29, J. 40, J. 70, J. 72). It is further interesting to note that barring only one figure in the Lucknow Museum (SML. J. 66), whenever the toes bear the auspicious marks, generally *nandipada* is there on the heels and *cakra* in the middle.[9]

iii) *Śrivatsa* on chest (Fig. 34.10):

Śrīvatsa is one of the marks borne on the body of a *mahāpuruṣa*. In the Tīrthaṅkara figures it appears prominently on the chest, though there are a few exceptions. It presents a number of varieties such as:

Śrīvatsa with fish prominent. This type appears to have been more current in Śaka years 5 to 80 (SML. J. 4, J. 6, J. 7, J. 15, J. 16, J. 27, J. 30, J. 53).

Fish highly stylistic or absent, variety current in Śaka years 45 to 95 (SML. J. 17, J. 19, J. 25, J. 35, J. 47, J. 59, J.102, J. 147);

Śrīvatsa with additional lotus buds projecting from its lower portion; variety current in Śaka years 48 to 58 (SML. J. 19, J. 25);[10] and

Śrīvatsa with a circumscribing line, variety current in Śaka years 58 to 87 (SML. J. 25, J. 30, J. 33, J. 108).

iv) *Ūrnā* in between the eyebrows:

A small circular mark in between the eyebrows known as *ūrṇā* is another *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa* commonly seen in contemporary Buddha and Bodhisattva figures. Its use in the case of Tīrthaṅkara images is comparatively rare (SML, J. 15, J. 25–113, J. 96, J. 114—all the four are figures of Pārśvanātha; J. 157, J. 169, J. 177, J. 194, J. 198, Surplus 6—all detached heads).

v) Horizontal line on the neck (Fig. 34.11):

A horizontal line is not a 'must' for all Jina figures. In both seated and standing images the neck is either absolutely plain, that is devoid of any mark between the chin and the base line (SML. J. 8 Śaka year 18, J. 15 Śaka year 62, J. 60, J. 76, J. 86; MM. B. 37; SML. J. 189, J. 194 both detached heads), or it has only one horizontal line almost in the middle (SML. J. 25 Śaka year 58, J. 31 Śaka year 82, J. 39, J. 109, J. 120; Chandigarh Museum J. 138; SML. J. 150, J. 223 both detached heads).

Plain necks seem to be earlier; appearance of one line marks the second stage, while in subsequent ages there appear two lines. This addition perhaps stands for the comparison of a beautiful neck with a conch (cf. *kambugrīva*).

vi) New varieties of hair arrangement (Appendix V):

In the earlier phase, as we have seen, the Tīrthaṅkara heads are absolutely plain, devoid even of hair marks on the skull (SML. J. 354–609). This style is further seen in the Pārśvanātha figure on an Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 253 Pl. 34.I), perhaps the earliest known figure. Some other Pārśvanātha figures of the subsequent period also show its use (SML. J. 39, J. 96, J. 114, (Pl. 34.IV.A), J. 623 Śaka year 95). But it cannot be said that this style was strictly associated with Pārśva figures alone, as we know of at least 17 detached heads in this style,[11] not belonging to Pārśva figures.

Apart from the plain skulls three more styles came into vogue during the Kuṣāṇa period. But it is not possible to associate a particular style with one or more of the Tīrthaṅkaras, except Ṛṣabha who always has long hair combed back and partly rolling on the shoulders.

The other styles are the following:

Hair combed back[12]:

As observed above, this style was particularly associated with Ṛṣabha, who according to the classical texts had long hair rolling on the shoulders. Unfortunately no complete or independent Kuṣāṇa figure of Ṛṣabhanātha has yet been reported from Mathurā. We have only two detached heads (SML. J. 167, J. 229), other available figures being all headless (SML. J. 26, J. 58, J. 69; MM. B. 4, B. 36). We can, however, see him with hair combed back and falling on the shoulders in some of the *Sarvatobhadrikā* figures (SML. J. 230, J. 237, J. 238, J. 239, J. 244; MM. B. 67, B. 68, B. 69);

Close cropped hair with curled ends (Pl. 34.II.A): The style has been described in more than one way such as 'notched hair', 'semi-circular scratches covering the head in rows', or 'parallel crescents arranged in lines';

Earliest illustration of this variety is seen in the figure of Ariṣṭanemi dated in Śaka year 18 (SML. J. 8 Pl. 34.VII.A). Two Pārśvanātha figures have similar hair arrangements (SML. J. 111, J. 113 dated in the Śaka year 58). In a number of fourfold figures this style has been adopted for Jinas other than Ṛṣabha and Pārśva (SML. J. 234, J. 243; MM. B. 67, B. 69, B. 70, etc.). Popularity of this style is further proved by the fact that we have as many as fourteen detached heads of this variety;[13] and

Round Spirals or Snail shell-like curls (Pl. 34.II.B): This seems to be the most common style which continued to exist in the subsequent periods also. Our data shows 49 specimens of this variety[14] the earliest being of Śaka year 30 (SML. J. 15). All the Tīrthaṅkaras except Ṛṣabha or Ādinātha could perhaps be shown with curls on the head.

vii) Pedestals:

The most common type of pedestals of seated as well as of the standing figures have a bas-relief in front, in

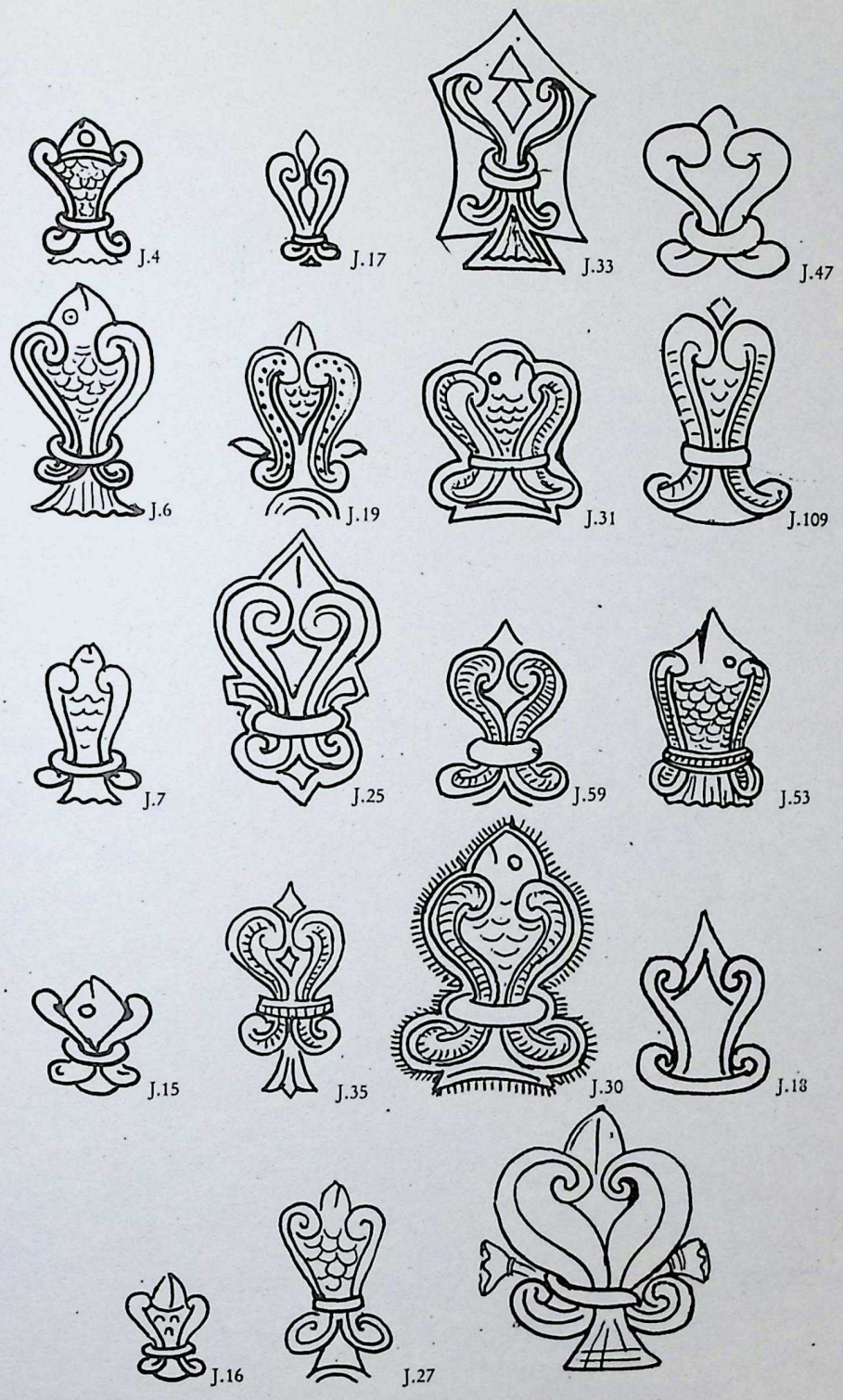


Fig. 34.10 Varieties of *Śrīvatsa* mark on chest (Full sheet showing 19 types).

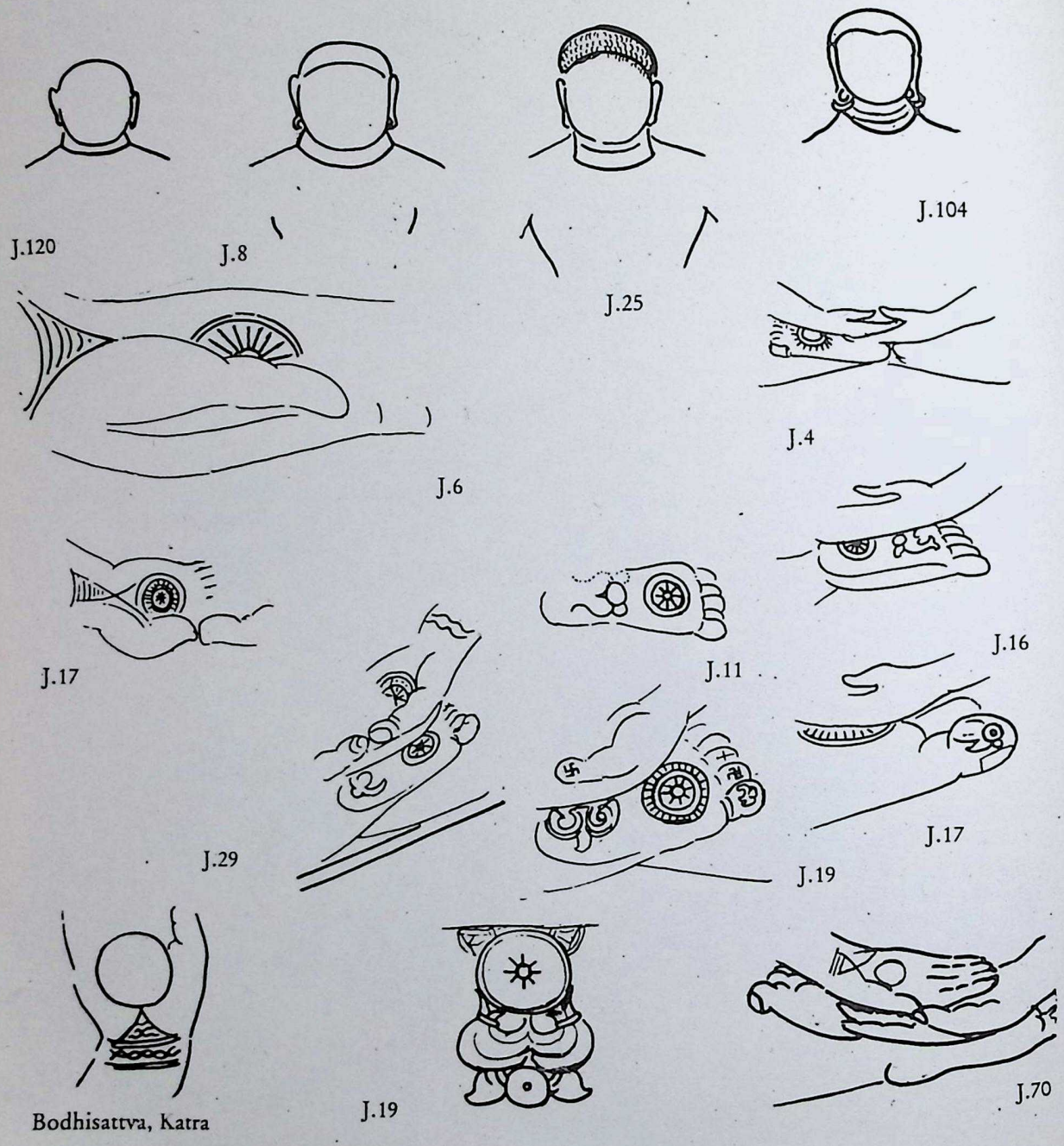


Fig. 34.11 Marks on neck, palms and toes (Sheet with 15 illustrations).

between the two lions at either end. This bas-relief shows:

Wheel (*cakra*) in the center.
Two fat monks seated flanking the wheel or the pillar bearing the wheel on it
Monks standing to the right of the wheel
Male devotee, his retinue and attendants on the same side,
Nun or nuns standing to the left of the wheel.
Lady donor or donors and their retinue.
Small boys and girls.

Let us study the above features in more details.

Wheel (*cakra*) in the center:

Cakra represents the Law and, therefore, in the fitness of things, occupies the central position in the bas-relief dividing it in two parts. Generally the right half depicts the male figures, while the left is reserved for the ladies, which is their traditional side. The *cakra* appears in the following styles (Figs. 34.13, 14):

Placed on the top of the Indo-Persepolitan pillar (for example SML. J. 3 of Śaka year 4, Pl. 34.IV.B) or a pillar of indigenous type (e.g. SML. J. 12 of Śaka year 25, J. 26 of Śaka year 60).

The rim of the wheel is generally seen enface, but sometimes the *cakra* faces the on-looker (e.g. SML. J. 25 of Śaka year 58).

Cakra placed enface on the three pronged symbol, *nandipada* (SML. J. 19 of Śaka year 48, J. 20 of śaka year 79). The motif sometimes serves as a pillar capital (SML. J. 31 of Śaka year 82).

Cakra enface being borne on the head of a corpulent male (SML. J. 11 of Śaka year 22, J. 60).

Cakra placed on a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* (SML. J. 42).

Cakra placed directly on the floor by its rim without any support (SML. J. 14 of Śaka year 29).

Of all the above varieties, *cakra* mounted on a pillar enjoyed the widest popularity.

Two fat monks or acolytes (*gaṇadharas*) (Fig. 34.14):

We have already seen the two monks flanking the seated Jina—Pārśva—on an Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 253 Pl. 34.I) attributed to the days of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.

In the Kuṣāṇa times, when the pedestals were provided with bas-reliefs, the two monks came to flank the *cakra* in the center of the scene. Now we see them in at least 26 figures[15] ranging in dates beween Śaka year 4 (SML. J. 3 Pl. 34.IV.B) to the year 81 (SML. J. 30a). Their detailed study reveals the following interesting points:

Most of them, including those on the Ayāgapaṭṭas (SML. J. 253) seem to be associated with *Ardha-phālaka* sect and carry a strip of cloth on their folded left arm, which covers their genitals. A few of them are totally naked (for example SML. J. 30 Śaka year 80; J. 108), but their number is small. In one of the *sarvatobhadrikās* (SML. J. 233 of Śaka year 32) acolytes with and without the cloth strip are seen together.

Sometimes they carry an object in their hand, which looks like a *rajoharaṇa* or *pīchī*. (Cf. U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 115).

They are always shown seated on the ground, rarely on cushioned seats (SML. J. 18) by the side of the *cakra* or *cakra-stambha*, as might be the case. It is important to note that all persons in the scene, except these two are shown standing in adoration. Apparently this indicates their superior position.

Barring one exception (SML. J. 17 of Saka year 45) which is highly corroded and wherein only the outlines of the figures can be reconstructed these two acolytes are never seen in association with the corpulent male carrying the *cakra* over his head (Pl. 34.V.A).

Another seated Jina figure (SML. J. 27 of Śaka year 62) is specially noteworthy in this connection. Close and careful study of the worn out pedestal reveals that flanking the central symbol there are two figures. The one to the right is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*, while the other to the left is seen seated cross-legged. He has brought his hands close to the chest. Depiction of the two acolytes in this fashion is exceptional and is close to the Buddhist practice.[16]

Identification of these two acolytes is quite a difficult problem. They have been found in the images of at least three different Tīrthaṅkaras, namely Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi) (SML. J. 8), Pārśva (SML. J. 25) and Mahāvīra (SML. J. 5, J. 34, J. 59). This rules out the possibility of their association with one particular Jina. The superior status of these acolytes has already been referred to. As per Jain tradition, after the Tīrthaṅkara himself, come only his *Gaṇadharas*. The two acolytes, therefore, can provisionally be taken as the *Gaṇadharas* of the particular Jina with whom they appear. Dr. U. P. Shah, the famous Jaina scholar also endorsed this view both in his letters[14] to the author and in open discussion at the Mathurā Seminar in Delhi (1980).

Other figures in the bas-relief:

So far as the other figures are concerned, their

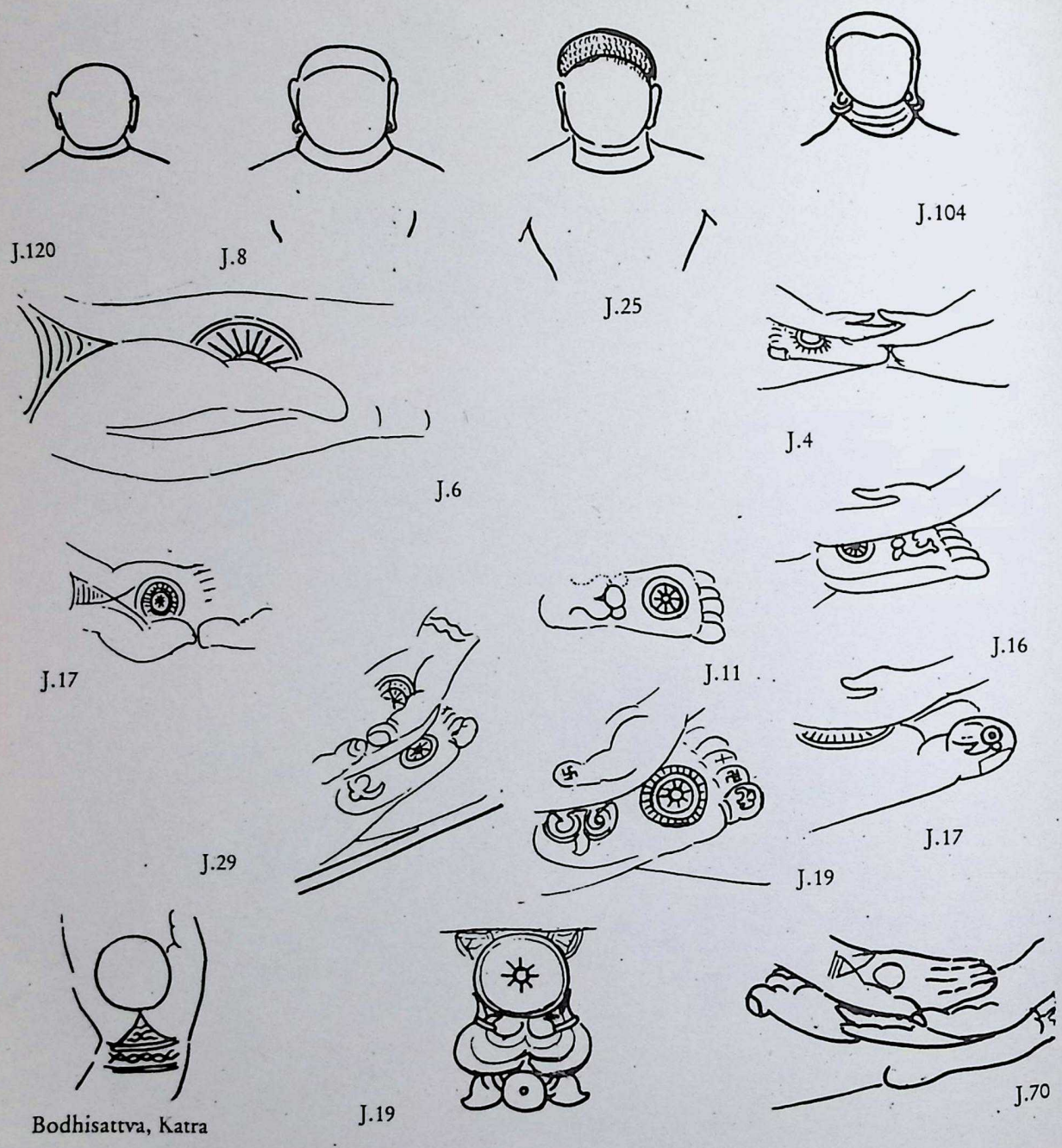


Fig. 34.11 Marks on neck, palms and toes (Sheet with 15 illustrations).

between the two lions at either end. This bas-relief shows:

Wheel (*cakra*) in the center.
Two fat monks seated flanking the wheel or the pillar bearing the wheel on it
Monks standing to the right of the wheel
Male devotee, his retinue and attendants on the same side,
Nun or nuns standing to the left of the wheel.
Lady donor or donors and their retinue.
Small boys and girls.

Let us study the above features in more details.

Wheel (*cakra*) in the center:

Cakra represents the Law and, therefore, in the fitness of things, occupies the central position in the bas-relief dividing it in two parts. Generally the right half depicts the male figures, while the left is reserved for the ladies, which is their traditional side. The *cakra* appears in the following styles (Figs. 34.13, 14):

Placed on the top of the Indo-Persepolitan pillar (for example SML. J. 3 of Śaka year 4, Pl. 34.IV.B) or a pillar of indigenous type (e.g. SML. J. 12 of Śaka year 25, J. 26 of Śaka year 60).

The rim of the wheel is generally seen enface, but sometimes the *cakra* faces the on-looker (e.g. SML. J. 25 of Śaka year 58).

Cakra placed enface on the three pronged symbol, *nandipada* (SML. J. 19 of Śaka year 48, J. 20 of śaka year 79). The motif sometimes serves as a pillar capital (SML. J. 31 of Śaka year 82).

Cakra enface being borne on the head of a corpulent male (SML. J. 11 of Śaka year 22, J. 60).

Cakra placed on a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* (SML. J. 42).

Cakra placed directly on the floor by its rim without any support (SML. J. 14 of Śaka year 29).

Of all the above varieties, *cakra* mounted on a pillar enjoyed the widest popularity.

Two fat monks or acolytes (*gaṇadharas*) (Fig. 34.14):

We have already seen the two monks flanking the seated Jina—Pārśva—on an Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 253 Pl. 34.I) attributed to the days of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.

In the Kuṣāṇa times, when the pedestals were provided with bas-reliefs, the two monks came to flank the *cakra* in the center of the scene. Now we see them in at least 26 figures[15] ranging in dates beween Śaka year 4 (SML. J. 3 Pl. 34.IV.B) to the year 81 (SML. J. 30a). Their detailed study reveals the following interesting points:

Most of them, including those on the Ayāgapaṭṭas (SML. J. 253) seem to be associated with *Ardha-phālaka* sect and carry a strip of cloth on their folded left arm, which covers their genitals. A few of them are totally naked (for example SML. J. 30 Śaka year 80; J. 108), but their number is small. In one of the *sarvatobhadrikās* (SML. J. 233 of Śaka year 32) acolytes with and without the cloth strip are seen together.

Sometimes they carry an object in their hand, which looks like a *rajoharaṇa* or *pīchī*. (Cf. U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 115).

They are always shown seated on the ground, rarely on cushioned seats (SML. J. 18) by the side of the *cakra* or *cakra-stambha*, as might be the case. It is important to note that all persons in the scene, except these two are shown standing in adoration. Apparently this indicates their superior position.

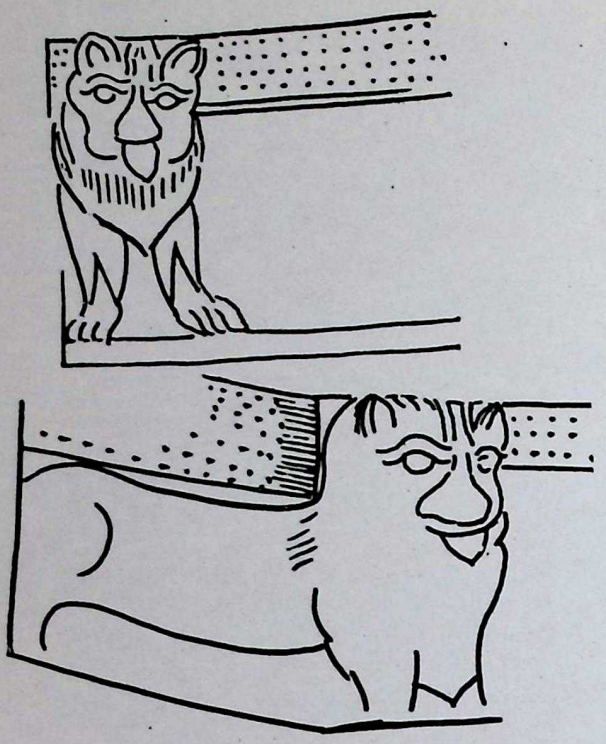
Barring one exception (SML. J. 17 of Saka year 45) which is highly corroded and wherein only the outlines of the figures can be reconstructed these two acolytes are never seen in association with the corpulent male carrying the *cakra* over his head (Pl. 34.V.A).

Another seated Jina figure (SML. J. 27 of Śaka year 62) is specially noteworthy in this connection. Close and careful study of the worn out pedestal reveals that flanking the central symbol there are two figures. The one to the right is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*, while the other to the left is seen seated cross-legged. He has brought his hands close to the chest. Depiction of the two acolytes in this fashion is exceptional and is close to the Buddhist practice.[16]

Identification of these two acolytes is quite a difficult problem. They have been found in the images of at least three different Tīrthaṅkaras, namely Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi) (SML. J. 8), Pārśva (SML. J. 25) and Mahāvīra (SML. J. 5, J. 34, J. 59). This rules out the possibility of their association with one particular Jina. The superior status of these acolytes has already been referred to. As per Jain tradition, after the Tīrthaṅkara himself, come only his *Gaṇadharas*. The two acolytes, therefore, can provisionally be taken as the *Gaṇadharas* of the particular Jina with whom they appear. Dr. U. P. Shah, the famous Jaina scholar also endorsed this view both in his letters[14] to the author and in open discussion at the Mathurā Seminar in Delhi (1980).

Other figures in the bas-relief:

So far as the other figures are concerned, their



J.5 Yr. 5 (83 A.D.) J.15 Yr. 30 (108A.D.)

J.4 Yr. 5 (83A.D.) J.16 Yr. 35 (113 A.D.)*

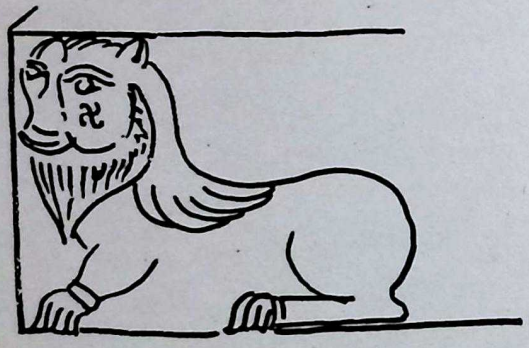
J.6 Yr. 7 (85 A.D.) J.35 Yr. 95 (173 A.D.)*

J.11 Yr. 22 (100 A.D.) J.34 Yr. 93 (171 A.D.)·

J.12 Yr. 25 (103A.D.) J.33 Yr. 87 (165 A.D.)†

†J.32 Yr. 86 (164 A.D.) J.29 Yr. 80 (158 A.D.)†

* Tail upraised † No tail visible



J.14 Yr. 29 (107 A.D.) No protruding tongue, no tail

J.17 Yr. 45 (123A.D.)

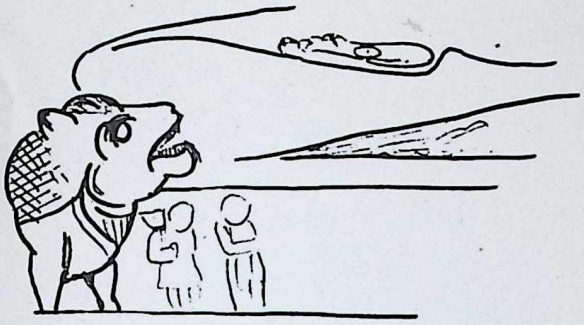
J.26 Yr. 60 (138A.D.) Svastika mark.

J.21 Yr. 50 (128 A.D.) additions:

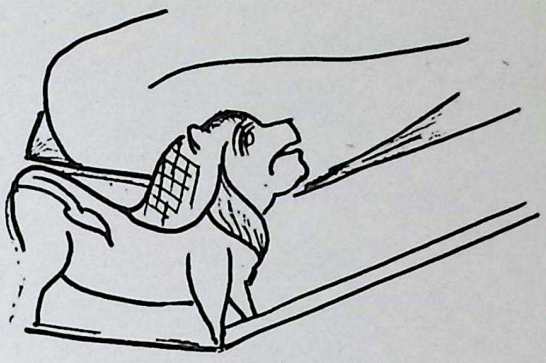
—upraised tail curved

J.20 Yr. 79 (157A.D.) Svastika mark.

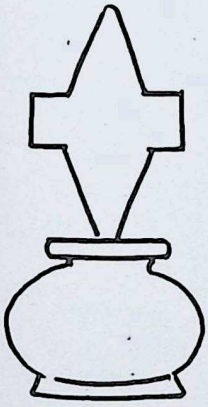
Fig. 34.12 Positions of the Pedestal Lions (Sheet with 4 illustrations).



J.25 Yr. 58 (136 A.D.)

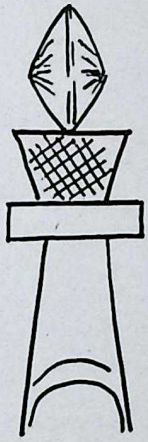


J.30 Yr. 80 (158A.D.)

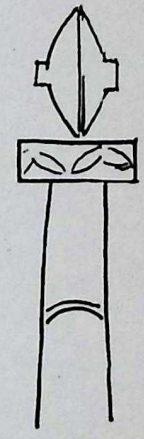


J.42

J.26

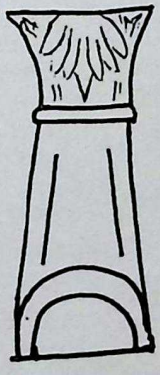


J.10



J.12

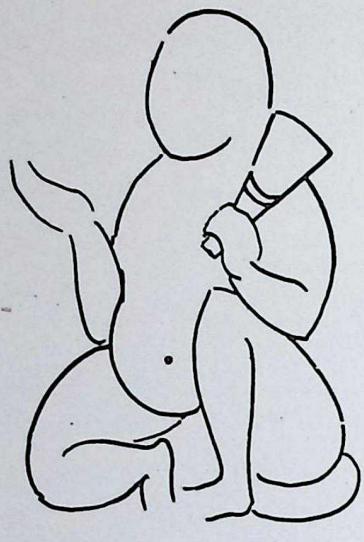
J.8 (160 A.D.), J.42, J.66



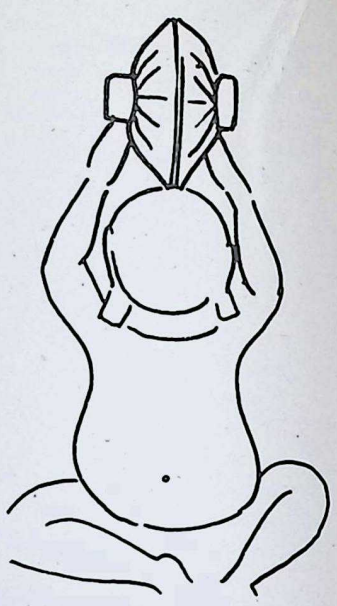
J.9 (98 A.D.)

Fig. 34.13 Positions of the Pedestal Lions and styles of placing the Wheel (8 illustrations).

J.253



J.18



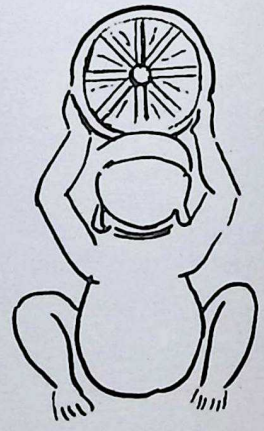
J.68

J.3

J.25

J.10

J.42



J.11

Fig. 34.14 *Gaṇadharas*; Yakṣa with Wheel (8 illustrations).

number varies between two (SML. J. 19 of Śaka year 48) to thirteen (SML. J. 25 of Śaka year 58) excluding the two *Gaṇadharas*. In another Jina figure of the Mathurā school but hailing from Ahicchatrā (SML. J. 686) the number of other figures in the bas-relief is twenty, half being ladies.

Among all these figures on the bas-relief there are monks (*sādhus*), nuns (*sādhvīs*), male devotees (*śrāvakas*), female worshippers (*śrāvikās*), attendants (*gṛhaceṭa*, *gṛhadāsa*) of both sexes and also some small boys and girls (Pl. 34.IV.B). Professor Shah holds[17] that the *Caturvyūha Saṅgha* has been depicted on the bas-reliefs. This can be accepted in a number of cases, but there are instances where all the four constituents of the Saṅgha find no representation (for example SML. J. 14, J. 15, J. 18, J. 19, J. 34, J. 47, etc.). The identification of these figures, therefore, needs further consideration.

On this issue the inscriptions on the pedestals appear to throw some welcome light. These records reveal that a number of Jina figures have been installed or donated by ladies,[18] such as mothers (*mātu* – SML. J. 22, J. 45, J. 49, J. 61), grandmothers (*pitāmahī*–SML. J. 22), wives (*kuṭumbinī* – SML. J. 14, J. 15, J. 18, J. 32, J. 58; *bhāryā* – SML. J. 20, J. 63; *dharmapatnī*–SML. J. 10, J. 230, J. 232, J. 234), daughters (*dhitu* – SML. J. 32, J. 53, J. 58, J. 59; *dhitara* – SML. J. 14, J. 22, J. 51); daughters-in-law (*vadhū* – SML. J. 18, J. 19, J. 30) and grand-daughters (*potrī* – SML. J. 19). These ladies came from different family groups such as caravan leaders (*sārth-vāhinī*, SML. J. 11), dyers (*rayagiṇi*, SML. J. 12), perfumers (*gandhika*, SML. J. 16, J. 233), iron mongers (*loha vāṇiya*, SML. J. 10), goldsmiths (*hairaṇyaka*, SML. J. 34), cotton dealers (*kapasika*, SML. J. 26), bankers (*śreṣṭhī*, SML. J. 230), village headman (*grāmika*, SML. J. 234) and so on. It is but natural that these different female donors would have cherished the idea to have themselves portrayed on the bas-reliefs along with their husbands, parents, children and even, in some cases, servants (cf. SML. J. 3).

Inscriptions make it clear that these ladies were pupils (*saḍhcarī*) obeying the commands of their respective guides (*paṇatihara*), who would generally be nuns or converts (*śiśiṇis* or *antesvāsinis*, SML. J. 12, J. 42, J. 69, J. 30a) of some senior monk (*vācaka*) bearing terms of veneration like *Gaṇi* and *Ārya* (e.g. SML. J. 6, J. 9, J. 10, J. 18, J. 22, etc.). The ladies donated or had different images installed at the suggestion (*nirvartana*) of these persons. In the inscriptions sometimes the names of the *vācakas* appear with their other colleagues or perhaps the seniors in the *Saṅgha*. It should also be noted that none of the names of the Jaina monks in the inscriptions bear titles such as *muni*, *upādhyāya* or *siddha*. Thus it would be, in the fitness of things to suggest that the bas-reliefs depict the *Gaṇadharas*, lady donors, their relations, lady teachers and senior members of the *Saṅgha*.

Let us now proceed to study each of the above in more detail.

Monks (*vācakas*) and their colleagues (Pls. 34.IV.B–34.V.A):

Curiously enough all the monks seen in the bas-reliefs, except one known to me (SML. J. 25 of Śaka year 58)[19], seem to belong to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect which carries a strip of cloth on the folded arm, concealing the private part (e.g. Pl. 34.IV.B). Besides the monks seen in the bas-reliefs, those hovering in the air (*vidhyā cāraṇas*, SML. J. 105; MM. Q. 2), or seen on some of the *śilāpaṭṭas* (e.g. Kanha *śramaṇa paṭṭa*, SML. J. 623) are all *Ardhaphālakas*.[20] This suggests that during the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries a large number of Jainas at Mathurā followed this sect. It is worth recalling that only the first and the last of the Tīrthaṅkaras preached complete nudity (*acelakatva*). Others had kept it open for the monks to choose between complete or partial nudity.

The *vācakas* in the bas-reliefs generally carry a *rajoharaṇa* or a *pīchī* in their upraised right hand (Pl. 34.VI.B), which is sometimes waved like a flywhisk on the *Gaṇadhara* (SML. J. 25). In the other folded hand (the arm of which carries the cloth strip), there appears sometimes a manuscript (*śāstra*, SML. J. 20) or rarely a water pot (SML. J. 26). The manuscript justifies the term *vācaka*, meaning a 'reader'.

Male Devotees (*śrāvakas*) (Pls. 34.IV.B – 34.V.A):

These persons are seen well clad and carrying long stemmed lotus flowers or garlands in both or one of their hands. In the latter case, generally the left hand holds a flower container (*puppha-paḍalaga*), an object, which is quite common in the Kuṣāṇa art at Mathurā (SML. J. 9, J. 11, J. 12, J. 16, etc.). In the other variety the left hand simply rests on the hip (SML. J. 18, J. 19).

Behind the *śrāvakas* appear some males who stand in *namaskāra mudrā* and carry no objects. They wear a simple dress and are dwarfish in height. This suggests that they are mere servants and attendants. In one inscription they are specifically mentioned as *gṛhaceṭa* and *gṛhadāsa* (SML. J. 3 of Śaka year 4).

Nuns (*sādhvīs*) (Pl. 34.IV.B):

Behind the *Gaṇadhara* on the left side of the *cakra* appear nuns wearing long apron like coats but no ornaments. They have *rajoharaṇa* in the right hand and sometimes a manuscript in the suspended left (SML. J. 3, J. 11, J. 12, J. 16, J. 25, J. 26, etc.). In rare

cases they hold a small waterpot (e.g. SML. J. 686), or appear with folded hands (SML. J. 25, J. 108).

Lady donors (*śrāvikās*; Pl. 34.V.A):

They stand behind the *Gaṇadhara* or the *Sādhvī* as might be the case. They are well clad in sārīs and often have a number of ornaments like bangles, armlets, anklets, etc. They have their hair arranged in the usual Kuṣāṇa style.

Generally the *śrāvikās* carry long stemmed lotus flowers in their upraised right hand and hold the sash of their sārīs, which normally touches the thigh, in the left (SML. J. 11, J. 12, J. 14, J. 16, J. 19, J. 20, J. 29, J. 33, etc.). In some cases *śrāvikās* appear in *namaskāra mudrā* (SML. J. 17, J. 18, J. 25, J. 32). In a few instances, the main lady is seen with lotus in her hand, while fellow *śrāvikās* just stand in adoration (e.g. SML. J. 30). In rare cases they carry the flower containers in their left hands (SML. J. 686).

Attendants (*gṛhadāsa*):

These people appear in simple dress and stand last with folded hands. One of the lady attendants carries a flower basket (SML. J. 25). The *gṛha ceṭas* and *gṛha dāsas* are generally seen dwarfish in height.

Small boys and girls

They put on apron-like garments and stand in adoration at both sides of the bas-reliefs obviously accompanying their elders.

Other Varieties of the Pedestal

Pedestals showing the bas-reliefs discussed above represent the common type. Besides that, the following varieties are noteworthy:

Pedestal with recess between the two lions shows only a curtain (SML. J. 124). This motif originally comes from Gandhāran art.

Pedestal showing a female goddess flanked by a worshipper (MM. 14.397).

Lions on the pedestals (Figs. 34.12–13):

A lion at each end of the pedestal supports either on his back or by his head the seat of the Jina. These lions, serving as insignia of a lion throne (*siṁhāsana*), a seat to be used only by a king or a teacher of very high repute, provide a very interesting study. On the basis of their postures the following types can be clearly noticed:

Lions standing perfectly enface with tails not visible but probably suspended in the natural way. Period: between Śaka year 4 to 93 (SML. J. 3, J. 4, J. 5, J. 31, J. 32, J. 34, J. 53, J. 58, J. 66, J. 72, J. 137, J. 156; MM. 14.490) (Pl. 34.V.B).

Lions slightly turned inwards. Period: Śaka year 7 to 95/98 (SML. J. 6, J. 11, J. 12, J. 15, J. 33, J. 35, J. 60, J. 63; BML. *Scythian Period*, Fig. 56) (Pl. 34.V.C).

Similar but with tails upraised. Period: Śaka year 35 to 58 (SML. J. 16, J. 25, J. 69).

Lions with heads completely turned so as to face each other. Period: Śaka year 58 to 84 (SML. J. 25, J. 29, J. 31; MM. B. 4, B. 15, 54.3769) (Pl. 34.VI.A).

Similar but with tails upraised. Period: Śaka year 80 (SML. J. 30)

Lions seated back to back with tails totally concealed under the hind legs. Period: Śaka year 29 to 47 (SML. J. 14, J. 17, J. 18, J. 19, J. 20; with *Nandyāvarta* mark SML. J. 26, J. 59, J. 70) (Pl. 34.VI.B).

Similar but with tails upraised. Period: Śaka year 50 (SML. J. 21, J. 67).

viii) Inscriptions on the pedestals:

Without going in the details about paleography, technical words, language or even the controversial issue of date, we propose to record a few observations relating to these inscriptions:

Not being the regular official, or Saṅgha, records, the inscriptions have sometimes been done in slipshod ways such as:

Use of cursive and slanting script (e.g. SML. J. 23, Pl. 34.IX.C).

Letters deleted, for example *Kaska* for Kaniṣka (SML. J. 5).

Letters wrongly compounded, for example Hukṣa for Huviṣka.

Inscription starts from the bottom and the succeeding lines appear on the top (SML. J. 11).

Continuation of the inscription on the adjacent sides (SML. J. 7, J. 15). Even the reverse of the sculpture has been used to complete the record (SML. J. 12).

Without caring for the continuity, portions of the back slab (SML. J. 16), space in between the Jina's feet (SML. J. 13), or the space below the stomach of the standing lions (SML. J. 120), have been used for engraving the records.

Sometimes an auspicious symbol like *śrīvatsa* appears at the end of the inscription and works as a full stop (SML. J. 252). Similarly a small horizontal line marks the beginning in some cases (SML. J. 12). The practice seems to have been current right from the times of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa. In one of his inscriptions, a *svastika* opens the record,[21] while in another case *śrīvatsa* marks its end (SML. J. 252).[22]

Pl. 34.I Āyāgapaṭṭa (SML. J. 253).

Pl. 34.II.A Seated Tīrthaṅkara with notched hair; adorant, *caitya-vṛkṣa* and *prabhāmaṇḍala* are also to be seen (SML. J. 120).

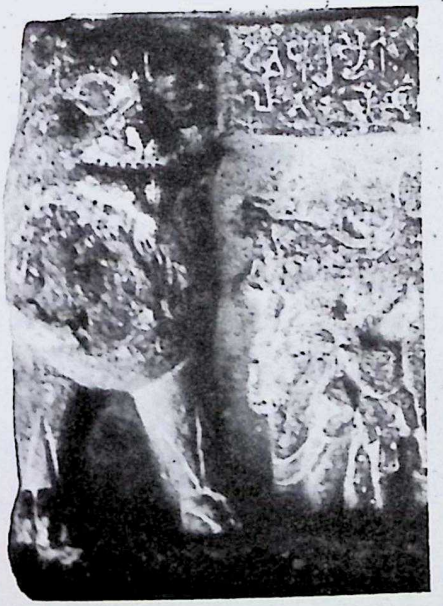
Pl. 34.II.B Seated Tīrthaṅkara with curly hair and decorated halo (formerly Kishori Ramana Intermediate College, Mathurā).

Pl. 34.III Reverse view of a seated Pārśva figure showing Nāga coils and *caitya-vṛkṣa* (SML. J. 25+113).

Pl. 34.IV.A Head of Pārśvanātha figure with plain skull (SML. J. 114).

Pl. 34.IV.B Pedestal of a seated Jina figure showing *Gaṇadharas*, *Vācaka*, *Sādhvī*, *Śrāvaka*, *Srāvikā*, children, etc. (SML. J. 3).

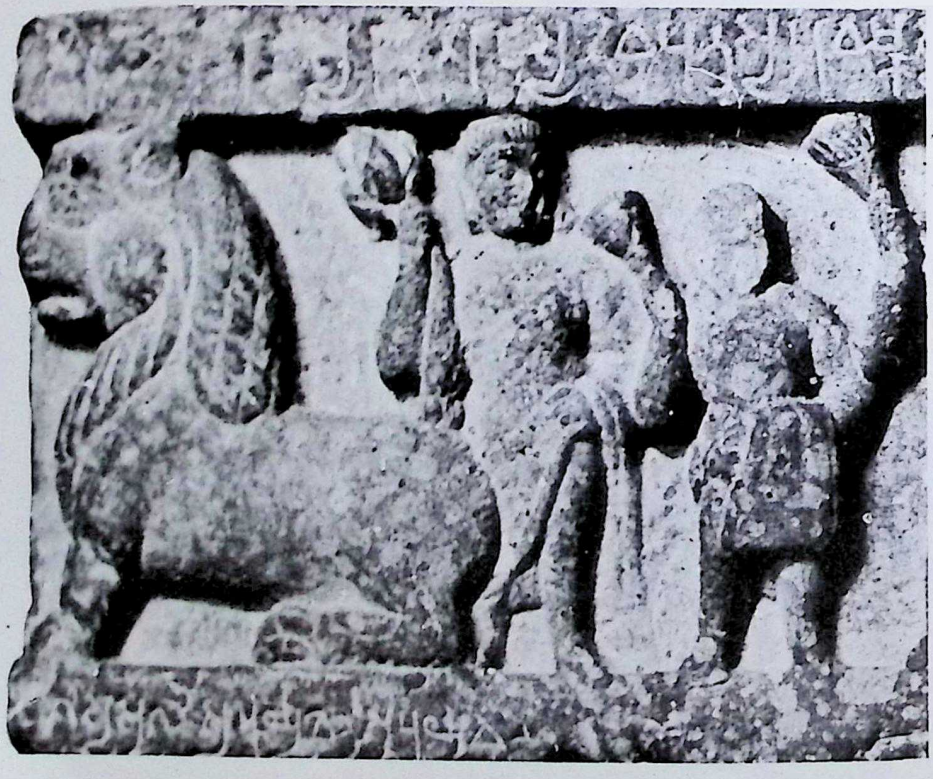
Pl, 34.V.A Pedestal of a seated Jina figure showing Yakṣa carrying *Dharma-cakra*, also *Vācaka*, *Sādhvī*, *Śrāvaka*, *Śrāvikā*, servants and children (SML. J. 11).



Pl. 34.V.B Pedestal lion, facing (SML. J. 5).

Pl. 34.V.C Pedestal lion, slightly turned (SML. J. 33).

Pl. 34.VI.A Pedestal lion, turned with head upraised (SML. J. 25).



Pl. 34.VI.B Pedestal lion seated back-to back (SML. J. 26).

Pl. 34.VII.A Ariṣṭanemi, *Gaṇadharas* below (SML. J. 8).

Pl. 34.VII.B Lower part of a Vardhamāna figure (SML. J. 2).

Pl. 34.VIII.A *Sarvatobhadrikā* with *Gaṇadharas* (MM. B. 67).

Pl. 34.VIII.B *Sarvatobhadrikā*, Kuśa grass pattern below (SML. J. 230).

Pl. 34.VIII.C *Sarvatobhadrikā* with tiered pedestal (SML. J. 231).

Pl. 34.IX.A Sarasvatī (SML. J. 24).

Pl. 34.IX.B Negameśa (MM. 34. 2547).

Pl. 34.X Tympanum showing worship of Stūpa, Tīrthaṅkara and a female divinity (SML. B. 207).

In one of the inscriptions on the pedestal a miniature figure of a man on his knees in adoration has been cleverly inserted in the running lines (SML. J. 16). He could be the scribe himself.

It is interesting to note that in recording the date, these inscriptions do not mention Indian months, *tithis* or *nakṣatras*. On the other hand, the year has been divided in three seasons (*ṛtus*) namely Grīṣma, Varṣā and Hemanta, each *ṛtu* being of four months and each month being of thirty days. When a date is recorded, first comes the number of the year (*samvatsara*), followed by the *ṛtu* name with serial number of the month (*māsa*), and last, the serial number of the day (*divasa*).

Hemanta or winter that is November to February was thought to be the most auspicious *ṛtu* for installation or donation of images. This would be evident from the following:

Inscriptions referring to *Grīṣma* (*Caitra* to *Āṣāḍha* that is March to June)[23]	 25
Inscriptions referring to *Varṣa*[24] (*Śrāvaṇa* to *Kārtika* that is July to October)	 23
Inscriptions referring to *Hemanta*[25] (*Mārgaśīrṣa* to *Phāluguna* that is November to February)	 31

ix) Introduction of Nimbus (Fig. 34.15):

The nimbus or halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) was not treated as an indispensable part of a seated or standing Tīrthaṅkara figure, but its appearance can certainly be traced from Śaka year 5. A figure of a seated Jina dated in this year (SML. J. 4) had full *prabhāmaṇḍala*, of which only a small fragment now remains on the left shoulder along with the distinct damage mark on the stone suggesting the broken halo. Till now we know of at least 12 seated and 4 standing Jina figures with nimbus behind their heads.[26]

In addition there are two detached heads (SML. J. 233; MM. B. 53) with preserved haloes and fourteen *sarvatobhadrikā* figures, which show plain scalloped and well decorated haloes. Use of the halo in these figures also starts from Śaka year 5 (MM. B. 71).

Simplest decoration on the halo was the scalloped border (*hastinakha*) as seen in one of the seated figures (MM. B. 63) and on at least eight *sarvatobhadrikā* figures (SML. J. 230, J. 239, J. 241, J. 244; SML. J. 245; MM. B. 69, B. 70, B. 71). Lotus petal decoration along with the scalloped border comes perhaps next (SML. J. 120 [Pl. 34.II.A], J. 234). The petals are sometimes multiplied (SML. J. 15) and other motifs such as a double scalloped border, beadstring (SML. J. 8, J. 15), a garland motif (*hāra-yaṣṭi* SML. J. 76), full blown lotus without any scalloped border (SML. J. 81) and even a simple scroll (SML. J. 60) gradually creep in.

Instead of the lotus petals one can sometimes see the rays emerging and spreading all round (*kiraṇāvali*, SML. J. 76, J. 117) (Pl. 34.II.B).

x) *Caitya-vṛkṣa*:

In the Kuṣāṇa period the Tīrthaṅkaras do not appear to have a distinct *caitya-vṛkṣa* for each of them. It is generally the *Aśoka* tree that appeared as a sacred tree for Pārśva (SML. 25 + 113, Pl. 34.III), Nemi (SML. J. 117) and also some other Jinas (for example SML. J. 120, Pl. 34.II.A. J. 125).

The *Asoka* during this period enjoyed special sanctity as is clear from its representation as a *caitya-vṛkṣa* in two of the Āyāgapaṭṭas (SML. J. 250; MM. 48. 3426) and also in the collection of bronzes from Chausā in Bihar. It is further interesting to note that apart from the Jina figures, the *Aśoka* tree appears on the reverse side of some Brahmanical deities of this period (e.g. Viṣṇu MM. 14. 392–95; Śiva MM. 14. 382, Ṣaṣṭhī MM. F. 2; Kubera MM. C. 2) and even a Yakṣī, which once existed at Berī near Mathurā.

Depiction of the *Aśoka* tree with the seated Jina figures can be well compared with figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas from Mathurā having the *Aśvattha* tree behind them.

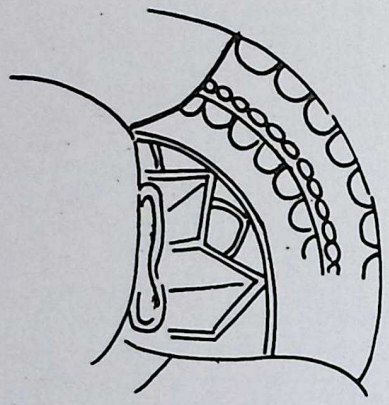
Figures hovering in the air:

Over the stūpas or sometimes in the upper corners of the Jaina icons superhuman figures are seen hovering in the sky often carrying garlands and flowers in their hands. These are either the *Vidyā-cāraṇa munis* of the *Ardha-phālaka* sect or the harpies, that is half bird and half human figures known as *Kinnaras*. If both of them are shown together, the Jaina monk would maintain his superiority by hovering at a higher level than the harpy (cf. SML. J. 105; MM. Q. 2). Gradually the *Kinnaras* hovering over either a stūpa or a Jina (SML. J. 255—only the paw of the harpy now remains to the left of the stūpa; MM. Q. 2) give way to the full fledged male figures (SML. J. 25 + 113, J. 88, J. 117, B. 207, etc.).

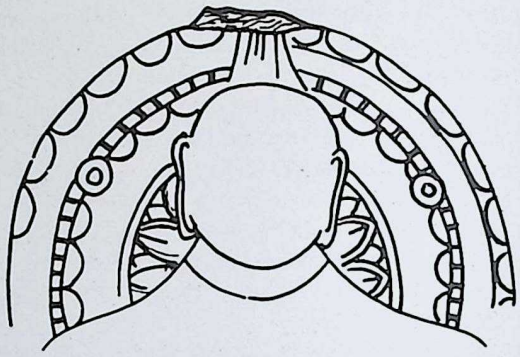
xi) Adorants:

Figures of the seated Jinas often have an adorant standing at each side on an elevated platform in bold relief. Till now we know of fourteen such figures.[27] The earliest is of Śaka year 5 (SML. J. 4) and the latest is of Śaka year 57 (MM. B. 15). All these can be classified as follows:

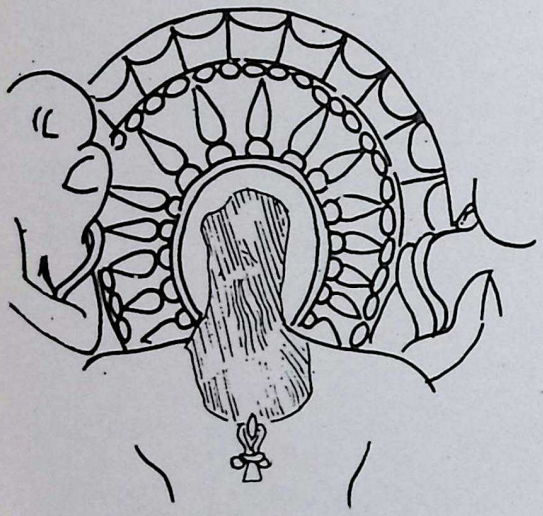
Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa as adorants: This is the case with the figures of Tīrthaṅkara



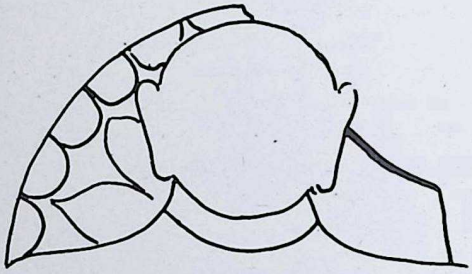
J.15



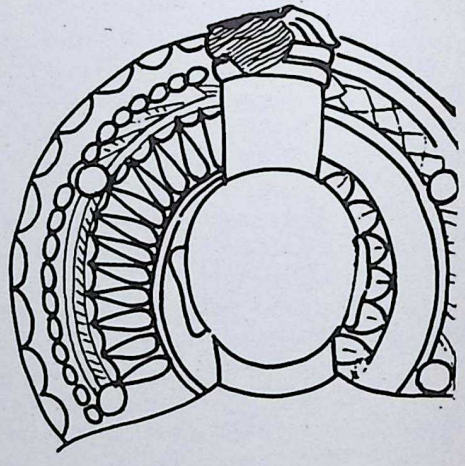
J.8



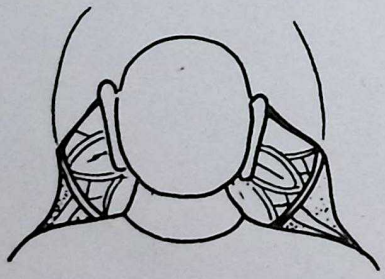
J.117



J.120



J.76



J.81

Fig. 34.15 Decorations on the *prabhāmaṇḍala* (6 drawings).

Neminātha. In one of the inscribed, but undated Jina figures (SML. J. 47), which stylistically should be dated in 1st century A.D., the adorant to the left of the Jina is headless, but seems to have had four hands when complete. In his suspended left he carries a conch shaped water vessel and his normal right is raised in *abhaya-mudrā*. His extra right held a club, only a small part of which is now extant. He wears a short garland of leaves and flowers (*vanamālā*). All these features agree very closely with the Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu figures from Mathurā, which actually represent Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, as shown elsewhere[28] (cf. MM. 15.912, 28.1729, 34.2520).

The corresponding figure was also four handed when complete, but now the extra two hands are broken. The extant portions of the club and the plough staff suggest the possibility of the figure being that of Baladeva or Saṁkarṣaṇa.

Thus the Tīrthaṅkara appearing in between these two is obviously Neminātha. This is perhaps the only known sculpture of the earlier period showing Neminātha with his adorants Vāsudeva and Baladeva in their genuine Kuṣāṇa forms, which were acceptable to the then current Brahmanical tradition.

A Nāga and a male figure as adorants:

Five figures of this type have been reported up until now (SML. J. 4, J. 60, J. 117, MM. B. 15, 34.2488). Here both the adorants are in *namaskāra mudrā*. The one to the right of the Jina is decidedly a Nāga with snake hoods. The corresponding figure wears a crown.

These two should be identified as Baladeva and Vāsudeva and the Jina represented is Neminātha.

Adorants holding flywhisks:

This type, which was quite popular with the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures is comparatively rare in the Jaina field. Only two figures are known (SML. J. 120 (Pl. 34.II.A) and J. 91). Flywhisk bearers as adorants sometimes appear with standing Tīrthaṅkaras also (MM. B. 32). In these cases it is not possible to identify the Jina.

Male and Female adorants of Pārśvanātha:

Two of the Pārśva figures reveal a very interesting feature (SML. J. 13, J. 102). Of them, one (SML. J. 102) is a seated figure and though headless has a snake tail on its reverse. The attendent figures are completely mutilated, but their feet are still preserved. A pair of the feet to the left has anklets, which shows that the figure was that of a lady.

The next image (SML. J. 13) is dated in Śaka year 29 and records the name of the ruler as Huviṣka. This figure too is mutilated over the knees, but the reverse again bears the snake coils. In this case too the feet of the adorant to the left wears anklets. This indicates that Pārśvanātha was associated with a female adorant even in Kuṣāṇa times. The identification of this lady adorant remains a question unless we suppose that appearance of Padmāvatī and Dharaṇendra is not necessarily a post-Kuṣāṇa phenomena.

Female adorants with other Tīrthaṅkaras:

In this connection another Jina figure (MM. 15.794) and the one appearing on an Āyāgapaṭṭa (MM. 48.3426) deserve mention. In the first case a lady is flanking a Jina and waving a fly-whisk, while in the second she appears on the left. Unfortunately both the Jinas are unidentified.

xii) *Carving on the reverse* (Fig. 34.16):

The Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathurā offer very interesting material for study from their reverse side also. The Tīrthaṅkara images are no exceptions to this. We have tried to note the following features of the reverse side on the basis of the dated and a few undated sculptures available to us.

Contour of the body and lines indicating the spinal cord and the rump (SML. J. 5, J. 27, J. 29, J. 59, J. 66, J. 69, J. 108). In a few cases the sculptors have satisfied themselves by marking either the spinal cord (SML. J. 53, J. 686) or only the rump (SML. J. 21, J. 3 J. 35, J. 136). These characteristics can be noticed in between Śaka year 4 to 80.

Horizontal line marking the seat of the Jina carved along with the lines showing the spinal cord and rump (SML. J. 21, J. 59, J. 66) or even without them (SML. J. 20, J. 22, J. 30, J. 31, J. 33).

Period: roughly between Śaka year 48 to 87.

Reverse is flat and bears only the chisel marks and is very rough in appearance (SML. J. 4, J. 16, J. 17, J. 19, J. 70).

Period: between Śaka year 35 to 87.

Only the nimbus has been marked (SML. J. 15).

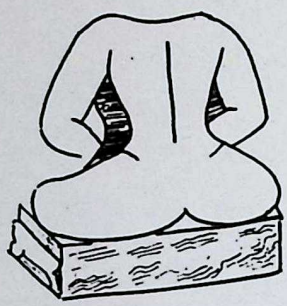
Period: Śaka year 30.

Stem and foliage of *caitya-vṛkṣa* along with nimbus (SML. J. 81) or without it (SML. J. 117, J. 120). The *caitya* tree is usually *Aśoka*.

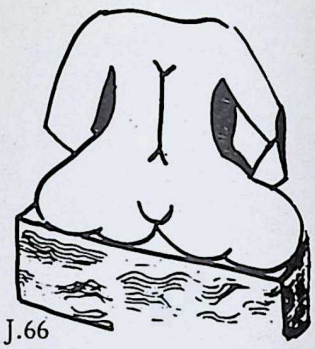
Period: very uncertain, roughly about Śaka year 58.

In the case of Pārśvanātha figures, coils and

J.59

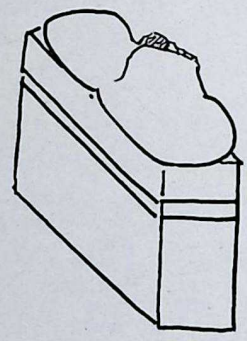


J.33

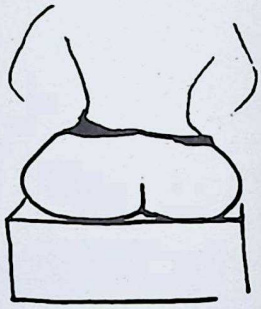


J.66

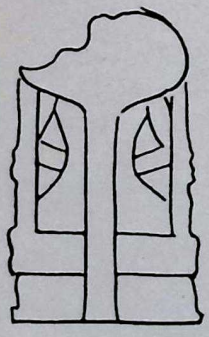
J.81



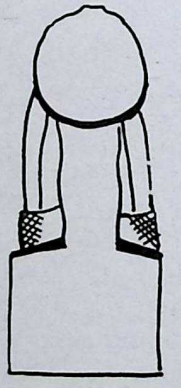
J.21



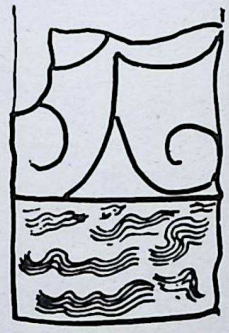
J.32



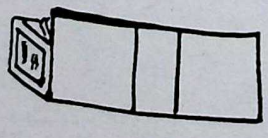
J.120



J.8



J.13



J.68

Fig. 34.16 Reverse views of the Tirthaṅkara figures (10 drawings).

serpent hoods, Dharaṇendra appears either alone (SML. J. 13, J. 102) or with the *caitya-vṛkṣa* (SML. J. 25 + 113, Pl. 34.III).

Period: very uncertain, round about Śaka year 58.

Pillar-like decoration. In case of a few standing figures it is clearly a pillar (SML. J. 28; MM. B. 32, B. 36), but in others this may be the staff of the umbrella canopy over the Tīrthaṅkara (J. 68).

Period: round about Śaka year 71 to 98.

Standing Tīrthaṅkaras

The number of the standing Jina images known to us till now is only twenty six, while the seated figures are above ninety. The reason for this notable difference is not easy to trace.

Early Jaina works like *Āvaśyaka Nirvyūha* (*gāthā* 969) suggest that the Jinas are represented in this world in the posture they left it.[29] Other texts inform that twenty one Tīrthaṅkaras obtained *nirvāṇa* in standing pose, while only three namely Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra, left this world in a sitting posture. Accepting this, the images of only these three should have been carved in a sitting pose, while the remaining twenty one should be represented as standing. Available sculptures do not support this. Even in the Kuṣāṇa times we have standing Ṛṣabha (MM. B. 36) and Mahāvīra (SML. J. 2, J. 9) as well as seated Sambhava (SML. J. 19), and standing (SML. J. 13) as well as seated Pārśva (SML. J. 25 + 113) and others. This naturally presupposes a different tradition which was followed by the Kuṣāṇa sculptors at Mathurā.

While discussing the seated figures we have already taken note of a number of features common to both types; hereunder only some specialities of the standing figures will be discussed.

Adorants:

Figures in *khaḍgāsana* sometimes had flywhisk bearers standing on the same platform. We have discussed the lady adorant seen with Pārśvanātha and one more unidentified Jina. Besides these figures, mention must be made of one Mahāvīra image (SML. J. 2, Pl. 34. VII. B), which shows some male adorants standing on a lower level than the Jina. In this case only the legs of the figure are visible and, therefore, nothing can be said about the objects these figures held. No identification can be proposed.

Pedestals:

Bas-reliefs on the pedestals of the standing images agree in style and details with the seated figures, except that there are no lions at the two extremities; obviously there was no need to depict a lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*). Instead there often appear two pillars showing Gandhāran influence (SML. J. 8, (Pl. 34. VII.A), J. 9, J. 42, J. 66).

One figure (SML. J. 7 Śaka year 9) stands on a lotus flower, which perhaps served as a pillar capital. In another case (SML. J. 2) Mahāvīra is seen standing on an arched seat.

Reverse Views (Fig. 34.16).

The following types of carvings are seen on the reverse of the standing figures:

i. Outline of the nimbus (SML. J. 8, Śaka year 18). Along with this sometimes the portion below the hips appears as a plain rectangular slab (SML. J. 8; MM. B. 32).
ii. Nimbus along with slightly projecting pillar (MM. B. 36). In SML. J. 68, which now shows the lower portion only, one can see the pillar.
iii. Tīrthaṅkara's association with pillars is further seen in a figure dated in Śaka year 9 (SML. J. 7), where he has been shown standing against an *Aśoka* tree in between two pillars.
iv. Appearance of the *Aśoka* tree as *caitya-vṛkṣa* (SML. J. 7, J. 125).
v. Snake coils in the case of Pārśvanātha figure (SML. J. 13).

SARVATOBHADRIKĀ FIGURES

These figures are hewn out of one square or even rectangular (e.g. SML. J. 238, J. 239) block of stone. They often have a tenon below (e.g. SML. J. 233, J. 684) and a socket on the top perhaps to receive an umbrella staff (*chatra-yaṣṭi*). On all the quarters of the block there are, in the Kuṣāṇa period, Jina figures always standing. We know of at least twenty eight figures[30] of this type ranging in date from Śaka year 5 to 74. Curiously enough none of the inscriptions record the name of the ruling king. Some, of course, name the figures as *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* (SML. J. 233, J. 235) and at least one shows that they were installed on a pillar (*śilā-stambha*) (SML. J. 234).

The idea of having a *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimā* seems to have its origin partly in the conception of *Samavasaraṇa*. Professor U. P. Shah thinks that this is an advancement of the original idea of *Samavasaraṇa*,[31] but against this view one important point attracts our attention. In *Samavasaraṇa* one and the same Jina is said to have been seen from all the quarters, but in the fourfold figures the Jinas depicted are generally all different Tīrthaṅkaras.

Among all the available figures [32] only nineteen are

fairly complete. Taking Pārśva as facing the onlooker, position of the other Jinas would be as follows (Fig. 34.17):

i. In six figures Ṛṣabha is to the left of Pārśva (SML. 230, J. 234, J. 237; MM. B. 67, B, 73, 15.560).
ii. Only in one case Ṛṣabha is to the right of Pārśva (MM. B. 69).
iii. In four figures Ṛṣabha and Pārśva are seen back to back (SML. J. 238, J. 239, J. 244; MM. B. 68).
iv. Three do not show Ṛṣabha at all (SML. J. 235, MM. B. 70, B. 71), while three others (SML. J. 241, J. 242; MM. 45.3214) totally exclude both Ṛṣabha and Pārśva. In these cases either the sculptor intended to show one and the same Tīrthaṅkara on all sides, or had an idea in mind to depict four different Jinas other than Ṛṣabha and Pārśva.

Besides the different positions of the Jinas, the *Sarvatobhadrikā* figures evince the following noteworthy features:

i. All the Jinas do not necessarily have *śrīvatsa* mark on their chest (e.g. in SML. J. 243 Pārśva has no *śrīvatsa*, in SML. J. 232 only three *Jinas* appear with *śrīvatsa* and in SML. J. 237 none of the *Jinas* has this mark);
ii. Among the four varieties of hair arrangements discussed before, only three are to be seen in these figures, the plain skull type being conspicuously absent;
iii. Inscriptions on the pedestal often start from the Pārśva side (e.g. SML. J. 230, J. 232), which presupposes that this was the front view;
iv. *Sarvatobhadrikās* show two types of pedestals, either plain or with bas-reliefs. The plain type can further be divided under the following subtypes:

Five tiered pedestal on all sides, of which the central tier is the smallest one and the upper and lower two go on receding from top and bottom.
The base platform on all sides shows a standing male and female devotee with folded hands often in foreign garb (SML. J. 231, J. 232, J. 234, J. 237, J. 243; MM. B. 69, B. 70, B. 71) (Pl. 34.VIII.C).
Five tiered pedestal on three sides only (SML. J. 232); the other side has a plain slab originally intended for recording the inscription.
'Cushion and *Kuśa*-grass pattern' is seen on two sides of one figure (SML. J. 230, Pl. 34.VIII.B). This pattern has often been found with the Buddhist icons[33] but very rarely in the Jaina sculptures.
Three tiered pedestals on all sides. This has been found only in one case (SML. J. 240).
In exceptional cases the pedestal is plain on all sides and has no tiers (SML. J. 235).

Pedestals with bas-reliefs:

These are very similar to those which we have discussed in connection with the seated figures and show the usual *Gaṇadharas*, *Śrāvikās*, etc. (SML. J. 233, J. 684, MM. B. 67) (Pl. 34. VIII.A).

It would be worth noting that in this type the two adorants standing on the base platform are usually absent.

MALE DIVINITIES

In the early Jaina pantheon the number of subordinate gods is very limited. The classification of *Bhaumika*, *Vyantara*, *Jyotiṣka* and *Vaimānika devas* has yet to come into existence. Negameśa, Baladeva and Vāsudeva are the only identifiable male divinities of the Kuṣāṇa period, specially at Mathurā.

Negameśa

This goat-headed god is the chief of the divine infantry, but curiously enough, he does not appear with any weapon in his hands. Negameśa is said to have played an important role in the transfer of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of Brāhmaṇī Devanadā to that of Triśalā, a lady of the Kṣatriya clan. Satyabhāmā, wife of Kṛṣṇa is also said to have worshipped Negameśa with a desire to obtain a handsome son earlier than her rival Rukmiṇī. A plaque from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (SML. J. 626) appears to depict one of the above two episodes. Here we find Negameśa seated on a high seat and being adored by a caurī bearer and a lady with wings. In the corner there appears another woman carrying a child in one of her hands.

Negameśa is closely associated with children, and therefore, in his independent images he appears with a number of them—some on his shoulders and some by his sides. His popularity in the Kuṣāṇa age is well attested by the fact that till now ten images of this god have been reported from Mathurā.[34] In addition to this in a tympanum (SML. B. 207, Pl. 34.X) he appears by the side of a female divinity.

Curiously enough, after the Kuṣāṇa period Negameśa suddenly disappears.

Vāsudeva and Baladeva

Later Jaina texts refer to nine Vāsudevas and Bala-

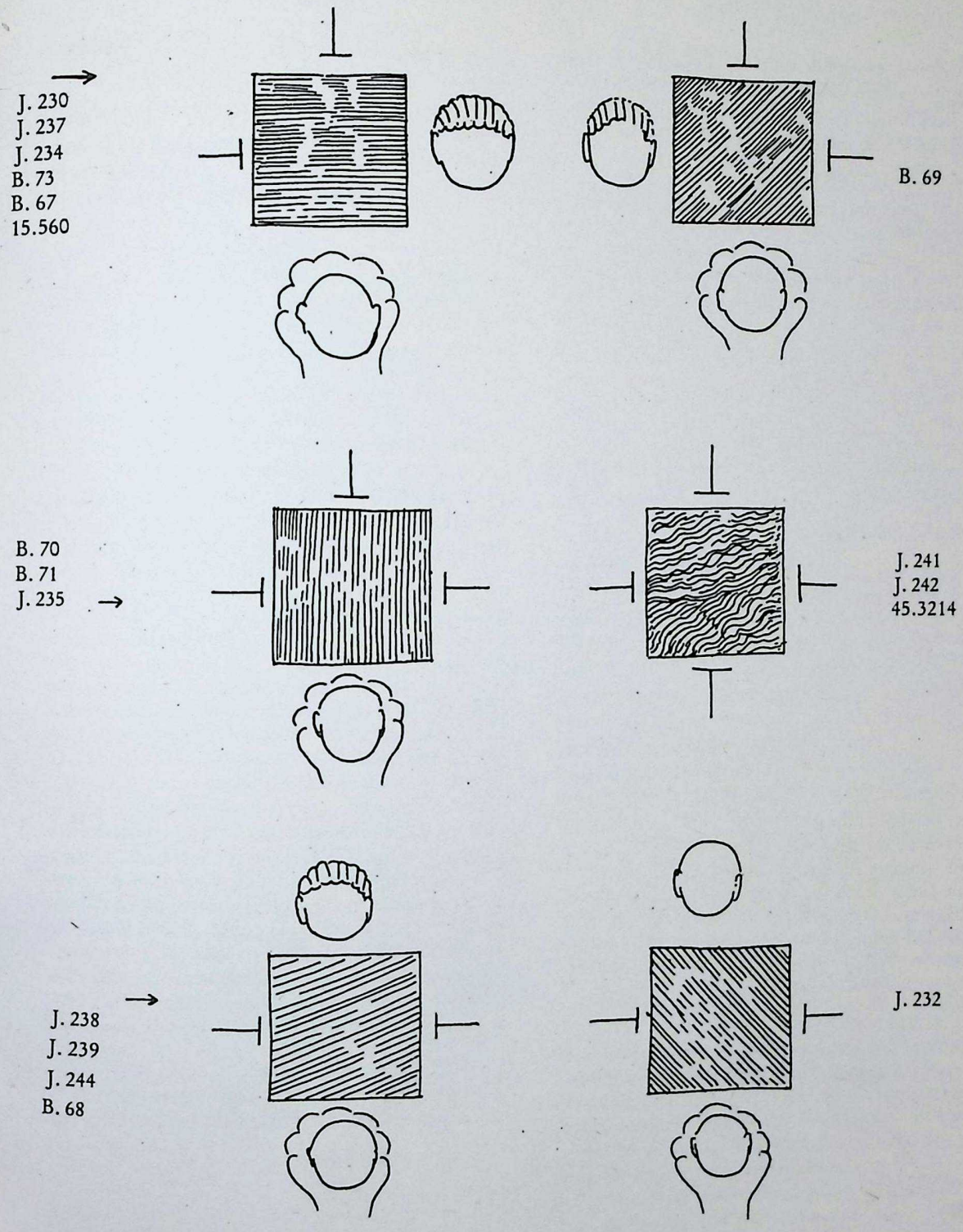


Fig. 34.17 Positions of Pārśva and Ṛsabha in *Sarvatobhadrikā* figures (6 illustrations).

bhadra, but the Kuṣāṇa sculptors perhaps depicted the only two associated with the Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. We have already discussed the two handed and four handed forms of these deities under 'Adorants'.

An unidentified Male Deity:

A tympanum (SML. B. 207, Pl. 34.X) shows three semicircular bands, the uppermost shows a stupā in the center, the second one has a Jina in meditation and the third depicts a female figure flanked by Negameśa on the right and a crowned male on her left side. The latter is seated in *lalitāsana*, and has raised his right hand in the *abhaya* pose. This pose establishes the divine status of the male figure.

Another male figure, well dressed and standing under an ogee arch in the outer premises of the stūpa, is seen in one of the Āyāgapaṭṭas (MM. Q. 2). The figure is badly mutilated, but the way it is represented suggests its superior status.

FEMALE DIVINITIES

The conception of different Yakṣīs or *Śāsanadevatās* associated with each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras is a later development, but even in the Kuṣāṇa times female divinities had already been introduced into the Jaina pantheon. Identifiable are Āryavatī, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī.[35]

Āryavatī:

In the forty-second year of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāṣa, a lady Amohinī by name, installed the famous image of the goddess called Āryavatī. (SML. J. 1). Correct identification of the goddess Āryavatī, her nature and function in the pantheon, are as yet unsolved issues. Some scholars have taken her to be the Mother of Tīrthaṅkara. She holds no weapons or has no specific emblem associated with her, but her divine status can be well imagined since her right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā* and there is the presence of attendants carrying flywhisks and an umbrella.

Sarasvatī (PL. 34.IX.A)

Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning has been beautifully represented in a sculpture installed by Gova, the iron monger in Śaka year 54 (SML. J. 24). Sarasvatī, as the inscription itself names her, is seated in *godohikā āsana*; in her hands are a rosary and a manuscript. She is dressed in a very simple way, with no ornaments and she is being attended by two figures. Actually the number of the attendants was four, but two of them, once appearing on the elevated platforms, are now completely mutilated.

This figure of Sarasvatī, which is the earliest known representation of the goddess, has been profusely illustrated, described and discussed by various scholars.

Lakṣmī:

Lakṣmī at least Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī, was quite popular with the Jainas. She appears in the traditional list of sixteen dreams which a Tīrthaṅkara's Mother happens to see in the period of her pregnancy. Mathurā has yielded a number of Kuṣāṇa Lakṣmī figures, but it is very difficult to call them decisively Jaina images.

However, a fragmentary figure in the Jaina collection of the State Museum, Lucknow, dated in Śaka year 52, deserves special mention (SML.J.23, Pl. 34.IX.C). In its present condition the sculpture shows only two feet and an inscription on the pedestal. The feet with anklets suggest that the figure, in its original shape, depicted a well dressed female deity seated in the same style as the famous Sarasvatī of year 54 discussed above. There could also not have been much difference in the size. The inscription on the pedestal informs that the figure was installed by an iron-monger Gottika, just two years before Gova installed his Sarasvatī. Both Gova and Gottika, the two smiths or iron-mongers, have made these gifts under the instruction of common *vācaka* Āryadeva of Koṭṭīya *Gaṇa*, Verā *Śākhā*, Sthānīya *Kula* and *Śrīgṛha Sambhoga*.

In spite of these similarities the two figures were decidedly different. Sarasvatī puts on no ornaments and is dressed in a very simple way. This perfectly suits her *sāttvika* nature. As against this, it can be reasonably assumed that the female figure of the year 52, when complete, had rich ornaments and fine dress. This would fit well with any goddess of prosperity and fertility. Contemporary figures of Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth, very often sit in the same pose and have anklets on their feet (e.g. SML. 0.210, 50.24, 53.67; MM. C. 30—Lakṣmī in the panel). It can, therefore, be presumed that the figure installed by Gotthika in Śaka year 52 was that of Lakṣmī, and two years after his fellow colleague Gova under the instructions of the same teacher installed a similar Sarasvatī.

Unidentified Female Divinities

At least two figures come under this class, so far as our present data is concerned. They are the following:

i. In the tympanum referred to above (SML. B. 207 Pl. 34.X) the lowermost band shows a squatting female deity in the center. She is being flanked by Negameśa on one side and a crowned male figure on the other. Appearance of the goddess in the line of stūpa and Tīrthaṅkara symbolized her superior status.

ii. Another instance is to be seen in an Āyāgapaṭṭa (MM. Q. 2). Here one can see a lady standing under an ogee arch. The figure is now badly injured, but her right hand raised in *abhaya* pose and left akimbo suggest her divine nature and one immediately recalls the famous Āryavatī, discussed already.

CLOSING REMARKS

This brief survey of the Jaina icons of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā leads us to the following important conclusions:

i. If not all twenty four, at least seven of the Tīrthaṅkaras, namely Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Śāntinātha, Sambhavanātha, Sumatinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra were known to the sculptors, though their respective *lāñchanas* had not yet been introduced.

ii. All the Tīrthaṅkaras had a common *caitya-vṛkṣa* namely *Aśoka*.

iii. The Tīrthaṅkaras had sometimes male and female adorants.

iv. Apart from the Tīrthaṅkaras, the subordinate male and female deities of the pantheon were developing gradually.

ABBREVIATIONS:

SML.	State Museum, Lucknow	BML.	British Museum, London
MM.	Government Museum, Mathura; also called Mathura Museum	IMC.	Indian Museum, Calcutta
NM.	National Museum, New Delhi	SM.	Simla Museum

NOTES:

1. Jain centers in other parts of the country can be listed as follows:

   West Bengal – No traces of pre-Gupta Jaina art. The *Vihāra* at Paharpur flourished in 4th century A.D. Its existence may, however, be presumed earlier.

   Bihar – Sonābhaṇḍār Caves (*c.* 3–4th century A.D.) and some bronze figures (e.g. *Aśoka* Tree and *Dharma-cakra* from Causā, District Bhojpur) assignable to *c.* 1st–2nd century A.D.

   Orissa – Outer walls of the caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri have specimens of Jaina art and iconography (*c.* 1st century B.C.). These have only the auspicious symbols like Sacred Tree (Ananta and Jaya-Vijaya Gumphā), *nandipada* flanked by a *svastika*, *śrīvatsa* and a triangle headed symbol (Khaṇḍagiri, Cave 3, back wall). There is, besides, *Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmi* in some religious and secular scenes. No Jaina figures.

   Western India – Bāwā-pyārā Caves at Junagarh (early centuries of pre-Christian era). Only auspicious symbols are there but no Tīrthaṅkara figures.

   North-West India – No Jaina relics.

   South India – Some natural caverns with early Brāhmī Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country. One Jaina inscription from Pāḷe in Puṇe district, Maharashtra (*c.* 1st century B.C.

   (Information mostly collected from *Jaina Art and Architecture*, New Delhi 1974, pp. 49–103)

2. *Aṅgavijjā*, Nāmājjhāo, p. 152.
3. *Vālmikīya Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālā-kāṇḍa, I.31.13, Gorakhapur 1960, p. 93.
4. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, Varanasi 1966, pp. 280–81.
5. Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Ed. K. L. Janert, Göttingen 1961, no. 136, p. 172.
6. V. N. Srivastava,, 'Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, no. 9, June, 1972, pp. 47-48, Fig. 3.
7. U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras 1955, p. 8, Fig. 3.
8. This mark can be seen on some of the contemporary Buddha and Bodhisattva figures from Mathurā.
9. Auspicious marks on palms, soles, finger tips and toes are found in contemporary Bodhisattva (MM. A. 1, B. 2, B. 9) and the Buddha (SML. B. 5, B. 18, B. 66, B. 48) figures from Mathurā.
10. Recently reported inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Ṣodāsa also shows its earlier use (MM. 79.29).
11. See Appendix V.
12. See Appendix V.
13. See Appendix V.
14. See Appendix V.

15. Bas-reliefs with acolytes: J. 3, J. 5, J. 6, J. 17, J. 18, J. 25, J. 27, J. 29, J. 30, J. 30a, J. 34, J. 35, J. 42, J. 53, J. 59, J. 66, J. 67, J. 69, J. 108, J. 686—all SML. Āyāgapaṭṭa SML. J. 253. Standing figures SML. J. 8, J. 9, J. 10. *Sarvatobhadrikās* SML. J. 233 on all sides MM. B. 67 on all sides.
16. J. E. van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *The 'Scythian Period'* Leiden, 1949, Figs. 39, 42.
17. U. P. Shah writes in his letters dated 12th and 28th September, 1979 'About the two monks squatting on the two sides of the Wheel on the pedestals there is no specific explanation known, but since the pedestals have *Caturvyūha Saṅgha* (*sādhu*, *sādhvī*, *śrāvaka*, and *śrāvikā*) shown on it, we may infer that they are the *Ganadhara* figures squatting.'
18. Images donated by the gents are very few in number such as SML. J. 46, J. 56, J. 67, J. 70, etc.
19. The two *Gaṇadharas* in this case as well as the *vācaka* standing with folded hands are completely naked.
20. During discussions at the Mathurā Seminar in Delhi (1980) Professor Shah made the following observations: These monks with the strips of cloth on their folded hands, have been named as *Ardhaphālaka* for the first time by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, but the word appears only in the later texts. Early works do not give this sort of title. We may, therefore, call them the members of the *Yāpaṇīya* sect, which was half way between the *Digambaras* and *Śvetāmbaras* and was quite old. Full history of the *Yāpaṇiya* sect is yet to be reconstructed.
21. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, no. 113, p. 301.
22. For similar practice in non-Jaina records MM. 71.8, 79.29.
23. See Appendix VI.
24. See Appendix VI.
25. See Appendix VI.
26. Seated Figures SML. J. 4, J. 15, J. 33, J. 60, J. 81, J. 117, J. 120
MM. B. 4, B. 15, B. 63, 34.2488
BML. 1901. 12–24.5
Standing Figures SML. J. 8, J. 76, J. 86
MM. B. 36
Sarvatobhadrikās SML. J. 230, J. 232, J. 234, J. 235, J. 237, J. 238, J. 239, J. 241, J. 244
SM. J. 245
Zoological Gardens, Lucknow J.242
MM. B. 69, B. 70, B. 71
27. SML. J. 4, J. 11, J. 47, J. 58, J. 60, J. 91, J. 102, J. 109, J. 117, J. 20, MM. B. 15, B. 63, 34. 2488, 48. 3426.
28. N. P. Joshi, 'Kṛṣṇa in Art—whether Two armed or Multi-armed', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh*, Nos. 21–24, June 1978–December 1979, pp. 19–24.
29. U. P. Shah, *Jaina Art and Architecture*, chapter 35, p. 468.
30. See Appendix VIII.
31. U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras 1955, pp. 11–12. During the discussions in the Delhi Seminar (1980) Prof. Shah further observed that along with the idea of *samavasaraṇa*, the *sarvatomukha* aspect of the Supreme Deity could also have been one of the main reasons. He added that most of the *Sarvatobhadrikās* appear to have been parts of *Mānastambhas* as a majority of them have tenons and sockets. A few exceptions, of course, could have been there.
32. See Appendix VIII.
33. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *Scythian Period*, Figs. 43, 44.
34. See Appendix IX.
35. See Appendix IX.

Appendix–I

List of dated Jaina Sculptures chronologically arranged

Year	Museum	Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Ruler	Description
42/72	SML.	J.1	59	Śoḍāsa	Āryavatī
299	SML.	J.2	78	..	Jina standing
4	SML.	J.3	16	..	Jina, seated
5	SML.	J.4	17	..	Jina, seated
5	SML.	J.5	18	Kaniṣka	Jina, seated
5	MM.	B.71	20	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
7	SML.	J.6	21	Kaniṣka	Jina, seated
9	SML.	J.7	..	..	Jina, standing
12	SML.	J.686	95	..	Jina, seated
12	BML.	(*Scythian Period*, Fig. 56).			Jina, seated
15	SML.	J.230	24	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*

Appendix I *con't*

Year	Museum	Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Ruler	Description
18	SML.	J.8	26	..	Jina, standing
18	SML.	J.231	25	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
19	SML.	J.232	27	..	*Sarvotobhadrikā*
20	SML.	J.9	28	..	Jina, standing
20	SML.	J.10	29	..	Jina, standing
21	MM.	35.2563	..	..	Āyāgapaṭṭa
22	SML.	J.11	30	..	Jina, seated
25	SML.	J.12	32	..	Jina, standing
29	SML.	J.13	35	..	Jina, standing
29	SML.	J.14	34	....ṣka	Jina, seated
30/31	SML.	J.15	36	..	Jina, seated
30	MM.	78.80	..	..	Jina, seated
32	SML.	J.233	37	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
33	MM.	19–20. 1565	..	..	Jina, seated
35	SML.	J.16	39	..	Jina, seated
35	MM.	B.70	..	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
40	SML.	J.234	48	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
45	SML.	J.17	44	..	Jina, seated
47	SML.	J.18	45	..	Jina, seated
48	SML.	J.19	..	Huviṣka	Jina, seated
49/79	SML.	J.20	47	..	Jina, seated
50	SML.	J.21	49	..	Jina, seated
50	SML.	J.22	50	..	Jina, seated
50	MM.	B.29	..	Huviṣka	Jina, seated
52	SML.	J.23	..	..	Lakṣmī?
54	SML.	J.24	54	..	Sarasvatī
57	MM.	B.15	..	..	Jina, standing
58/44	SML.	J.25 + 113	42	Huviṣka	Jina, seated
60/40	SML.	J.26	56	Huviṣka	Jina, seated
62	SML.	J.27	58	..	Jina, seated
62	IMC.	...	57	...	.. ..
71	SML.	J.28	..	..	Jina, standing
74	SML.	J.684	..	..	*Sarvatobhadrikā*
80	SML.	J.29	..	..	Jina, seated
80	SML.	J.30	66	Vāsudeva	Jina, seated
81	SML.	J.30a	67	..	Jina, seated
82	SML.	J.31	82	..	Jina, seated
83	MM.	B.2	68	Vāsudeva	Jina, seated
83	MM.	B.3	69	..	Jina, seated
84	MM.	B.4	69a	Vāsudeva	Jina, seated
84	MM.	14.490	...	..	Jina, seated
86	SML.	J.32	70	Vāsudeva	Jina, seated
87	SML.	J.33	71	..	Jina, seated
90	MM.	B.5	73	..	Jina, seated
93	SML.	J. 34	74	..	Kaṇha *Śramaṇa paṭṭa*
95/50/20	SML.	J. 623	75	..	Jina, seated
98	SML.	J. 35	77	..	

Total 35+9+1+3+8+1+1 = 58

Appendix IIa

List of the Āyāgapaṭṭas

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 248	*Cakra-paṭṭa*
J. 250	*Nandyāvarta-paṭṭa* with Jina
J. 251	.. ..
J. 252	*Jina-bimba-paṭṭa*
J. 253	*Jina-bimba-paṭṭa*, Pārśvanātha
J. 255	*Stūpa-paṭṭa*
J. 256	*Bhadrāsana-paṭṭa*
J. 257	.. ..
J. 260	.. ..
J. 264	*Nandyāvarta-paṭṭa*
J. 686a	.. ..

Mathura Museum (Government Museum, Mathura):

Q. 3	shows Elephant pillar
15. 569	.. ..
20–21. 1603	*Stūpa-paṭṭa*
35. 2563	*Nandyāvarta-paṭṭa* of Śaka year 21
48. 3426	*Jina-bimba-paṭṭa*

Simla Museum:

J. 247 *Nandyāvarta-paṭṭa*

Patna Museum:

It is an inscribed *paṭṭa* broken in the middle showing clockwise in outer border a conch, bull, winged tiger, elephant with face of a rhinoceros and a winged tiger. The middle field shows three *triratnas* (fourth broken) centered by a full blown lotus. The inscription runs in three lines.

National Museum, New Delhi:

J. 249 *Jina-bimba-paṭṭa*

Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest:

Almost quarter fragment showing a seated Jina with an umbrella over his head. No *Śrīvatsa* mark appears on the chest, while the skull is plain. In the border frame three *maṅgalas* namely *śrīvatsa*, *śarāvasampuṭa* (double pots one over the other) and *Triratna* are to be seen.

(Vera Horvath, 'Mathura Art in Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 14, Dec. 1974, p. 21 at serial 11).

Total number = 20

Appendix IIb

List of the *Śilāpaṭṭas*:

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 1	Amohinī *Śilāpaṭṭa*
J. 254	One recording installation of Vardhamāna *pratimā*.
J. 618	Fragment showing *śaṅkha-nidhi* and winged animals.
B. 128	
B. 146	

Mathura Museum:

Q. 2	Stūpa-*paṭṭa*.
33. 2313	Slab for worshipping the *Arhats*.

National Museum, New Delhi:

J. 555	Tympanum

Appendix III

List of Jaina Themes:

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 355 + J. 609	*Dikṣā-kalyāṇaka* of Ṛṣabha
J. 535	Worship of stūpa
J. 626	Transfer of embryo or Satyabhāmā approaching Negameśa.
J. 623	Kaṇha *śramaṇa* preaching to a lady
B. 205	Tympanum showing worship of stūpa, Tīrthaṅkara and a female Divinity.

Appendix IV

List of the seated Tīrthaṅkara figures: Inscribed and Dated

Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Jina	Date in Śaka year	Ruler
State Museum, Lucknow:				
J. 3 (Pl. 34.IV.B)	16	..	4	..
J. 4	17	..	5	..
J. 5	18	Vardhamāna	5	Kaniṣka
J. 6	21	..	7	
J. 11 (Pl. 34.V.A)	30	..	22	
J. 14	34	Vardhamāna	29	
J. 15	36	..	30	
J. 16	39	Vardhamāna	35	
J. 17	44	..	45	
J. 18	45	Nandisura ?	47	

Appendix IV *con't*

Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Jina	Date in Śaka year	Ruler
J. 19	..	Sambhavanātha	48	Huviṣka
J. 20	47	Suvrata ?	49/79	
J. 21	..	..	50	
J. 22	..	Vardhamāna	50	
J. 25 + J. 113	42	Pārśvanātha	58	Huviṣka
J. 26	56	Ṛṣabha	60	Huviṣka
J. 27	58	..	62	
J. 29	..	..	80	
J. 30	66	..	80	Vāsudeva
J. 30a	67	..	81	
J. 31	31	Vardhamāna	82	
J. 32	..	..	86	
J. 33	..	..	87	
J. 34	74	Vardhamāna	93	
J. 35	77	..	95/98	
J. 686	95	..	12	
Mathura Museum (Government Museum, Mathura):				
B. 2	68	..	83	Vāsudeva
B. 3	69	..	83	..
B. 4	69a	Ṛṣabha	84	Vāsudeva
B. 5	73	..	(90)	
B. 15	..	..	57	
B. 29	51	..	50	Huviṣka
14. 490	..	Vardhamāna	84	
19–20. 1565	..	..	33	
78. 80	..	..	30	
British Museum, London:				
..			12	(*Scythian Period*, Fig 56)

Seated Tīrthaṅkara figures, Inscribed but Undated:

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 39	Pārśva	J. 66	..
J. 41	..	J. 67	Pārśva
J. 43	..	J. 69	Ṛṣabha
J. 45	Vardhamāna	J. 70	..
J. 47	Nemi	J. 72	..
J. 53		J. 73	..
J. 54	..	J. 74	..
J 56	..	J. 91	..
J. 58	Ṛṣabha	J. 102	..
J. 59	Vardhamāna	J. 117	Nemi
J. 60	Nemi	J. 120	..
J. 62	..	J. 124	..
J. 64	..	J. 137	..
J. 65	..		

Appendix IV *con't*

Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Jina	Date in Śaka year	Ruler
Mathura Museum (Government Museum, Mathura):				
B. 13	..		14. 397	..
B. 14	..		17. 790	..
B. 17	..		17. 1262	..
B. 18	Vardhamāna		17. 1263	..
12. 272	..		32. 2126	Vardhamāna
13. 291	..			

List of Seated but Uninscribed Tīrthaṅkara Figures

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 81, J. 101, J. 108, J. 109

Mathura Museum:

B. 8, B. 9, B. 12, B. 16, B. 27, B. 30, B. 63, 14. 397, 15. 794, 29. 1977, 30. 2082, 34. 2488, 15. 577

Kishori Ramana Intermediate College, Mathura:

one* (Pl. 3)

British Museum, London:

1901. 12–24.5

Seated Tīrthaṅkara Figures, Inscribed and Dated....	36
Seated Tīrthaṅkara Figures, Inscribed but Undated...	38
Seated Tīrthaṅkara Figures, Uninscribed and Undated...	19
	93

* As per my latest information the Jina figure is no longer in the Collge. Its present location could not be traced.

Appendix V

Styles of hair arrangements

I. *Heads with plain skulls*

Figures:

State Museum, Lucknow – J. 39, J. 96, J. 114, J. 252, J. 354 and J. 609, J. 623

Detached Heads:

State Museum, Lucknow – J. 147, J. 157, J. 185, J. 189, J. 190, J. 194, J. 196, J. 197, J. 199, J. 210, J. 218, J. 226, 66.83

Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest – One (Appendix IIA)
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay — J. 152b, J. 152c
Simla Museum – J. 224
Mathura Museum – B. 78

Total 18 + 7 = 25

II *Heads with hair combed back*

Figures:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 26, J. 58, J. 69
Mathura Museum	B. 4, B. 36
Sarvatobhadrikās:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 230, J. 237, J. 238, J. 244
Mathura Museum, Mathurā	B. 67, B. 68, B. 69
Simla Museum, Simla	J. 239
Detached Heads:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 167, J. 299

Total 5 + 8 + 2 = 15

III *Heads with notched hair*

Figures:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 8, J. 111, J. 25 + 113, J. 120
Mathura Museum	B. 37, B. 63
Sarvatobhadrikās:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 230, J. 234, J. 242, J. 243
Mathura Museum	B. 67, B. 69, B. 70, B. 71
Simla Museum	J. 239, J. 245 (now 66. 231)
Detached heads:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 150, J. 165, J. 166, J. 171, J. 180, J. 198, J. 215, J. 220, J. 221, surplus 6
Mathura Museum	34. 2499, B. 47
Simla Museum	J. 214
British Museum, London	1901.12–24.7

Total 6 + 10 + 14 = 30

IV *Heads with round spirals*

Figures:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 15, J. 60, J. 76, J. 81, J. 91, J. 109, J. 686
Mathura Museum	B. 53, 14. 489, 29. 1941, B. 37
British Museum, London	1901.12–24.5
Kishori Ramana Intermediate College, Mathurā	One figure
Sarvatobhadrikās:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 230, J. 234, J. 235, J. 241, J. 243
Mathura Museum, Mathurā	B. 69, B. 70, B. 71
Detached Heads:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 148, J. 169, J. 172, J. 173, J. 174, J. 177, J. 178, J. 187, J. 191, J. 192, J. 193, J. 195, J. 201, J. 204, J. 207, J. 219, J. 223, J. 229a, J. 212, J. 216
Mathura Museum	B. 46, B. 48, B. 62, 15. 566
Simla Museum	J. 163, J. 205
British Museum, London	1901.12–24.6
Rijks Museum Voor Volkerkunde, Leiden	2185–1, 3217–1

Total 13 + 8 + 29 = 50

Appendix VI

Inscriptions mentioning the ṛtus

he. for *Hemanta* (*Mārgaśirṣa* to *Phālguna*):

Lüders Nos.	18, 19, 20, 21, 32, 33, 34, 37, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 70, 72, 77, 78
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 7, J. 21, J. 23, J. 35
Mathura Museum	B. 29, B. 70, B. 71
	Total 31

grī, standing for *Grīśma* (*Caitra* to *Āṣāḍha*):

Lüders Nos.	16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 42, 45, 57, 61, 63, 68, 71, 75
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 29, J. 31
Mathura Museum	B. 2, B. 3, B. 4, 19–20. 1565
	Total 25

va. stands for *Varṣā* (*Śrāvaṇa* to *Kārtika*):

Lüders Nos.	22, 26, 27, 36, 39, 43, 44, 47, 58, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 76, 87, 88
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 19, J. 28
Mathura Museum	B. 31, 14. 490
	Total 23

Appendix VII

List of the Standing Tīrthaṅkara Figures

Inscribed and Dated:

Acc. No.	Lüders No.	Name of the Jina	Year mentioned in the inscription
State Museum, Lucknow			
J. 2 (Pl. 34.VII.B)	78	Mahāvīra	299 (unspecified era)
J. 7	..	..	9
J. 8 (Pl. 34.VII.A)	26	Ariṣṭanemi	18
J. 9	28	Vardhamāna	20
J. 10	29	..	20
J. 12	32	..	22
J. 13	35	Pārśva	29
J. 28	..	..	71

Inscribed but undated:

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 38, J. 42, J. 46, J. 48, J. 63, J. 68, J. 75 + 82, J. 76

Mathura Museum:

15. 972

Uninscribed:

State Museum, Lucknow:

J. 86, J. 125

Mathura Museum:

B. 32, B. 34, B. 35, B. 36, B. 43, 34. 2483, 67. 170

Total 8 + 9 + 9 = 26

Appendix VIII

List of the Sarvatobhadrikā Figures

Acc. No.	Lüders' No.	Date	Jinas identified
State Museum, Lucknow:			
J. 230 (Pl. 34.VIII.B)	24	15	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 231 (Pl. 34.VIII.C)		18	.. ..
J. 232	27	19	Pārśva, Śānti
J. 233	37	32	.. ..
J. 234	48	40	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 235	122	..	Pārśva
J. 237	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 238	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 240	..	..	.. ..
J. 241	..	..	Three Jinas but neither Pārśva or Ṛṣabha
J. 243	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 244	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
J. 246	..	..	Pārśva
J. 684	..	74	.. ..
Lucknow Zoological Gardens, Lucknow:			
J. 242	..	..	.. ..
Simla Museum:			
J. 239	..	..	Ṛṣabha
J. 245 (66. 231)	..	.. ..	
Mathura Museum:			
B. 67 (Pl. 34.VIII.A)		..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
B. 68	107g	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
B. 69	107h	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
B. 70	19	35	Pārśva, but no Ṛṣabha
B. 71	20	5	Pārśva, but no Ṛṣabha
B. 72	..	..	Pārśva
B. 73	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
12. 276	..	..	.. ..
15. 560	..	..	Pārśva, Ṛṣabha
45. 3209	..	..	.. ..
45. 3214	..	..	No Pārśva or Ṛṣabha

Total 28

Appendix IX

Male Divinities	
Negameśa:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 188, J. 626, B. 207
Mathura Museum	E. 1, 15. 909, 15. 1001, 15. 1046, 34. 2547, 15. 1115, 34. 2482, 54. 3803
Baladeva and Vāsudeva:	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 4, J. 47, J. 60, J. 117
Mathura Museum	B. 15, 34. 2488
Female Divinities	
State Museum, Lucknow	J. 1 (Āryavatī), J. 23 (Lakṣmī?), J. 24 (Sarasvatī), B. 207 (Goddess on Tympanum)
Mathura Museum	E. 2, E. 3, 15. 1799, 16. 1210 (all goat headed goddesses), 14. 397(?), E. 20 (?)

35. Yakṣas of Ancient Mathurā

GRITLI v. MITTERWALLNER

INTRODUCTION:

The Yakṣas of ancient India, *in general*, have been investigated by several known scholars in a number of publications.[1] However, investigations on the Yakṣas at specific sites or cities, have so far been neglected. We know of only one article on the Yakṣas of an ancient Indian city, Vārāṇasī, by V. S. Agrawala and Moti Chandra.[2] There seems to be as yet no particular work on the Yakṣas of the ancient city of Mathurā, one of the cradles of early Indian art.

The present paper deals with some aspects of the Yakṣas of Mathurā. Due to lack of space it is not possible to discuss in detail each facet of the numerous types of representations of Yakṣas in and around Mathurā, nor to investigate the Yakṣīs, who form a subject in themselves. Within the limit of a certain number of pages it seems more advisable to concentrate on the evidence of a few important Yakṣas of ancient Mathurā than to generalize on all of them. If necessary we shall cite Yakṣas from outside Mathurā to ascertain the impact the ancient school of Mathurā may have had on other regions and sites.

The representations of Yakṣas in and around Mathurā can be divided in two categories: First there are those standing or seated Yakṣas, who, carved either in the round or in high relief, may have served as cult images; second there are those representations of Yakṣas who were not meant to be objects of worship *per se*, but rather attended on some worshipped personage or cult emblem.

The inscribed standing Yakṣa from Parkham and the inscribed seated Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā belong to the first category.

I. 1) THE YAKṢA FROM PARKHAM

Being the 'ancestor of much of subsequent Indian statuary', as V. S. Agrawala[3] rightly observed, the colossal 2.62 meter tall Yakṣa, found at Parkham, No. C 1 in the Government Museum of Mathurā, henceforth cited as GMM, has been discussed by many scholars.[4] In our opinion the best compilation on this statue is to be found in H. Lüders' book on the Mathurā inscriptions, edited and published posthumously by K. L. Janert.[5] Like O. C. Gangoly[6] and V. S. Agrawala,[7] H. Lüders held the firm opinion that the image of Parkham represents a Yakṣa[8] but not Kubera as J. Ph. Vogel believed.[9]

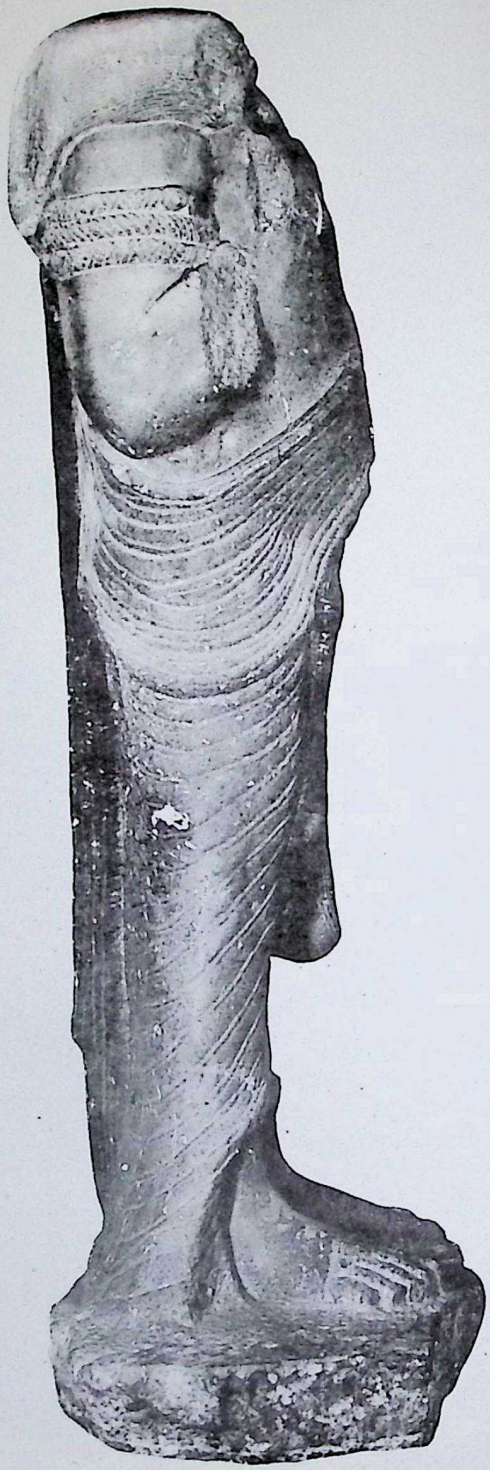
H. Lüders' reading of the inscription, incised in three lines around the feet of the Yakṣa on the surface of the pedestal, appears to be the most convincing. He read the record in early Brāhmī characters in the following way:

1 (Mā) nibhadapuge [h]i kā(r)i(t)ā (bha)ga[va]to (patimā)
2 aṭha(h)i [bhātu]hi
3 Kuṇikatevāsinā Gomitakena katā[10]

The inscription discloses that 'the image of the Holy One was caused to be made by eight brothers, members of the Mānibhada (*Māṇibhadra*) congregation. It has been made by Gomitaka (*Gomitraka*), the pupil of Kuṇika.'[11] *Bhagavat* or 'the Holy One', according to the restoration of H. Lüders, is a title which had been applied in ancient times to other Yakṣas as well, as for example to the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra near Kauśāmbī[12] and to the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra of Pawaya, the ancient city Padmāvatī,[13] also to the Regents of the Quarters (*Mahārājas*), 'amongst whom is Kubera, Regent of the

Pl. 35.I Yakṣa from Parkham, GMM, of the time of the Mitra Kings, 1st cent. B.C., front view (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.II.A Yaksa from Parkham, GMM, of the time of the Mitra kings, 1st cent. B.C., view of the proper right side (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).



Pl. 35.II.B Yakṣa from Patna, Indian Museum, Calcutta, ca. 1st cent. B.C., view of the proper right side (Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum).

Pl. 35.III Yakṣa from Pawaya (Padmāvatī), Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, 2nd cent. A.D., front view (Reproduced courtesy of the Gwalior Museum).

Pl. 35.IV Yakṣa from Pawaya (Padmāvatī), Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, 2nd cent. A.D. view of the money-bag at the proper left side, from below (Reproduced courtesy of the Gwalior Museum).

Pl. 35.V Yakṣa from Parkham, GMM, of the time of the Mitra kings, 1st cent. B.C., view of the proper left side (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.VI "Bodhisattva" in SML, of the time of the Kṣatrapas (?), 1st cent. A.D., front view (Reproduced courtesy of the Lucknow Museum).

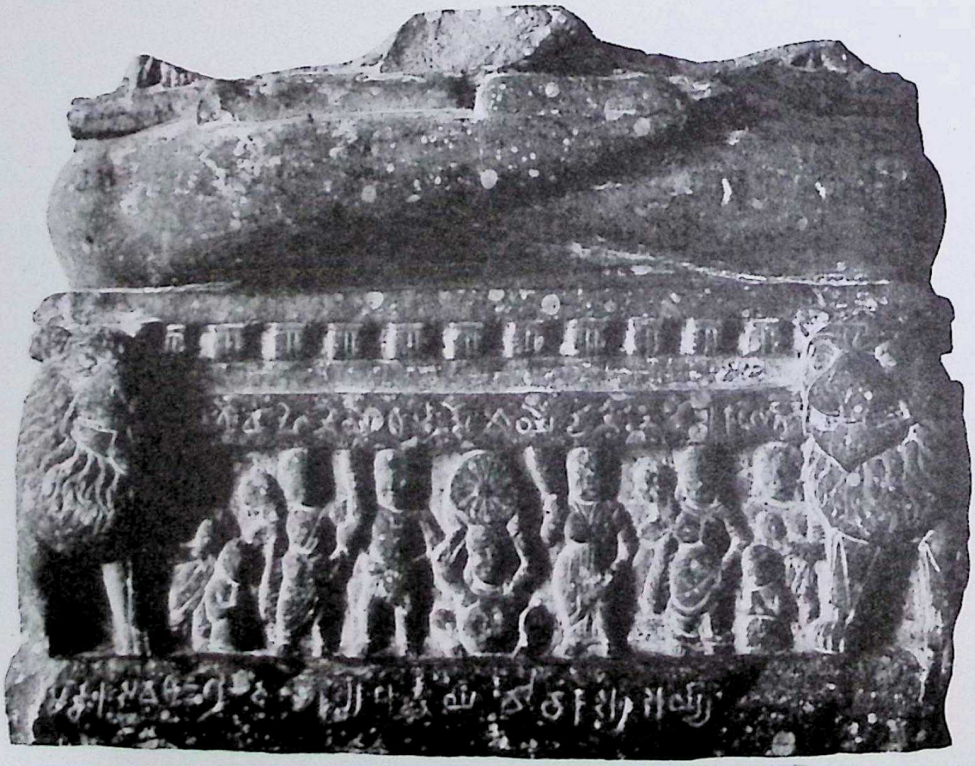
Pl. 35.VII.B Kubera in GMM, of the time of the "later" Kuṣāṇas, ca. end of the 3rd cent. A.D., view of the proper left side (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.VII.A "Bodhisattva" in SML, of the time of the Kṣatrapas (?), 1st cent. A.D., view of the proper right side (Reproduced courtesy of the Lucknow Museum).

Pl. 35.VIII Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, GMM, of the time of the early Gupta kings, 4th cent. A.D., front view (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.IX Brāhmī-inscription of two lines on pedestal of Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, GMM, of the early Gupta kings, 4th cent. A.D. (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.X.A Kubera from Mathurā, State Museum of Ethnology, Munich, late Kuṣāṇa time, ca. 3rd cent. A.D. (Photo copyright: State Museum of Ethnology, Munich).



Pl. 35.X.B Inscribed pedestal of a Jina of the year 22 of the time of the "later" Kuṣāṇas, ca. 3rd cent. A.D., SML (Reproduced courtesy of the Lucknow Museum).

Pl. 35.XI.A Bust of Yakṣa from Mathurā, State Museum of Ethnology, Munich, earlier Kuṣāṇa time, 2nd cent. A.D. (Photo copyright: State Museum of Ethnology, Munich).

Pl. 35.XI.B Headless seated Yakṣa from Govindnagar, GMM, late Kusāna time, ca. 3rd cent. A.D. (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.XII Bowl-supporting Yakṣa from Govindnagar, GMM, early Kṣatrapa time, 1st century A.D. (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.XIII Fragment with two worshippers and two bowl-supporting Yakṣas, GMM, mid-Kuṣāṇa time, 2nd cent. A.D. (Reproduced courtesy of the Mathurā Museum).

Pl. 35.XIV Slab from Amarāvāti, British Museum, Sātavāhanas, "Late Phase", ca. end of the 2nd cent. A.D. (Photo copyright: Trustees of the British Museum, London).

North, himself a Yakṣa'.[14] Although the word 'Yakṣa' is not directly mentioned in the Parkham inscription, it is clear from the compound: (*Mā*)*nibhadapuga* that only the Yakṣa with the name *Maṇibhadra* could have been meant; he was the object of worship of the congregation or guild.[15]

J. Ph. Vogel[16] and H. Lüders[17] dated the inscription to the second century B.C. D. C. Sircar assigned it to '*circa* second half of the 1st century B.C.'[18] and H. Plaeschke to the late Mitra-Epoch of the School of Mathurā.[19]

Description

The impressive *unifacial* Yakṣa, with a conspicuous paunch, is not carved in *samapāda-sthānaka* (i.e. with his weight evenly distributed on both feet, as is for instance the Yakṣa from Besnagar[20] and the Yakṣa from Patna[21]), but stands with a straight right leg and with a flexed left leg, receiving less weight (Pl. 35.I).

Both his arms and hands are broken off at the armpits. Fortunately the form of the armlets (*keyūras*) has been preserved. They display the same outlines as the *keyūras* of the '*Kupiro Yakho*' (*Kubera Yakṣa*) from Bhārhut[22] (i.e. they consist of a central member with a pointed head and two rolled up volutes flanking it on either side). However, in contrast to the example from Bhārhut, the three members are not decorated with fan-nerved ribs, but are plain.

The Yakṣa with a club in his right hand and a human being in his left hand, No. 00.I 18 in the GMM, as well as a flywhisk-bearer (*cāmara-dhara*), in the same Museum, wear similarly shaped *keyūras*.[23] We date the former to the same early time as the Yakṣa from Parkham (i.e. to approximately the second half of the first cent. B.C.).

To restore the *mudrā* and attribute of the lost hands of the Yakṣa from Parkham, we have to look for comparative examples outside of the ateliers of Mathurā where there is better preserved material. The first question to be asked is: does the Yakṣa from Parkham hold a flywhisk (*cāmara*) over his right shoulder?[24] Comparing the proper right side of the Parkham Yakṣa (Pl. 35.II.A) with the proper right side of the Yakṣa from Patna in the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Pl. 35.II.B), the idea of a *cāmara* as an object in the right hand of the Parkham Yakṣa has to be discarded. Had he carried a *cāmara* over his right shoulder, like the Yakṣa from Patna, marks of the flywhisk would have remained on his shoulder; but there are none.

The second question concerns the attribute originally placed in his left hand. Two ancient standing Yakṣas, the colossal Yakṣa from Besnagar of 3.36 meters in height[25] and the Yakṣa from Pawaya[26] (Pl. 35.III), still hold perfectly preserved money bags in their lowered left hands close to their hips. That the bag in the left hand of the Yakṣa from Pawaya was meant to be filled with coins is demonstrated by the representation of round and squarish coins carved in the topmost part of the bag of this Yakṣa (Pl. 35.IV).[27]

Bearing these two Yakṣas in mind, it seems safe to conclude that the raised ridge which slants across the end of the scarf that hangs down on the proper left side of the body of the Yakṣa from Parkham represents the remnants of a bag (Pl. 35.V).[28]

As regards the *mudrā* of the missing right hand of the Yakṣa from Parkham, a comparison with the Yakṣas from Besnagar and Pawaya provides no definite clues. Although both images most probably held their right hands in the protection granting *abhaya-mudrā*, their right arms and hands have been carved attached to the upper body (Pl. 35.III), while the right arm of the Yakṣa from Parkham was detached from the chest (Pl. 35.I). This is the reason why more of the right arms and hands of the Yakṣas from Besnagar and Pawaya, as well as the right arm and hand of the Yakṣa from Noh (Bharatpur District)[29] have been preserved.

We know of only one colossal cult image of early time, the headless standing 'Bodhisattva' in the State Museum of Lucknow (henceforth cited as SML), whose right hand had been carved detached from the chest but is still fortunately preserved.[30] The Bodhisattva still raises his right hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* (Pl. 35.VI). To support the right hand in this *mudrā*, the artist connected it to the shoulder by means of a thick cushion, decorated with stripes of beads and a textile-like leaf-design (Pl. 35.VII.A).

May we assume the same position for the right hand of the Yakṣa from Parkham? Probably not. There exist no breakage marks indicative of a cushion on the proper right side of his shoulder (Pl. 35.II.A). Rather the right hand of the Yakṣa from Parkham must have been raised directly in front of the shoulder, unbacked by a cushion, because the front of the right shoulder was left in a roughly chiselled condition in contrast to the smooth front of the left shoulder on which even the volutes of the *keyūra* had been finalized (Pl. 35.I). Obviously the artist did not bother to smoothen the front of the right shoulder and to finish the outlines of the *keyūra* on it because he knew that they would be concealed from view by the Yakṣa's raised right forearm and hand. The direction of the missing right arm becomes practically certain by following the strokes of the chiselling marks on the proper right side of the Yakṣa's chest and on scarf wound around it (Pl. 35.II.A).

Provided our restoration of the money bag in his left hand and the *abhaya-mudrā* of his right hand is correct, the Yakṣa from Parkham must have served the dual function of a wealth bestowing and a protecting divinity.

The head of the Yakṣa from Parkham is badly mutilated, but enough of it remains to demonstrate that he had the same large earrings as the *dvārapālas* at the entrance-doorway to Cave 4 at Pitalkhora.[31] Furthermore his facial expression was not yet conceived in a demonical or terrifying manner as for instance the features of the face of the seated Yakṣa in the Museum of Allahabad[32] and of one of the three addorsed standing Yakṣas in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan Museum in Vārāṇasī.[33] Both are characterized by a broad open or grinning mouth, a flat nose, and the Vārāṇasī-Yakṣa, has in addition, large, bulging eyes. If we compare the Yakṣa from Parkham with these much later Yakṣas of *ca.* the third and fourth centuries A.D., it becomes evident that the former adheres to the early phase of the Yakṣa tradition, in which the Yakṣas, carved as cult images, were thought to be more or less benevolent divinities, while the last mentioned ones represent a later stage of evolution, in which the Yakṣas turned into malevolent beings who were feared as red-eyed 'cannibals'. This change may be witnessed not only in the visual art, but also in literature, for instance in some stories of the *Jātakas* and of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[34]

According to O. C. Gangoly the Yakṣa image from Parkham represents *Gardabhaka*, the presiding genius of Mathurā.[35] A Yakṣa of this name is mentioned in the list of Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, as being stationed in Mathurā,[36] and in the Gilgit texts.[37] This Yakṣa may be visualized with the head of an ass or at least with the ears of an ass, if the appellation *Gardabhaka* (= anybody resembling an ass) had bearing on his looks. He terrified the people of Mathurā by devouring their children and hence had to be pacified by the Buddha during the latter's alleged stay in Mathurā.[38] As legend has it, he desisted from cruelty only when the Brahmans 'of the place' agreed to build monasteries for the (Buddhist) monks.[39] However, the Yakṣa from Parkham does not have an ass's head nor is he portrayed with the pointed ears (*śaṅku-karṇa*) of an ass or a horse. Although his ears, particularly the left one, are badly damaged, enough remains to show that their upper part was rounded (Pls. 35.I; 35.II.A; 35.V).

Contrary to the Yakṣa from Parkham several representations of Yakṣas in the GMM do display *śaṅku-karṇas*; this is one of the most characteristic features of early Yakṣas, not only of the School of Mathurā but also of other art centres. To the former belong: 1) the detached turbaned head, rightly identified by N. P. Joshi as being part of a Yakṣa,[40] 2) the head of a Yakṣa on a railing-post,[41] 3) a drum-player,[42] 4) a two-tailed Yakṣa in a medallion,[43] 5) a Yakṣa, obviously serving as a decorative motif,[44] 6) a Yakṣa, squatting in a cave under a Yakṣī[45] and 7) the bowl-supporting Yakṣa from Govindnagar;[46] to other art centres belong: 1) the faces of Yakṣas (?) on coins, found at Taxila, dated by M. Mitchiner to 'circa 190 to 168 BC',[47] 2) the doorguardian (*dvārapāla*) Yakṣas of Cave 3 at Pitalkhora and the bowl-supporting Yakṣa of the same site,[48] 3) the colossal Yakṣa-head at Kondane,[49] 4) the Yakṣas of the western *toraṇa* of Stūpa I at Sāñcī[50] and 5) the garland-bearing Yakṣas from Amarāvatī.[51]

None of the above named Yakṣas with *śaṅku-karṇas* from Mathurā, Pitalkhora, Kondane, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī seem to have served as cult images for worship as did the Yakṣa from Parkham. From the point of view of their ear formation they may be classified among Yakṣas incorporating a hybrid element of therianthropic origin,[52] whereas the Yakṣa from Parkham has been carved in entirely human form.

The Gilgit Texts mention two further Yakṣas by name, *Śara* and *Vana*, who were supposed to be among the 3,500 Yakṣas, pacified by the Buddha in and near Mathurā.[53] A story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* speaks of a Yakṣa who guarded a treasure deposited outside the township of Mathurā.[54] *Bhaṇḍīra Jakkha* was a popular deity in Mathurā whose abode was *Bhaṇḍīravana*, to which the people of Mathurā flocked in pilgrimage. J. C. Jain associated it with *Vṛṇdāvana*.[55]

The Yakṣa from Parkham cannot be identified with these Yakṣas. Rather he appears to have occupied the status of a tutelary deity of a group of merchants. On the basis of epigraphic evidence we know that a Yakṣa, named Maṇibhadra, was worshipped by traders also in other important commercial cities, like Kosam (*Kauśāmbī*)[56] and Pawaya (*Padmāvatī*).[57]

The inscription from Kosam provides a further clue. D. C. Sircar has rightly recognized, 'the Yakṣa *Māṇibhadra* or *Maṇibhadra* was regarded in ancient India as the deity especially worshipped by travellers and caravans', whose protector he was. He cites a passage from the *Mahābhārata*[58] as evidence for his theory.

Being worshipped by merchants and travellers may account for the installation of the colossal Yakṣas from Parkham and Baroda[59] in places peripheral to the trade emporium Mathurā. These sites obviously served as trade-relay stations at the roads leading to and from Mathurā. Both Parkham and Baroda may have been situated at the grand trunk road leading from Mathurā to the cities in the Gangetic Valley,[60] while Palwal to

the Northwest of Mathurā, where the bust of another monumental Yakṣa was found,[61] lay at the grand trunk road from Mathurā to Gandhāra.

The Yakṣa from Baroda, of whom only the head, upper body and feet on a pedestal survived, must have been even more impressive, measuring approximately 12 feet (3.60 meters) when entire[62], than the Yakṣa from Parkham. This Yakṣa also seems to have been created somewhat earlier than the Yakṣa from Parkham, which would further push back the age of the Yakṣa cult at Mathurā. That the colossal Yakṣas from Parkham and Baroda were not meant to be divinities of a princely court, but mainly of traders, is indicated, according to Th. Damsteegt, by the non-Sanskritized language of the inscription on the pedestal of the Yakṣa from Parkham; it is composed in the vernacular or 'Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.'[63] On the other hand, the conception and fine workmanship of these two Yakṣas do not betray the hand of a village sculptor but one of an artist of high calibre from an urban atelier of a princely court.

I. 2) THE YAKSA FROM KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ AND KUBERA NO. 18.1506:

Subsequent to the colossal Yakṣa cult images from Parkham and Baroda, Yakṣas were still created, but in diminished size. Most of these later Yakṣas belong to the second category, i.e. attending Yakṣas. Very few later Yakṣas represent genuine cult images. These can be distinguished only with difficulties from cult images of Kubera or Vaiśravaṇa, the Lord of the Yakṣas. Both Yakṣas and Kubera or Vaiśravaṇa, now often seem to be characterized by the same attributes and mudrās.

For instance, the two following standing images have been identified by scholars either as a Yakṣa or Kubera: 1) The standing figure of early Kuṣāṇa time (No. Add. 613 in the GMM), measuring 27 cm in height, has a club in his left arm, a purse in his left hand; his right hand is raised in the *abhaya mudrā*. J. Ph. Vogel identified this image as a Yakṣa,[64] J. Marshall took it as 'Kuvera'.[65] 2) The standing image of late Kuṣāṇa time (No. 18.1506 in the same museum), measuring 78.5 cm in height, likewise raises the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* and carries a money-bag in his left hand, but in this image the club is absent. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw identified it as a Yakṣa,[66] J. C. Harle as a Yakṣa or Kubera[67] (Pl. 35.VII.B). It is difficult to decide which identification is correct. The money-bag and abhaya mudrā can be, as we have seen, attributes of the early colossal Yakṣa images. Later on they also characterize images of Kubera. The club likewise is attributable not only to the Yakṣa *Mudgara-pāṇi*,[68] but also to Kubera, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*.[69] The feature of a lateral antefix, attached to the headgear, however, seems to decide the question in favour of Kubera, the Lord of Wealth, Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of the sixth century A.D. describes Kubera as *vāma-kirīṭin*,[70] one who wears a diadem on the left side (of his head). The author of a passage in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* on Dhanada or Kubera repeats this description in a different wording, but in the same sense.[71]

Correspondingly, the artist who carved the lintel of a doorway to a Buddhist establishment in Sārnāth in the sixth century A.D. fashioned the seated Kubera in the proper right corner of the lintel with a sack and a fruit in his left and right hands, respectively, displaying a lateral antefix on the left side of his head.[72] The person seated in the proper left corner of the lintel is differentiated from Kubera by wearing a central antefix attached to the cap and by not being placed between two ladies. Nor does he have a cushion to sit on like Kubera.[73]

There exists to our knowledge only one preserved cult image of a Yakṣa of a later time whose identification presents no difficulties due to epigraphical evidence; this is the seated Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, No. 46.3232 in the GMM, measuring 61 cm in height. If one accepts the dating of K. D. Bajpai who published this Yakṣa for the first time, and assigned him to the end of the third century A.D.,[74] he would still fall within the time-frame of this Seminar. We ourselves date him to the fourth century A.D. The following details may serve as arguments for our somewhat later dating of this Yakṣa (Pl.35.VIII).

(1) His headgear differs fundamentally from the one of the standing Kubera, No. 18.1506 (Pl. 35.VII.B). It consists of a large central antefix and two smaller ones on either side; all three are interlocked by garlands of pearls which issue from the centres of lotuses. This type of crown is not characteristic of images of the Kuṣāṇa period, but represents a forerunner of the three-peaked crowns of Gupta and mediaeval times. One of the most important clues for dating this image is the lotus petals, decorating the central antefix. They are carved in a conspicuously flat manner, while the lotus petals of the antefix and *keyūra* of the Kubera of late Kuṣāṇa time are conceived of with a sense of plastic volume reminiscent of the lotus petals in the halo of the Buddha of the year 36[75] of the time of the 'later' Kuṣāṇa kings. However, since the latter are still incised with parallel lines along the rim of the petals, whereas those of the Kubera no longer display this feature, he should be dated to a time *after* the Buddha

of the year 36 (i.e. nearer in time to the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, who likewise has unrimmed lotus petals in his antefix). The earliest surviving dated Gupta Buddha from the School of Mathurā who also has unrimmed lotus petals in his halo, is the Buddha from Govindnagar, No. 76.25, of the year 115 (= A.D. 434).[76]

(2) The neck of the Yaksa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is characterized by three fleshy folds like the one of the Buddha from Govindnagar (No. 76.25), while the necks of the Kubera (No. 18.1506) and of the Buddha of the year 36 are carved straight (i.e. devoid of any folds).

(3) There is a thin fold of skin which accompanies the upper eyelids of the Yakṣa. It forms one of the most characteristic features of images of Gupta time. The lower eyelids of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā no longer are swollen like the ones of the Kubera and of the Buddha of the year 36, both dating from late Kuṣāṇa time.

(4) The earrings of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā consist of pearl-emitting lion-protomes. They recall to mind those of the same type, worn by Viṣṇu in a cult relief, assigned by T. T. Bartholomew to *ca.* the fourth century A.D.[77]

(5) As regards the design of the central pieces of the necklaces of the Yakṣa and of Kubera, their form basically adheres to the same type. However, the framing leaves on either side of the ellipsoidal centre of the Yakṣa are more elaborate in comparison to the leaves framing the square centre of Kubera's clasp. As we emphasized in our investigation on the 'Gupta-zeitliche Kunst von Mathurā, mit und ohne Inschriften, vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' which is in print and deals with the chronology of Gupta art of Mathurā, the enrichment of motifs in early Gupta time, after the sterile and impoverished late phase of the art under the later Kuṣāṇa kings, is a characteristic feature of art works of the advanced fourth century A.D. However, it has to be admitted that both images, the Kubera and the Yakṣa, certainly were not created far apart in time.

(6) There is one more argument which corroborates the dating of the Yakṣa of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā to the time of the early Gupta kings and that is the palaeographic character of the inscription, incised on the pedestal. We discussed this point in the above mentioned investigation, in which we also compared inscriptions of late Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta time.

(7) Two more indications for dating the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā to the early Gupta time are: a) the shape of the drinking vessel in his left hand and b) the manner in which he is seated, as well as the shape of his seat.

(7, a) The shape of his flaring goblet with a knob at the bottom is to be derived from flaring goblets, like the one in the left hand of a Kubera, seated in the so-called European manner (*pralamba-pādāsana*),[78] or from the one in the left hand of a squatting Kubera, No. 33.2329,[79] also in the GMM. Both goblets of earlier Kuṣāṇa time are furnished with a stemmed foot. They obviously have been influenced by goblets from cities in the West with which Mathurā had trade-route connections.

Flared earthenware drinking vessels have been excavated in Trench A of a mound near Mastung in Baluchistan.[80] According to H. Hargreaves they are of the same date as the silver cup No. 99, found at the same site in trench A[81] which he assigned to the beginning of the first century A.D.[82] The latter shows the same horizontally hammered flutings as earthenware, copper, bronze and silver goblets, discovered 'at Taxila in deposits dating from the Parthian period.'[83] All have the 'disproportionately small' foot, which according to J. Marshall was 'evidently meant to support them only when empty.'[84] A drinking vessel of identical shape was unearthed by H. Härtel 'from the Kuṣāṇa levels at Sonkh.'[85]

If one compares the goblet in the left hand of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā with the drinking goblets in the left hands of the two above mentioned seated Kuberas of early Kuṣāṇa time, it becomes evident that some time must have elapsed between them and the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Tīlā. The sculptor of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Yakṣa no longer was aware of the shape of the early Kuṣāṇa goblet. This must have been the reason why he carved a clumsy knob at the bottom instead of a stem with a small foot (Pl. 35.IX).[86] In advanced Gupta time and in medieval time, Kubera images from Mathurā were provided with flat-shaped cups devoid of any knob at the bottom. This type is seen in the right hand of a seated Kubera[87] of the fifth or sixth century A.D. and in the right hand of a Kubera of early medieval time.[88]

(7, b) The Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā sits in the same squatting manner as several Kuṣāṇa Yakṣas and Kuberas of the School of Mathurā (e.g. Kubera No. 33.2329,[89] Kubera No. C 26,[90] Kubera No. C 31[91] and Kubera No. MU 153 in the State Museum of Ethnology in Munich,[92] see Pl. 35.X.A). However, in contrast to the above mentioned Kuṣāṇa examples, the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā of the early Gupta period no longer squats on or in an altar-like box (Pl. 35.VIII), which distinguishes the Kuṣāṇa images (Pl. 35.X.A).

The Kuṣāṇa 'altar' or base consists of two crossed bars indicating the frontage. The feet and ankles of Kubera of the early Kuṣāṇa time (No. 33.2329) disappear

in the surface of the 'altar' or base which he shares with Lakṣmī.[93] But in images of Kuberas of somewhat later Kuṣāṇa time, such as C 26, C 31 and MU 153, the feet are made visible first below, then above the crossed bars (Pl. 35.X.A). This way of representation is as if the artists of Mathurā tried to create a transparent frontage of the base.

Basically the same idea is found in a relief slab of the School of Amarāvatī. Here the Yakṣa of the Śākya clan at Kapilavastu, called Śākya-vardhana,[94] is portrayed as emerging from an altar, placed under a tree, in order to worship the undepicted, new-born Bodhisattva.[95] But contrary to cult-reliefs of Kubera at Mathurā of later Kuṣāṇa time, the lower body of the Yakṣa from Amarāvatī disappears entirely in the altar, no attempt at transparency being made on the part of the artist at Amarāvatī.[96]

In contrast to the aforementioned Kuberas of Kuṣāṇa time from Mathurā and the Yakṣa from Amarāvatī, the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is squatting *in front* of a seat which has two baluster-like feet on either side. We find the same seat with baluster-feet as seats of the Mātṛkās from Besnagar,[97] assignable to the beginning of the fifth century A.D. However, while the Mātṛkās from Besnagar are depicted as sitting *upon* the top-slabs of their seats, the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā still squats *in front* of it. This provides further evidence that he is to be dated to the transitional period from late Kuṣāṇa to early Gupta time, when some motifs of the Kuṣāṇa style were still lingering on; at the same time new motifs appeared that were amalgamated with the older ones, thus creating a new style.

The Kubera with a lateral antefix, published by William H. Wolff, Inc. in *Artibus Asiae*, holding a goblet in his left hand and a radish (?) in his right, already sits *upon* the top-slab of his seat.[98] This feature by itself is an indication that he must be dated to a time later than the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, that is to about the fifth century A.D. Such a date is also borne out by his beaded necklace. Otherwise he shows a remarkable resemblance to the Yakṣa, having the same kind of seat, pedestal and undecorated halo. The last-mentioned Kubera is not inscribed. There is an inscription of two lines on the pedestal of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. According to K. D. Bajpai it reads:

1 *mahārā[ja] grahaḥ*[99] *Yakṣaḥ Dharman[i]ty[o]*[100]
vi
2 *jñyā[pa]yati*[101] *kare devaprasāta(daḥ)*.[102]

He translates the inscription, which obviously contains clerical errors and is partly written in incorrect Sanskrit, in the following way: 'The Mahārāja, Graha Yakṣa called Dharmanitya, makes it known that in his hand there is the prasāda of the God.'[103]

The difficulty in wholly accepting K. D. Bajpai's reading lies with the first word of the inscription which he read as: *mahārā[ja]* with a long medial *-ā* in the second and third syallables. There seem to be very faint lines above the left-hand vertical of the *h* and above the nail-head of the *r*, but compared to the deeply incised vowel stroke for the *-ā* on top of the nail-head of the *s* in *deva-prasātam* or the *-e* above the *r* in *kare* and the *-e* above *d* in *deva-prasātam*, they may be accidental lines. Moreover the fourth syllable *ja* which K. D. Bajpai supplemented in brackets, is absent in the inscription.

Regarding the second word of the compound, K. D. Bajpai proposes two readings: *graha* and *guhya*.[104] Of these readings, the first one, *grahaḥ*, seems unlikely. For the *-ra*, written in ligature below the consonant *p-* in '*deva-prasātam*' had been incised in the form of a large and simple curve to the left, whereas the sign below the *g-* in the second word of the inscription is twice bent in a forward direction to the left, the hook at the foot being very small (Pl. 35.IX). It thus resembles the advanced form of the medial *-u* which appears in *(Sa)mudraguptasya* in the ninth line of the fragmented inscription of the time of Candragupta II (A.D. 375–415).[105] In this inscription the *-u* is attached to the foot of the right-hand limb of the *g-* by way of a roundish hook as against the acute angles in later Gupta inscriptions.[106]

According to R. C. Sharma[107] the first word of the inscription should be read as: *mihira*.[108] His reading implies the omission of the two vowel strokes for the short medial *-i* on top of the consonants *m* and *h*. This omission seems to be due to the negligence of the engraver (i.e. it is not to be associated with any particular rule), for on the authority of R. Pischel 'a transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1, 13, 14; Hc. 1, 88–91; Kī. 1. 18.19; MK. fol. 7) has not really taken place.'[109] In the same way may be explained the lacking vowel stroke of the *-i* above the *n* in '*Dharma-natyo*'. On the other hand the engraver did incise the vowel strokes of the *-i* above the two consonants *v* and *t* in the verb *vijñāpayati*.

Omission of the vowel strokes for the short medial *-i* occur in other inscriptions from Mathurā as for instance in two inscriptions of Kuṣāṇa time edited by G. Bühler. They mention the name *Mihila* (= *Mihira*). G. Bühler himself first read the name as *Mahala*, until it became clear from another inscription that the two vowel strokes for *-i* have to be added.[110]

The second word of the compound is likewise beset with difficulties. In addition to K. D. Bajpai's readings *graha* or *guhya*, other scholars read it as *gṛhe* or *gṛhaḥ*. However, although the loc. sing. of *gṛha* = *gṛhe* would

yield better sense in correlation with *mihira* (i.e.: *mihira-gṛhe* in the house or temple of *mihira*) than *mihira-graha* (the seizer of *mihira* a compound that could only be associated with *Rāhu*, who seized the sun, but not with a Yakṣa), both *gṛhe and gṛhaḥ*[111] are untenable for two reasons.

Firstly there is no vowel stroke of an *-e* on the *ḥ*; instead two deep dot-like indentations had been incised at the end of the compound for the *Visarga*. Even though instead of the latter an *-o* should have appeared before the *ya* of the following word *Yakṣa* according to the rules of classical Sanskrit Sandhi, the *Visarga* proves that the compound had been composed in the nom. sing., as the two subsequent words *Yakṣaḥ* and *Dharmanityo*[112] which are also rendered in the nom. sing.

Secondly palaeographic grounds also opt against reading the second word of the compound as *gṛhe* or *gṛhaḥ*. The *-ṛ* at the foot of the right-hand limb of *g-* in stone inscriptions of late Kuṣāṇa time[113] already is curved backwards towards the right side (i.e. in the opposite direction of the *-u* in stone inscriptions of advanced Gupta time). This direction of the *-ṛ* towards the right side is retained for instance in the legends of the 'Battle-axe type' coins of Samudragupta.[114] The hook of the *-ṛ* merely becomes more pronounced in later time. Contrary to the *-ṛ*, the foot of the *-u* in stone inscriptions and coin legends of advanced Gupta time is turned forward in hook formation to the left side. And this is the case in the Yakṣa inscription under discussion. In the light of these observations the reading: *guhaḥ* as the second part of the first compound seems to be the most likely, although the name *mihira-guha* is not known to us from other inscriptions or from contemporary literature.[115]

The second part of the inscription offers less difficulties, though even this part is not quite clear. For instance it is not clear whether the compound *deva-prasāda* means 'a gift to the god by the worshipper' or 'a gift by the god to the worshipper'.[116] The inscription also does not inform us, in which of the two hands of the Yakṣa, the *devaprasāda* had been placed. Consequently we do not know whether the fruit in the right hand of the Yakṣa or the liquid in the drinking goblet of his left hand is to be associated with the *devaprasāda*.[117] We presume that it is not to be affiliated with the object or attribute in his left hand. Although one of the meanings of *prasāda* may be 'clarified liquor', according to the *Caraka-Saṁhitā*,[118] it is usually the object in the right hand of deities which is the decisive attribute. In this case it is the fruit.

He seems to be the first preserved Yakṣa who is characterized by a fruit in his right hand. In the centuries to come, until the end of the mediaeval epoch, the fruit represents the most common attribute of Yakṣas in Jaina art,[119] in Hindu art[120] and in later Buddhist art. Yakṣas are provided with a fruit in their right hand according to the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Sādhanamālā*, cited by M. T. de Mallmann.[121]

Which kind of fruit had been meant by the artist, cannot be verified from its plain round form. K. D. Bajpai thinks it may represent a 'pomegranate fruit' which the (rather late text) *Rūpamaṇḍana* prescribes for Kubera.[122] According to him also the 'bījapūra lemon' 'can be associated with Yakṣas' which had been 'recommended by early Sanskrit writers like Vātsyāyana for sexual efficacy.'[123] *Niṣpannayogāvalī* quotes the same name: *bījapūra-phala* as object in the right hand of the Yakṣas.[124] As the name of this fruit implies, it contains a multitude of seeds and hence may have been regarded as a symbol of fecundity.[125] Such an attribute would coincide with the role of Yakṣas as fertility spirits which is emphasized in the *Vivāgasuyaṃ*, VII, 42.[126]

Concerning the kind of liquid in the goblet of the Yakṣa's left hand, it is well known from literary sources, such as the *Mahābhārata* and *Manu Smṛti*, XI, 96, that intoxicating drinks (and meat) were considered propitious food 'of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas' in ancient time.[127] This tradition appears to have survived in Bengal even until the 16th century A.D. Thus, S. Sen writes that wine and meat were served as offerings to Yakṣas according to *Vṛṇdāvanadāsa*, the earliest of the biographers of Caitanya, who was born in 1485 A.D.[128]

From the above it seems evident that the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was made to differ from the pre-Kṣatrapa Yakṣa from Parkham and from the Kubera of late Kuṣāṇa time. For, unlike these he was neither looked upon by his adorers as a protecting divinity, since he is not imparting protection to them with his right hand, nor was he regarded as a wealth-bestowing divinity, since there is no money-bag in his left hand.

II. 1.a) ATTENDING YAKṢAS IN BUDDHIST ART:

In 1976, a fragment had been unearthed at Govindnagar, which proves that the motif of Yakṣas, supporting the hooves of the horse *Kaṇṭhaka*, during the 'Great Departure' (*niṣkramya*) of the Bodhisattva from Kapilavastu, was known to the artists of Mathurā.[129] Yakṣas as tree-spirits, emerging as half-figures from two *Śāla*-trees during the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha were likewise carved in the ateliers of Mathurā.[130]

II. 1.b) ATTENDING YAKṢAS OR GAṆAS IN ŚAIVA ART:

N. P. Joshi rightly recognized the role Yakṣas played

in the cult of Śiva in Mathurā since early time.[131] On the evidence of fragment No. B.141 in the SML, depicting a pot-bellied Yakṣa in front of an *ekamukha-liṅga* of Śiva, inserted in an altar, built of bricks, this type goes back at least to early Kuṣāṇa time.

II. 2) YAKṢAS AS DECORATIVE DEVICES IN ART:

In the field of decorative art, dwarfed and pot-bellied Yakṣas have been represented as genii, from whose mouths vine and lotus rhizome issue, as may be seen on the rim of the monumental stone vessel of 88 cm diameter, found at Palikhera and identified by J. Ph. Vogel as alms-bowl of the Buddha.[132] A. Coomaraswamy rejected J. Ph. Vogel's theory by pointing to the rich vegetable ornamentation of this vessel and by observing that according to the rules of the *Vinaya* the alms-bowl of the Buddha was to be plain and undecorated. In his opinion the vessel from Palikhera served as an '*ācamana-kumbhī*' (i.e. as a water bowl) which might have been placed at the entrance to a Buddhist shrine 'to hold water for washing the hands and feet of the visiting worshipper.'[133] Recalling to memory all those representations, in which the alms-bowl of the Buddha can be clearly identified as a cult-icon,[134] it seems as if A. Coomaraswamy was right. For, in these representations, the alms-bowls, installed upon an altar, are all practically plain.[135] Yet we feel that the cult purpose of the large stone bowl from Palikhera and of the still larger bowl of unknown provenance (Acc. No. Add. 97 in the GMM)[136] is questionable and hence should remain open for further discussion.

II.3) YAKṢAS, SERVING AS SUPPORTERS OF ARCHITERCTURAL PARTS OR OF BOWLS:

a) Yakṣas, supporting parts of buildings or capitals, likewise are known as an artistic motif in the early art of Mathurā. The one, published by N. P. Joshi,[137] reminds us of the Yakṣa atlantes of the western *toraṇa* of Stūpa I at Sāñcī.[138] This is a common motif also in other early Indian art centres, as demonstrated by a relief from Bhārhut, in which a series of Yakṣas support a balustrade;[139] also at Nasik, several Yakṣas carry the beams of the verandah of the rock-cut *vihāra* (Cave No. 3) on their shoulders.[140] Moreover the motif is also often found in the art centres of Gandhāra, as for instance at Taxila.[141] But it has to be admitted that early specimens of series of load-supporting Yakṣas are rare in Mathurā, whereas the motif of Yakṣas, carved as single supporters, frequently occurs.

b) Yakṣas as supporters of the dharma-cakra: The Yakṣa, supporting the *dharma-cakra* on his head, in an inscribed pedestal of a broken Jina image, dated to the year 22 of the 'later' Kuṣāṇas (Pl. 35.X.B),[142] belongs to the above mentioned type. The recently discovered two-facial Yakṣa capital,[143] of which unfortunately the upper part is lost, likewise may have pertained to this type. This is borne out by the analogy of the *dharma-cakra* supporting function of the Yakṣas in the Jaina art of Mathurā and in Buddhist art of Gandhāra; herein a kneeling dwarf supports the *dharma-cakra* and the 'three jewels'.[144]

c) Yakṣas supporting a bowl: A surprisingly large number of bowl-supporting Yakṣas have come to light at different sites in and around Mathurā.[145] They all raise their arms and some still have a bowl on their head. A fragment of a Yakṣa of this type from Mathurā is preserved in the State Museum of Ethnology in Munich (Pl. 35.XI.A).[146] It consists of the head and part of the chest of a grim looking male person, carved in mottled red sandstone, measuring 30 cm in height. Since both his arms have been raised and since there is a large breakage mark on the top of his head, he obviously represents a bowl-supporting Yakṣa of Kuṣāṇa time. He wears a wreath around his head and neck. His brows are wrinkled; a moustache adorns his upper lip.

J. Ph. Vogel was the first to correctly evaluate the function of these bowl-supporting Yakṣas, in connection with a discussion on the head No. Add. 260 in the GMM with an inscribed bowl, measuring 53 cm in height.[147] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in a special paper drew attention to the squatting Yakṣas of the School of Mathurā.[148] She described further examples, not named by J. Ph. Vogel. Among these is an important *stambha*-panel, in which a small Yakṣa is shown supporting a bowl on his head into which a 'layman' puts his offerings.[149] Since she wrote her article in 1947, two further Yakṣas, who once supported bowls on their heads, have been discovered at Govindnagar in 1976 and 1977 (Pls. 35.XI.B; 35.XII).[150] Of these, Yakṣa No. 77.31 is particularly important, as he seems to offer a solution for several problems.

Yakṣa No. 77.31 from Govindnagar in the GMM: Yakṣa No. 77.31, of whom only the upper part is preserved, is carved in a finely mottled red sandstone (Pl. 35.XII). He raises both his arms and hands to support a damaged bowl, decorated with lotus petals of the same overlapping type as the ones of the alleged alms-bowls No. Add. 97 and No. 662 in the GMM. He is characterized as a Yakṣa by his pointed ears (*śaṅkukarṇa*) which occur with other early Yakṣas of Mathurā as well.[151] His ears are pierced by small ear-clips, worn in the side of the cartilage.[152] His hair at the back of the

head is carved in many short, slightly curved strands, recalling to mind the expression *śikhāvarta* which was used as the name of a Yakṣa in the *Mahābhārata*.[153] The two triangular shaped receding hair-lines on the other hand remind us of those on the Yakṣa from Ahicchatrā, who supports an inscribed grinding stone on his back.[154]

The neck of the Yakṣa from Govindnagar is concealed by a close fitting bulging roll. It resembles the one of the Yakṣa from Parkham (Pl. 35.I). Whether this close fitting roll around the neck had any meaning, cannot be said. However, it would seem that in later images of Yakṣas this roll loosens, thus revealing the neck to view, as for instance in the headless seated Yakṣa from Govindnagar No. 76.221 (Pl. 35.XI.B). In the latter, the bulging roll below the neck is ornamented with disks and a rope-like pattern which create the impression that a wreath had been meant by this roll. On the proper left side an appendage of leaves is affixed to it.

What function did the bowl-supporting Yakṣa No. 77.31 from Govindnagar serve? Already J. Ph. Vogel rightly mentioned as comparative examples for this type the relief-slabs from Amarāvatī.[155] Many slabs from this site feature a pair of bowl-supporting dwarf Yakṣas which are placed on either side of the entrance to the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* around the stūpa.[156] In one of the slabs from Amarāvatī a standing lay-worshipper at the proper left side of the entrance to the Stūpa-precinct spreads both his upturned palms over the bowl on a Yakṣa's head, as if either to place something into the bowl or to take something out of it (Pl. 35.XIV).[157] The other worshipper at the proper right side of the entrance seems to give something to the seated female person who probably sells items for the worship of the Stūpa.

The offerings, acquired from the seated females, who in other slabs from Amarāvatī have baskets on stands in front of them,[158] might have been flowers, garlands, etc. Two reasons induce us to assume this. First, two worshippers, carved on fragment No. 15.563 in the GMM (Pl. 35.XIII) of Kusāna time take out flower-garlands (as offerings to an undepicted personage or cult emblem) from bowls on the heads of seated Yakṣas.[159] Second, 'floral offerings' are among the favorite offerings in connection with *caitya* worship in ancient texts where they are cited as meritorious. Thus in the *Ahorātravrata-caitya sevānuśaṁsāvadāna*, the tenth chapter of the *Aśokavadānamālā*, it is said that those '. . . who bend low at a *caitya* and pay reverence with flowers of excellent smell will live very long, free of disease, prosperous and very great in lineage.'[160] A heap of flower-heads, separated from their stalks (*'muktapuṣpasya rāśim'*) and offered at the *caityas* of the Buddha (*'buddha-caityeṣu'*), was regarded as resulting in *puṇya* according to the *'Sondertext I'* of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.[161]

From the above literary and sculptural evidence we conclude that the Yakṣa from Govindnagar No. 77.31 had been placed most probably next to the entrance of the sacred precincts of a Stūpa[162] or *caitya-gṛha* to receive 'floral offerings' or other kinds of offerings, such as 'powdered perfume' and 'fragrant incense',[163] etc., in his bowl.

When entire he must have been just high enough for the worshippers to comfortably deposit their offerings into the bowl on his head. The bust now measures 63.5 cm in height. The Yakṣas's total height might have been *ca.* 1.10 m, provided he had been represented as standing. Theoretically he also could have squatted like the majority of bowl-supporting Yakṣas found in Mathurā, and a single Yakṣa, discovered at Ahicchatrā.[164] But considering the fact that the bowl-supporting Yakṣas from Amarāvatī were still standing, while the Yakṣas of the later art centre of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were shown seated,[165] we assume that the Yakṣa from Govindnagar had been standing, being an early specimen of its kind.[166]

In all, *three* types of bowl-supporting Yakṣas may be registered in Mathurā in sculptures, carved in the round and in relief: (1) Standing ones, as seen in the lowermost panel of a 3.90 m high doorpost (No. 57.4446),[167] or in a *stambha*-panel;[168] (2) seated ones: in the so-called European attitude (*pralambapādāsana*)[169] and in the squatting pose (Pl. 35.XIII);[170] (3) a kneeling Yakṣa likewise has come down to us in a single preserved example.[171]

The underlying significance of the bowl-supporting Yakṣa from Govindnagar, carved in the round and probably placed in front of the entrance to a Stūpa or a *caitya-gṛha* as a detached object, seems to have been threefold: First of all he served as a bowl-stand for offerings. Secondly his position at the entrance to the sacred precinct conformed with the role of the Yakṣas as gate-keepers.[172] Thirdly, he also may have been looked upon as an auspicious being like the *bhadraghaṭas*, placed on either side of the entrance to the Stūpa in some slabs from Amarāvatī (Pl. 35.XIV)[173] and other Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh.

It is interesting to note that the motif of bowl-supporting Yakṣas disappeared in Buddhist centres after about the sixth century A.D. Up until then, entrance-flanking Yakṣas like those to Cave No. 6 at Ajaṇṭā,[174] to Cave No. 4 at Bagh[175] and those to the unfinished cave at Khambhalida,[176] still appear. However in these late Buddhist caves they degenerated

to mere pilaster-supporting atlantes. The bowl-supporting Yakṣas in the verandah of the rock-cut Buddhist cave at Lonad (Maharashtra) of about the sixth century A.D.[177] and the bowl-supporting Yakṣa at the doorpost from Anuradhapura in Śrī Laṅkā[178] still adhere to the old tradition; however they are no longer represented as detached sculptures, but as a decorative design, devoid of any function as no objects could be placed into the bowls on their heads.

In contradistinction to Buddhist art, the above-cited motif reappears in later Hindu art in the bowl-supporting Yakṣas who accompany Śiva in his aspects as *Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti* and *Kaṅkāla-mūrti* in south-eastern India, in sculptures of stone and metal of the later medieval period.[179] Although these are beyond the time-limit of this Seminar they are worthwhile mentioning, since they prove that the bowl, supported on the Yakṣa's[180] head, represents a genuine alms-bowl for food offerings in Hindu art, in spite of being decorated with flower leaf-design.[181] In one of the representations (from Lepākṣi, Dist. Anantapur) the wife of a *Ṛṣi* (*ṛṣi-patnī*) puts food as alms into the bowl by means of a ladle.[182] There exists also a late text, *Śrītattva*, which mentions birds that tried to pick at the (food) offerings, deposited into the alms-bowl.[183]

Dating of the Govindnagar Yakṣa No. 77.31: It is not yet certain which art centre originated the motif of the Yakṣa supporting a bowl for sacrificial offerings. So far the oldest surviving specimens of this type are known from Bhārhut,[184] Sārnāth[185] and Pitalkhora.[186] The Yakṣa from Pitalkhora may be assigned to the first century B.C. on the palaeographical character of the dedicatory inscription, incised on the back of his right hand.[187]

The bowl-supporting Yakṣa-head, No. Add. 260 in the GMM, with an inscription in Brāhmī around the rim of the bowl, is somewhat younger. On palaeographic grounds it may be dated to the Pre-Kuṣāṇa or Kṣatrapa time.[188] Provided this Yakṣa head was carved in the first century A.D., its features may be compared with the ones of the Yakṣa from Govindnagar No. 77.31. Since the latter still smiles cheerfully with widely open eyes and mouth, like the bowl-supporting Yakṣa from Pitalkhora, whereas the inscribed Yakṣa No. Add. 260 is already characterized by a restrained facial expression, we date the Yakṣa from Govindnagar to an earlier stage within the Kṣatrapa period than the inscribed one.

CONCLUSIONS

Our final conclusions concerning the Yakṣas of ancient Mathurā may be summed up as follows: (1) The colossal Yakṣa images from Parkham and Baroda undoubtedly represent the earliest stage of Yakṣa worship in Mathurā, created possibly in the time of the Mitra kings.[189] (2) Surprisingly, no detached monumental cult image of the non-attending type of a Yakṣa appears to have come down to us which may be incontestably dated to the Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāṇa time.[190] But Yakṣas, represented in life events of the Buddha and as bowl-supporting dwarfs do occur in Mathurā during the time of the Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas. Like the Yakṣa from Govindnagar No. 77.31, they testify to a climax of the art in Mathurā during these periods. (3) The cult image of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, assignable to the transitional period between the late Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta time, appears to be one of the last cult images of Yakṣas of the School of Mathurā, carved detached or independently. It is his reduced size which among other features points to a loss of attraction the Yakṣas experienced in later time. Bearing this in mind, it seems as if the cult of Yakṣas, worshipped as divinities, was on the decline in Mathurā by the fourth century A.D.

NOTES

1. Some of the most important investigations on the Yakṣas are: A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I, Pt. II*, repr.: New Delhi 1971; Moti Chandra, 'Some Aspects of Yaksha Cult in Ancient India', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, no. 3 (1954), pp. 43–65; V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, pp. 110–118; S. Sen, 'On Yakṣa and Yakṣa Worship,' *India Maior, Congratulatory Volume*, presented to J. Gonda, Leiden 1972, pp. 187–195; R. N. Misra, 'Yakṣas in the Buddhist Literature', *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, no. II (1968), pp. 7–29.
2. V. S. Agrawala and Moti Chandra, 'Yakṣa Worship in Varanasi: Matsyapurāṇa (Ch. 180)', *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, no. 1 (1959), pp. 198–201.
3. V. S. Agrawala, 'A Catalogue of the Images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva in Mathurā Art', *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. XXII, pts. 1, 2 (1949), p. 177.
4. For list of published articles and passages on the Yakṣa of Parkham and the controversy of his identification, see: H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, edited by K. L. Janert, Göttingen 1961, pp. 175–177.

5. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 175–179.
6. O. C. Gangoly, 'A Note on Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of two Saisunaga Statues (?)', *Modern Review*, October 1919, pp. 419 ff.; see also: R. P. Chanda, 'Four Ancient Yaksha Statues', *Journal Dep. Lett.*, IV, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 47 ff.
7. Agrawala, 'Catalogue of Images', p. 177.
8. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 178.
9. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad 1910, p. 83.
10. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 177–178.
11. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 178.
12. D. C. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions, I. An Inscription from the Vicinity of Kosam (Kauśāmbī)', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIX, pts. 1–2 (1953), pp. 41–45.
13. M. B. Garde, *The Site of Padmāvatī*, in *Annual Report 1915–16, Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1918, pp. 105–106.
14. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, I*, pp. 27–28.
15. Already V. S. Agrawala recognized the analogy between *'pūga'* (according to him: *guild*) of the *Maṇibhadra* from Parkham and *'gauṣṭī'* (*goṣṭhī*) of the inscription of the *Manibhadra* from Padmāvatī. (V. S. Agrawala, 'Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pt. II [1933], p. 92.)
16. Vogel, *Catalogue*, p. 83.
17. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 179.
18. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1965, p. 93.
19. H. Plaeschke, *Die Mathurā-Schule. Ein palāographischer und kunsthistorischer Beitrag zur Lösung des Kaniṣka-Problems*. Habilitationsschrift, Halle 1971, p. 142.
20. R. C. Agrawala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-yakshī Statues from Besnagar', *Lalit Kalā*, no. 14 (1969), Fig. 2.
21. V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, Oxford 1911, Plate 9, B.
22. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, Plate VII, Fig. 20.
23. N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures, a Handbook to appreciate Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā*, Mathurā 1966, Figs. 6, 5.
24. A. Cunningham suggested that the Yakṣa from Parkham 'carried a *chauri* over the right shoulder,' cf. in *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–83* in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XX, repr. Varanasi 1969, p. 40.
25. Agarwala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues', Fig. 2.
26. Garde, *Site of Padmāvatī*, p. 106, Plate LVII, b.
27. The shape of the coins in the bag of the Yakṣa from Pawaya proves that at the time, when this Yakṣa had been created, squarish coins like the punch-marked coins, were still being used side by side with round ones.
28. Already V. S. Agrawala suspected the existence of 'a purse' in the left hand of the Yakṣa from Parkham, ('Pre-Kushāṇa Art', pp. 88–89).
29. Agrawala, 'Pre-Kushāṇa Art', p. 119, Fig. 1, 2, 3; R. P. C. D. Chaturvedi, 'Yaksha and Wife from Bharatpur,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1947), Plate XV; Agrawala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues', Figs. 4, 6, 7.
30. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, in *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV (1930), Pl. XXXV b, pp. 111–112, 43.
31. M. N. Deshpande, 'Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan', *Ancient India*, Number 15 (1959), Plate LI, A., B.
32. P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona 1970, Plate XL, Fig. 87, p. 63.
33. P. K. Agrawala, 'The Triple Yaksha Statue from Rajghat', *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan*, edited by A. Krishna, Banaras 1971, Fig. 493.
34. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, p. 4, fn. 3; Chandra, 'Some Aspects', pp. 44–46.
35. Gangoly, *Modern Review*, pp. 419 ff.; Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 176.
36. D. C. Sircar, 'Mahāmāyūrī, List of Yakṣas,' *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. V, pts. 1–2 (1971–72), pp. 23–24.
37. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pt. I, Srinagar (no date), pp. 3–4; Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 53.
38. It is doubtful, whether the Buddha ever visited Mathurā in person during the course of his almost 50 years of teaching. None of the earlier texts, containing biographical legends of the Buddha, mention his sojourn in Mathurā. (For a short survey of these texts, see: E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, repr. Louvain-La-Neuve 1976, pp. 718–732.)

    It is only in the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*. (Cf. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, pts. I–IV, 1940–1950) (recently reproduced in two volumes: S. Bagchi, *The Buddhist Sanskrit Texts of Darbhanga*, no. 16, 1967–1970), that the Buddha's stay in Mathurā (and in Kashmir) is described in extenso. Lamotte dates this *Vinaya* to a period not prior to the 4th–5th cent. A.D. (*Histoire*, p. 727).
39. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, p. 4.
40. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 20 (Accession No. 48.3446), p. 81.
41. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 27 (Accession No. 36.2663), p. 81.
42. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 30 (Accession No. 57.4264), p. 82.
43. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 7 (Accession No 42.2944), p. 80.
44. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, drawing No. 31, p. 31.
45. Vogel, *Sculpture Mathurā*, Pl. XVII, b.
46. Accession No. 77.31, GMM, see: Pl. 35.XII.
47. M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. 4, *Contemporaries of the Indo-Greeks*, London 1975, pp. 321–322.
48. Deshpande, 'Rock-cut Caves Pitalkhora', Plate LVII, A; LVI.
49. J. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and*

Their Inscriptions, in *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, repr. Varanasi 1964, p. 9, no. 9.

50. J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, Cambridge 1960, Plate 10, Fig. 12.
51. D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī in the British Museum*, London 1954, Plate XXXIX.
52. Appellations of Yakṣas in the *Mahābhārata*, such as 'elephant-eared' (*gaja-karna*) and 'pig-eared' (*varāha-karṇa*) point to their hybrid character (cf.: Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 48).
53. Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 53.
54. Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 59; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XXXIV, 67–74.
55. J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India, as depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay 1947, p. 222, note 241; cf. also: Th. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit, its Rise, Spread, Characteristics and Relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, Leiden 1978, p. 253–254.
56. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions', pp. 41–45.
57. Garde, *The Site of Padmāvatī*, pp. 105–106.
58. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions', p. 43.
59. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII a, pp. 18, 50, 115 (Accession No. C 23).
60. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, p. 2.
61. V. S. Agrawala, 'Four New Yaksha Statues', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV–XXV (1951–1952), Fig. 4, p. 188. The Yakṣa is today in the SML under the Accession No. 0.107.
62. Vogel, *Catalogue*, p. 92.
63. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, p. 210.
64. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV d, p. 117.
65. J. Marshall, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Pt. I, 1916–17*, Calcutta 1918, Plate VII, d.
66. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period, an Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Cent.* B.C. *to the 3rd Cent.* A.D., Leiden 1949, p. 154, Plate XXII, Fig. 38.
67. J. C. Harle, 'Late Kusana, early Gupta: a reverse approach,' *South Asian Archaeology*, London 1973, p. 237, Plate 17.3, 4.
68. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, pp. 21, 25.
69. P. Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa*, Vol. II, Baroda 1961, p. 147.
70. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, App. B, pt. I, p. 582, 57 b.
71. Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, p. 147.
72. D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta 1914, Plate XXIX.
73. Sahni, *Catalogue*, Plate XXIV.
74. K. D. Bajpai, 'A New Inscribed Image of a Yaksha,' *India Antiqua, a Volume of Oriental Studies*, Leiden 1947, p. 8.
75. A. K. Narain, 'Unique Inscribed Buddha Image of the Mathurā School of Sculpture,' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVI, pts. 1–2 (1950), Plate opposite page 52.
76. R. C. Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, Mathurā 1976, Fig. 76, pp. 84, 104.
77. T. T. Bartholomew, 'The Arts of the India and Lamaist Countries,' *Oriental Art*, Vol. XXII, no. 4 (1976), Fig. 2, p. 392.
78. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, Fig. 48.
79. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40, pp. 34, 82.
80. H. Hargreaves, *Excavations in Baluchistan 1925, Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nāl*, in *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 35, Calcutta 1929, Plate V, b, nos. 5, 82.
81. Hargreaves, *Excavations*, Plate IV, b.
82. Hargreaves, *Excavations*, p. 4.
83. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 34, Fig. 40; compare also: nos. 269, 270, 272, 273 on Plate 174, in: J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations, carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, Vol. III, reprint: Varanasi 1975.
84. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 34; see also: two goblets from Mehrgarh, Plate 33, in: J. F. Jarrige, 'Excavations at Mehrgarh – Pakistan', *South Asian Archaeology* 1975, edited by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Leiden 1979.
85. N. P. Joshi, 'On the Iconography of Balarāma in the North India,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U. P.*, no. 10 (1972), p. 25.
86. The foot of the goblets in the left hand of a Balarāma in the GMM (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLI c) and of Balarāma in the Indian Museum in Berlin (H. Härtel, *Indische Skulpturen I*, Berlin 1960, Figs. 21, 22, pp. 62–63) of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., is less degenerated than the one of the goblet of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.
87. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV c, p. 116, No. C 5 (GMM).
88. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV b, p. 116, no. 53463 (Victoria and Albert Museum).
89. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40.
90. J. Ph. Vogel, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1909–1910, Calcutta 1914, Fig. 7, p. 76.
91. V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra*, Allahabad 1933, Fig. 35, No. C 31 (GMM).
92. Published by: L. Scherman, 'Dickbauch-Typen in der Indisch-Ostasiatischen Götter-welt,' *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1924, Plate 61, Fig. 5. (Catalogue No. MU 153, Neg. No. 14023, Copyright: State Museum of Enthnology, Munich.)
93. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40.
94. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, p. 15.
95. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Plate 20, p. 42; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī*, Plate VII.
96. Semi-divine beings, like Nāgas and tree-spirits, are often shown as half-figures in early Indian art.
97. J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture, Indian Sculpture of the*

5. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 175–179.
6. O. C. Gangoly, 'A Note on Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of two Saisunaga Statues (?)', *Modern Review*, October 1919, pp. 419 ff.; see also: R. P. Chanda, 'Four Ancient Yaksha Statues', *Journal Dep. Lett.*, IV, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 47 ff.
7. Agrawala, 'Catalogue of Images', p. 177.
8. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 178.
9. J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad 1910, p. 83.
10. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 177–178.
11. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 178.
12. D. C. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions, I. An Inscription from the Vicinity of Kosam (Kauśāmbī)', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIX, pts. 1–2 (1953), pp. 41–45.
13. M. B. Garde, *The Site of Padmāvatī*, in *Annual Report 1915–16, Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1918, pp. 105–106.
14. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, I*, pp. 27–28.
15. Already V. S. Agrawala recognized the analogy between *'pūga'* (according to him: *guild*) of the *Maṇibhadra* from Parkham and *'gauṣṭī'* (*goṣṭhī*) of the inscription of the *Manibhadra* from Padmāvatī. (V. S. Agrawala, 'Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pt. II [1933], p. 92.)
16. Vogel, *Catalogue*, p. 83.
17. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 179.
18. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1965, p. 93.
19. H. Plaeschke, *Die Mathurā-Schule. Ein palāographischer und kunsthistorischer Beitrag zur Lösung des Kaniṣka-Problems*. Habilitationsschrift, Halle 1971, p. 142.
20. R. C. Agrawala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-yakshī Statues from Besnagar', *Lalit Kalā*, no. 14 (1969), Fig. 2.
21. V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, Oxford 1911, Plate 9, B.
22. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, Plate VII, Fig. 20.
23. N. P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures, a Handbook to appreciate Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā*, Mathurā 1966, Figs. 6, 5.
24. A. Cunningham suggested that the Yakṣa from Parkham 'carried a *chauri* over the right shoulder,' cf. in *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–83* in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XX, repr. Varanasi 1969, p. 40.
25. Agarwala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues', Fig. 2.
26. Garde, *Site of Padmāvatī*, p. 106, Plate LVII, b.
27. The shape of the coins in the bag of the Yakṣa from Pawaya proves that at the time, when this Yakṣa had been created, squarish coins like the punch-marked coins, were still being used side by side with round ones.
28. Already V. S. Agrawala suspected the existence of 'a purse' in the left hand of the Yakṣa from Parkham, ('Pre-Kushāṇa Art', pp. 88–89).
29. Agrawala, 'Pre-Kushāṇa Art', p. 119, Fig. 1, 2, 3; R. P. C. D. Chaturvedi, 'Yaksha and Wife from Bharatpur,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1947), Plate XV; Agrawala, 'Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues', Figs. 4, 6, 7.
30. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, in *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV (1930), Pl. XXXV b, pp. 111–112, 43.
31. M. N. Deshpande, 'Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan', *Ancient India*, Number 15 (1959), Plate LI, A., B.
32. P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona 1970, Plate XL, Fig. 87, p. 63.
33. P. K. Agrawala, 'The Triple Yaksha Statue from Rajghat', *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan*, edited by A. Krishna, Banaras 1971, Fig. 493.
34. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, p. 4, fn. 3; Chandra, 'Some Aspects', pp. 44–46.
35. Gangoly, *Modern Review*, pp. 419 ff.; Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 176.
36. D. C. Sircar, 'Mahāmāyūrī, List of Yakṣas,' *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. V, pts. 1–2 (1971–72), pp. 23–24.
37. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pt. I, Srinagar (no date), pp. 3–4; Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 53.
38. It is doubtful, whether the Buddha ever visited Mathurā in person during the course of his almost 50 years of teaching. None of the earlier texts, containing biographical legends of the Buddha, mention his sojourn in Mathurā. (For a short survey of these texts, see: E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, repr. Louvain-La-Neuve 1976, pp. 718–732.)

    It is only in the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*. (Cf. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, pts. I–IV, 1940–1950) (recently reproduced in two volumes: S. Bagchi, *The Buddhist Sanskrit Texts of Darbhanga*, no. 16, 1967–1970), that the Buddha's stay in Mathurā (and in Kashmir) is described in extenso. Lamotte dates this *Vinaya* to a period not prior to the 4th–5th cent. A.D. (*Histoire*, p. 727).
39. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, p. 4.
40. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 20 (Accession No. 48.3446), p. 81.
41. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 27 (Accession No. 36.2663), p. 81.
42. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 30 (Accession No. 57.4264), p. 82.
43. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 7 (Accession No 42.2944), p. 80.
44. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, drawing No. 31, p. 31.
45. Vogel, *Sculpture Mathurā*, Pl. XVII, b.
46. Accession No. 77.31, GMM, see: Pl. 35.XII.
47. M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. 4, *Contemporaries of the Indo-Greeks*, London 1975, pp. 321–322.
48. Deshpande, 'Rock-cut Caves Pitalkhora', Plate LVII, A; LVI.
49. J. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and*

Their Inscriptions, in *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, repr. Varanasi 1964, p. 9, no. 9.

50. J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, Cambridge 1960, Plate 10, Fig. 12.
51. D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī in the British Museum*, London 1954, Plate XXXIX.
52. Appellations of Yakṣas in the *Mahābhārata*, such as 'elephant-eared' (*gaja-karna*) and 'pig-eared' (*varāha-karṇa*) point to their hybrid character (cf.: Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 48).
53. Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 53.
54. Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 59; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XXXIV, 67–74.
55. J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India, as depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay 1947, p. 222, note 241; cf. also: Th. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit, its Rise, Spread, Characteristics and Relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, Leiden 1978, p. 253–254.
56. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions', pp. 41–45.
57. Garde, *The Site of Padmāvatī*, pp. 105–106.
58. Sircar, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions', p. 43.
59. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII a, pp. 18, 50, 115 (Accession No. C 23).
60. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, p. 2.
61. V. S. Agrawala, 'Four New Yaksha Statues', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV–XXV (1951–1952), Fig. 4, p. 188. The Yakṣa is today in the SML under the Accession No. 0.107.
62. Vogel, *Catalogue*, p. 92.
63. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, p. 210.
64. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV d, p. 117.
65. J. Marshall, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Pt. I, 1916–17*, Calcutta 1918, Plate VII, d.
66. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period, an Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Cent.* B.C. *to the 3rd Cent.* A.D., Leiden 1949, p. 154, Plate XXII, Fig. 38.
67. J. C. Harle, 'Late Kusana, early Gupta: a reverse approach,' *South Asian Archaeology*, London 1973, p. 237, Plate 17.3, 4.
68. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, pp. 21, 25.
69. P. Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa*, Vol. II, Baroda 1961, p. 147.
70. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, App. B, pt. I, p. 582, 57 b.
71. Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, p. 147.
72. D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta 1914, Plate XXIX.
73. Sahni, *Catalogue*, Plate XXIV.
74. K. D. Bajpai, 'A New Inscribed Image of a Yaksha,' *India Antiqua, a Volume of Oriental Studies*, Leiden 1947, p. 8.
75. A. K. Narain, 'Unique Inscribed Buddha Image of the Mathurā School of Sculpture,' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVI, pts. 1–2 (1950), Plate opposite page 52.
76. R. C. Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, Mathurā 1976, Fig. 76, pp. 84, 104.
77. T. T. Bartholomew, 'The Arts of the India and Lamaist Countries,' *Oriental Art*, Vol. XXII, no. 4 (1976), Fig. 2, p. 392.
78. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, Fig. 48.
79. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40, pp. 34, 82.
80. H. Hargreaves, *Excavations in Baluchistan 1925, Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nāl*, in *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 35, Calcutta 1929, Plate V, b, nos. 5, 82.
81. Hargreaves, *Excavations*, Plate IV, b.
82. Hargreaves, *Excavations*, p. 4.
83. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 34, Fig. 40; compare also: nos. 269, 270, 272, 273 on Plate 174, in: J. Marshall, *Taxila, an Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations, carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, Vol. III, reprint: Varanasi 1975.
84. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 34; see also: two goblets from Mehrgarh, Plate 33, in: J. F. Jarrige, 'Excavations at Mehrgarh – Pakistan', *South Asian Archaeology* 1975, edited by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Leiden 1979.
85. N. P. Joshi, 'On the Iconography of Balarāma in the North India,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U. P.*, no. 10 (1972), p. 25.
86. The foot of the goblets in the left hand of a Balarāma in the GMM (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLI c) and of Balarāma in the Indian Museum in Berlin (H. Härtel, *Indische Skulpturen I*, Berlin 1960, Figs. 21, 22, pp. 62–63) of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., is less degenerated than the one of the goblet of the Yakṣa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.
87. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV c, p. 116, No. C 5 (GMM).
88. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIV b, p. 116, no. 53463 (Victoria and Albert Museum).
89. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40.
90. J. Ph. Vogel, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1909–1910, Calcutta 1914, Fig. 7, p. 76.
91. V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra*, Allahabad 1933, Fig. 35, No. C 31 (GMM).
92. Published by: L. Scherman, 'Dickbauch-Typen in der Indisch-Ostasiatischen Götter-welt,' *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1924, Plate 61, Fig. 5. (Catalogue No. MU 153, Neg. No. 14023, Copyright: State Museum of Enthnology, Munich.)
93. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 40.
94. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, p. 15.
95. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Plate 20, p. 42; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī*, Plate VII.
96. Semi-divine beings, like Nāgas and tree-spirits, are often shown as half-figures in early Indian art.
97. J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture, Indian Sculpture of the*

fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., Oxford 1974, Fig. 31.

98. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 34, no. 4, Ascona 1972, Plate opposite page 358.
99. In Bajpai's transcription ('New Inscribed Image', p. 8) a dash has to be added between *mahārā[ja]* and *grahaḥ*, in his reading.
100. Wing-like strokes for the vowel - *o* on top of the *t* in *Dharma-n(i)tyo* have been marked, although they are rather short. According to a note to us, by T. P. Verma of the Banaras Hindu University, the personal name of the Yakṣa should be read as: *Dharma-nanyo*, which may be 'restored as *Dharma-nandi*'. We prefer Bajpai's reading, firstly because the singular nominative of *Dharma-nandin* would have been: *Dharma-nandī* and secondly because the limbs of the *t* in *-n(i)tyo* are drawn slightly longer and shaped less flaring than those of the *n* in the same word.
101. The *-y-* between *-jñ-* and *-ā-* has to be eliminated in Bajpai's transcription.
102. The *t* for *d* in *deva-prasātam* seems to be due to a clerical error. T. P. Verma rightly noticed the traces of the subscript vowelless *-m* below the *-t-* in *deva-prasātam*, which transforms *-prasāda* into the singular accusative.
103. Bajpai, 'New Inscribed Image', p. 8.
104. Bajpai, 'New Inscribed Image', p. 9.
105. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, reprint Varanasi 1970, Plate III, A. (The medial *-u* in *(Sa)mudra-guptasya* is not as clear in the facsimile in Fleet's book as in our photograph.)
106. In the same inscription occurs also the earlier form of the *-u* in *Śrī-Gupta* in line 5 with the *-u* at the foot of the *-g* bent back and upwards (Fleet, *Inscriptions*, Plate III. A). This inscription hence seems to belong to a transitional period, in which the old and new form of the *-u* was used side by side.
107. R. C. Sharma kindly informed us about his reading in November 1979. T. P. Verma backed his reading in January 1980.
108. According to M. Mayrhofer, *'mihiraḥ'*, the sun, is a loanword from middle Iranian source (cf. *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 642; see also: Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 95.
109. R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages*, translated from the German by S. Jha, reprint Varanasi 1965, p. 98, § 115.
110. G. Bühler, 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, reprint Varanasi 1970, p. 197.
111. The Vedic *'gṛha-'* (servant) is 'ungesichert', according to Mayrhofer, *Etymological Sanskrit*, Vol. I, p. 344.
112. Only the ending of the personal name of the Yakṣa, *Dharmanityo*, is written in correct classical Sanskrit Sandhi, whereas *Yakṣaḥ*, like *guhaḥ*, is incorrectly ending with the *Visarga* before a voiced consonant.
113. Compare *gṛ* in *śrīgṛh(ā) to* in line 3 of the inscription of the year 54 of the time of the 'later' Kuṣāṇas (Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *'Scythian' Period*, pp. 286–287).
114. Compare the subscript *-ṛ* at the foot of the vertical of *k-*, curved to the right, in *kṛ* for *Kṛ(tānta)*, on the obverse of the coins of Samudragupta of the Battle-axe type, under the left arm of the king. (J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, reprint London 1967, Plate IV, no. 14, p. 12.)
115. *Guha* is one of the names particularly of Skanda, but also of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata*. (S. Sörensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, reprint Delhi 1963, p. 313). This name is to be distinguished from: *Guhyaka*, 'a class of demi-gods who like the Yakṣas are attendants of Kubera ... and guardians of his treasures' (M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899, p. 360). Whether *guha* in our inscription is to be associated with the *guhyakas*, whose king was Revanta, the son of Sūrya and Saṁjñā, according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Banerjea, *Development*, p. 442) or with a particular Yakṣa in relation to *Mihira*, has to remain open for discussion.
116. More probably the former was meant. In a similar way Lüders interprets the compound *'bhagavaprasādā'* of the 'third or second century B.C.' as: 'gifts to the holy one' (Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 157, §117).
117. According to Lüders, the word *prasāda* in classical Sanskrit, "is used in the sense of 'present'." He takes it to be 'a synonym of the more usual *dānaṁ*' in a Prākrit inscription from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā of 'the period before Kaniṣka' (H. Lüders, 'Epigraphical Notes', *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII [1904], p. 151).
118. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 697.
119. U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay 1959, Figs. 7, 22, 23 a, 46 b, 49, 52 a, 55, 62.
120. A. Rea, *Chālukyan Architecture, including Examples from the Ballāri District, Madras Presidency*, in *Archaeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXI, Madras 1896, Plate XXV, Fig. 2; Plate XLII, Fig. 1; Plate XC, Fig. 1.
121. M.-T. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique*, Paris 1975, p. 459.
122. Bajpai, 'New Inscribed Image', p. 9, footnote 4.
123. Bajpai, 'New Inscribed Image', p. 9, footnote 5.
124. Mallmann, *Introduction*, p. 459, footnote 3.
125. M.-T. de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa*, Paris 1963, p. 264.
126. Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 46, footnote 11; cf. also pp. 43, 45.
127. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, p. 25. For general information on spirituous drinks in ancient India, see: Rajendralala Mitra, 'Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 42, pt. I, no. 1 (1873), pp. 1–23.
128. Sen, 'Yakṣa worship', p. 194. According to Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* of the 12th century A.D., the

Yakṣas should be shown 'fierce (due to) drunkenness' (Banerjea, *Development*, pp. 338–339).

129. R. C. Sharma, 'New Buddhist Sculptures from Mathurā (Pre-Gupta Epoch)', *Lalit Kalā*, no. 19 (1979), Fig. 12 (Acc. No. 76.87).
130. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate LIII a.
131. N. P. Joshi, 'Some Kuṣāṇa Passages in the Harivaṁśa', *Indologen-Tagung* 1971, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 243, Fig. 181.
132. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLVIII b, pp. 54, 76, 118; Acc. No. Add. 662.
133. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. II*, p. 65. In footnote 5, the author cited several literary sources as support for his view.
134. In these representations, the alms-bowl of the Buddha is depicted together with other icons, such as the turban of the Buddha, the *bodhi*-tree, or with the Bodhisattva or Buddha himself.
135. For alms-bowls of the Buddha, installed upon an altar, see for instance: Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plates LV a, LVI a; J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Two Notes on Mathurā Sculpture, I. The squatting Yakṣas at Mathurā,' *India Antiqua*, Leiden 1947, Plate XVII f; p. 235, footnote 19.
136. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLVIII a, p. 118.
137. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 4, p. 79 (Acc. No. 00.I 11).
138. Marshall, *Buddhist Art Gandhāra*, Plate 10, Fig. 12.
139. Coomaraswamy, *Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 23, 24, 25, 30, 31.
140. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1936–1937, Calcutta 1940, Plate VII, a, b.
141. Marshall, *Taxila*, Plate 58 (a).
142. No. J 11, in the SML. The Jainas retained this motif also in much later time. This is demonstrated by the *dharma-cakra* supporting Yakṣa in the lion-pedestal of the Pārśva from Gyaraspur, which we date to *ca.* the 7th century A.D. (See: Plate 321, B, in: P. Pal, *Museums abroad, Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III, New Delhi 1975.)
143. R. C. Sharma, 'Two new rare Sculptures in Mathurā Museum,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 10 (1972), Fig. 2, p. 66 (Acc. No. 72.7).
144. C. K. Gairola, 'Atlantes in early Indian Art,' *Oriental Art*, Vol. 2 (1956), p. 140, F.
145. According to the descriptions of V. S. Agrawala, the following objects in the GMM might belong to this type: C 3, C 6, C 7, C 24, No. 253, No. 988, No. 1524, No. 1736, No. 2519 (cf.: *Catalogue*, pp. 179–188). From the *Inventory of Mathurā Museum Sculptures since 1939 uptodate* by V. N. Srivastava and S. Mishra, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*, nos. 11–12 (1973), we assume that also the two male heads, carved in the round, and described as 'supports of a bowl', No. 61.5311 and No. 61.5391, dating of Kuṣāṇa time, possibly belong to the type of bowl-supporting Yakṣas (cf. p. 113).

    In the State Museum of Bharatpur (Rajasthan), a squatting Yakṣa, found at Aghapur (No. 1132/144), still supports a bowl on his head (cf. Fig. 5 in: *Catalogue & Guide to State Museum, Bharatpur (Rajasthan)*, published by the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur (1960–61).
146. We are publishing this Yakṣa with the kind permission of the Director of the State Museum of Ethnology in Munich. (Neg. No. 14096, Catalogue No. 28-15-1; Copyright: State Museum of Ethnology, Munich.)
147. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIX a, pp. 54–55, 119 (Acc. No. Add. 260).
148. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Squatting Yakṣas,' pp. 231–235.
149. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Squatting Yakṣas,' Plate XVII e; p. 234.
150. Acc. No. 76.221 (Pl. 35.XI.B), Acc. No. 77.31 (Pl. 35.XII).
151. Compare our footnotes nos. 40–45.
152. A similar kind of ear-clip is worn by the Kubera No. 18.1506 of late Kuṣāṇa time (Pl. 35.VII.B).
153. Chandra, 'Some Aspects,' p. 48; *Sabhāparvan*, 10, 1–23. Monier-Williams translates *ā-varta* as 'a lock of hair that curls backwards' (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 156).
154. K. D. Bajpai, 'A new Yaksha Image from Ahichchhattra', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV, XXV (1951, 1952), Fig. 1. The squatting Yakṣa in the Bharatpur Museum likewise has two triangle-shaped receding hairlines (*Catalogue & Guide to State Museum, Bharatpur*, Fig. 5).
155. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 55, footnote 1.
156. J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, reprint Delhi 1971, Plates LXXV–LXXXI. J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta* (1887), Plates XXXIII–XXXVII (cited by Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 55, footnote 1).
157. We are publishing Plate IV in Barrett's book: *Sculptures from Amarāvatī in the British Museum*, with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
158. Compare Plate 50 in: *National Museum, New Delhi*, Kodansha 1968, printed in Japan.
159. Compare also Plate XVII, d, e, in: Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Squatting Yakṣas'.
160. R. Handurukande, 'The Benefit of Caitya Worship,' *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, Leiden 1978, pp. 75, 77.
161. E. Waldschmidt, *Der Buddha preist die Verehrungswürdigkeit seiner Reliquien, Sondertext I des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen 1967, p. 425. The custom in Burma, quoted by J. Ph. Vogel in 1930, according to which all kinds of food was placed by the devotees into large vessels of stone, plaster and iron in front of stūpas, seems to date from more recent time (Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 54).

162. Where this stūpa had been erected, cannot be verified, since so far no foundation walls of a stūpa at Govindnagar have come to light. The fragment also could have been brought from somewhere else.
163. Handurukande, *Benefit of Caitya Worship*, pp. 76, 77.
164. P. Pal, 'A Kushān Indra and some related sculptures,' *Oriental Art*, Vol. XXV, no. 2 (1979), Figs. 22, 23.
165. H. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi 1962, Plate XLVII.
166. The early bowl-supporting Yakṣa from Pitalkhora, discovered in front of the *caitya-gṛha* (Cave No. 3), likewise is standing (Deshpande, 'Pitalkhora,' Pl. LVI).
167. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, Fig. 56, pp. 16, 84. The container which the Yakṣa in the lowermost panel supports on his head, is clearly characterized as a basket, named '*malla-chaṅger*' by Joshi, p. 84. Being carved at the proper left side of the doorpost, it seems as if this side had been the exterior side of the *toraṇa* post, giving access to the precinct of a stūpa or a *caitya-gṛha*, in analogy with the slabs from Amarāvatī.
168. R. N. Misra, 'Kubera and Mudgarapāṇi on a Mathurā Railing Pillar: an identification,' *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*, nos. 5–6 (1970), Plate opposite p. 28.
169. M. M. Deneck, *Indische Kunst*, Wiesbaden 1967, Plate 2 (= headless seated Yakṣa in the Musée Guimet, Paris; red sandstone; height: 83 cm).
170. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIX b, pp. 55, 119 (Acc. No. C 3).
171. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Squatting Yakṣas,' Plate XVII e, p. 234, footnote 16 (Acc. No. J 17, GMM).
172. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas, Pt. I*, pp. 14–15.
173. H. Sarkar and S. P. Nainar, *Amarāvatī*, New Delhi 1972, Plate VI, A.
174. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, reprint Delhi 1969, Plate XXX.
175. W. M. Spink, 'Bāgh: a Study,' *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXX (1976–1977), Fig. 16, Bagh, Cave 4.
176. *Indian Archaeology 1958–59, A Review*, (1959), Plate LXXII, A, p. 70. Compare also: Plate XXXII in: M. R. Majmudar, *Cultural History of Gujarat*, Bombay 1965.
177. J. Burgess, *Report on the Elura Cave Temples . . .*, in *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, reprint Varanasi 1970, Plate XLV, No. 2
178. H. Mode, *Die buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon*, Leipzig 1963, Fig. 7.
179. For a number of illustrations of this iconographic form of Śiva, see: M. E. Adiceam, 'Les Images de Śiva dans l'Inde du Sud III et IV. – Bhikṣāṭanamūrti et Kaṅkālamūrti,' *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome XII (1965), Figs. 1–16, 19, 20.
180. The Yakṣas of these late images turned into grim-looking *Bhūtas*, which conforms with the evolution of the Yakṣas in later time. (Chandra, 'Some Aspects', p. 44.)
181. Adiceam, 'Images de Śiva', Fig. 2.
182. Adiceam, 'Images de Śiva,' Fig. 14.
183. Adiceam, 'Images de Śiva,' p. 93.
184. Coomaraswamy, *Sculpture de Bharhut*, Plate IX, Fig. 26.
185. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Negative No. 319/57.
186. Deshpande, 'Pitalkhora,' Plate LVI.
187. Deshpande dated it to the second century B.C. ('Pitalkhora,' p. 82).
188. Lüders assigned it to the Śuṅga period, in accordance with the older chronological tradition (*Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 122, §89).
189. H. Härtel dated the Parkham Yakṣa in a lecture in Göttingen in summer 1977 to the time of the Mitra kings.
190. The Yakṣa from Palwal (in the SML) most probably belongs to Kuṣāṇa time; however he is too badly broken and eroded to be dated reliably on stylistical evidence. (See: Fig. 4 in: Agrawala, 'Four New Yaksha Statues'.)

36. Vaiṣṇava Art and Iconography at Mathurā

DORIS METH SRINIVASAN

The aim of this paper is to define and describe the various Vaiṣṇava icons during pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa times. A word about the use of the label 'Vaiṣṇava', employed throughout, should be made at the outset. Perhaps at some later stage of scholarship, this designation may prove to be ineffective in designating the majority of images described below. Some of the distinctive attributes associated with Viṣṇu in succeeding ages are almost entirely absent in the periods under consideration. There is no halo; no *kaustubha* gem adorns the chest; no lotus is held in the hand; the *śrīvatsa* emblem occurs only once, on a *varāha* relief. Indeed icons usually identified as Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu images mainly on the basis of the mace (*gadā*) and discus (*cakra*) held in the extra hands, have herein been considered as representing the Bhāgavata god, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. So too, there is ground for associating representations of Garuḍa and Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma with the same Bhāgavata deity. As such, over three quarters of the icons discussed below can be ascribed to the Bhāgavata sect. For this reason and, more importantly, when sectarian developments at Mathurā are better understood, it is possible that the 'Vaiṣṇava' label may need to be refined.

I. PRE-KUṢĀṆA VAIṢṆAVA ICONS

The well-known Mathurā image of Balarāma (Pl. 36.I.A from Jansuti, Mathurā District; SML No. G 215) must be mentioned first. Numerous characteristics which continue to be associated with the god are already found on this Śuṅga sculpture. Of particular interest are the club and plough held in the right and left hands respectively, the appearance of the single earring, and the snake canopy overhead. The keen observation made in P. L. Gupta's paper in this volume, opens up the possibility for an even earlier depiction in the Mathurā region. Dr. Gupta proposes that a standing figure holding a plough in the left hand and a stick (*musala*?) in the right, featured on a Mauryan silver punch-marked coin in the Mathura Museum (No. 578/438) may be identified as the earliest representation of the god.

Mathurā cannot be viewed as a noteworthy center of Vaiṣṇava art in pre-Kuṣāṇa periods. To begin with, Balarāma representations are not unique to Mathurā. A pre-Kuṣāṇa figure from Vārāṇasī is preserved in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan (No. 279). It shows an important iconographic element not in the Jansuti piece, namely a miniature lion which probably surmounts the deity's plough.[1] Another Balarāma from Tumain in former Gwalior State has also been found.[2] Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa occur respectively on the obverse and reverse of the Agathocles coins found at Ai-Khanum and dating to the 2nd century B.C.[3] (Pls. 36.I.B; 36.I.C.). Mathurā also does not participate in experiments attempted elsewhere. It is at Bhīṭā (U.P.) that the earliest known representations of the Vaiṣṇava *caturvyūha* concept is fashioned.[4] (Pl. 36.II.A). It is from the Besnagar/Vidiśā area (M.P.) that the existence of a Śuṅga Garuḍa pillar-image may be inferred.[5] From Malhār (M.P.) stems the earliest known multi-armed Vaiṣṇava image (Pl. 36.II.B). This is a four-armed male holding *cakra* and *gadā* in the upper left and right hands respectively. The natural hands clasp an unidentified object akin to a śaṅkha, close to the chest. Suspended from the left hip hangs a long sword. The image has a 1st century B.C. inscription on

the *gadā*'s shaft.[6] The statue could represent a Vaiṣṇava *vīra*. A decided similarity exists between the shape and position of the sword on the Malhār figure and the one found on a Śuṅga torso from Bīrāvai, a village about six miles from Noh on the Bharatpur-Agra Road (Pl. 36.II.C). The over life-size torso appears to portray a great hero whose sword is tied onto the left hip by a belt crossing the right shoulder. Indeed the name of the village, Bīrāvai (cf. Skt. *vīra*), may recall the adoration that locality paid to a hero-god. The region would have belonged to the cultural sphere having Mathurā as its center, and it is tempting to propose a connection between Mathurā's cult of ancestral Vṛṣṇi hero-gods and the statues from Malhār and Bīrāvai. The difficulty with such a proposal is that from Mathurā itself, no pre-Kuṣāṇa Vṛṣṇi *vīra* icon can be identified with certainty.

II. KUṢĀṆA VAIṢṆAVA ICONS

A. Introduction

An extraordinary increase in the number and variety of Vaiṣṇava icons occurs during this period. The most frequently represented Vaiṣṇava deity is a four-armed standing male who holds *gadā* and *cakra* in the extra raised right and left hands, respectively (Pl. 36.III.A). The natural right is in *abhaya mudrā* and the natural left may hold either a flask (*kamaṇḍalu*) or the conch (*śaṅkha*) as is shown on Pl. 36.III.A. This type is also found on a series of kinship triads recently studied.[7] Within the context of the kinship triads, this figure can be identified as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; as such, he is always shown as the last member of a group representing three deified Vṛṣṇi ancestors. That is, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa stands to the left of his older sister Ekānaṁśā and to her right stands the older brother, Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. This placement affirms genealogical rather than theological status. Theologically, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is the most important of the three deities, yet in these triads his terminal position or lesser height than Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma emphasizes his status as the younger brother.[8] To date, certainly five, perhaps six kinship triads are known. Four come from Mathurā;[9] one of which is illustrated in Pl. 36.III.B. They are small and of the red Mathurā sandstone. One of these, now in Pakistan, curiously features the group on a weight stone.[10] The fifth comes from Gayā District and consists of three large separate statues of the Vṛṣṇi ancestors.[11] The figures, made of local stone, were fashioned in the area of Devangarh. The sixth is the Śiva-liṅga from Nānda near Puṣkara in Rajasthan which shows this triad on its lower portion.[12]

A noteworthy correlation has been found to exist between the deities of these kinship triads and the basic features of Vedic *śrāddha*, the ritual performed for the benefit of one's ancestors.[13] Early literary passages link such features as the characteristic *piṇḍa* offering, and the propitious time and place of the ritual with both the provenance of the above icons and the deities represented. That is, the Vṛṣṇi heroes of Mathurā are not infrequently mentioned in passages referring to aspects of *śrāddha*.[14] Also, Gayā is in ancient times one of the most suitable and auspicious places to perform *śrāddha*.[15].

The correlation between this important Brahmanic ritual and Bhāgavatism, involving the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, appears to be yet another example of accommodation reached between Brahmanic sentiments and Bhāgavata worship during the centuries around the Christian era.[16] In this case the rapprochement occurs in Mathurā. Possibly it is this accommodating tendency which allowed a *bhakti* cult dedicated to the Vṛṣṇi ancestors in general, and to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in particular, to flourish and grow at a locality like Mathurā, stronghold of Brahmanic tradition and legendary ancestral home of the Vṛṣṇis. And flourish it did. Unquestionably, the main Vaiṣṇava object of worship at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa age is four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, of whom over thirty single representations are known. The number would increase to over forty were we to count examples where the god appears as part of a group.

In these single representations, as in the kinship triads, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa epitomizes a deified ancestral hero. The *gadā* and *cakra* bespeak of a warrior's strength and power, as does the conch which is used for signalling in battle. No halo surrounds him; the *lakṣaṇas* of a Cakravartin or a Mahāpuruṣa hardly ever occur.[17] Instead he stands garlanded, crowned and ornamented. He is also shown with the multiplicity convention, reserved for some special Hindu deities alone.

B. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa Icons

Representations of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa fall into two main categories: those showing a flask in the natural left hand and those showing a conch. Within these two categories all other iconographic variations will be mentioned. Unless otherwise specified, the extra hands are as outlined in the Introduction.

1. *Holding the flask*

There are three such single icons. A good example is MM No. 933 (ht. 5″; Pl. 36.IV.A). The upper part of this

Pl. 36.I.A Balarāma (SML No. G215). Śuṅga. Photograph, courtesy of the State Museum, Lucknow.

Pl. 36.I.B Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. Agathocles coin; obverse. Photograph, courtesy Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

Pl. 36.I.C Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Agathocles coin; reverse. Photograph, courtesy Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

Pl. 36.II A Eastern side of Vaiṣṇava Caturvyūha (SML No. 56.394). Śuṅga. Photograph, courtesy of the State Museum, Lucknow.

Pl. 36.II.C Bīrāvai Vīra. Śuṅgā.

Pl. 36.II.B Four-armed Vaiṣṇava Image. Malhar; Śuṅga. Photograph, Donald M. Stadtner.

Pl. 36.III.A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. (MM No. 15.956). Kuṣāṇa.
Photograph, courtesy Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.III.B Vṛṣṇi ancestor gods. (MM No. 67.529). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.IV.A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with flask (MM No. 933). Kuṣāṇa.
Photograph, courtesy Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.IV.B Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with flask
(MM No. 1729). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.IV.C Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with conch
(MM No. 2487). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.V.A A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seated on Garu
(MM No. 4200). Kuṣāṇa, Photograph, courtesy Governme
Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.V.B Four-armed seated Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa
(MM No. 39.2858). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.IV.A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with flask (MM No. 933). Kuṣāṇa.
Photograph, courtesy Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.IV.B Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with flask
(MM No. 1729). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.IV.C Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with conch
(MM No. 2487). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.V.A A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seated on Garuḍa (MM No. 4200). Kuṣāṇa, Photograph, courtesy Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.V.B Four-armed seated Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (MM No. 39.2858). Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.VI.A Four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa from Soṅkh. Late Kuṣāṇa
Photograph, courtesy Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

Pl. 36.VI.B A Seated Neminātha with Vaiṣṇava attendants
(MM No. B15). Dated in the year 57. Photograph, courtesy
Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.VI.C Seated Neminātha with Vaiṣṇava attendants
(MM No. 34.2488). Late Kuṣāṇa.

Pl. 36.VII.A. Eight-armed Viṣṇu (MM No. 1010) Kuṣāna,

Pl. 36.VII.B Hayagrīva (BKB No. 4846). Kuṣāṇa. Photograph, courtesy Bharat Kala Bhavan, B.H.U.

Pl. 36.VIII.A Viṣṇu possibly as Trivikrama (SML No. J610). Late Kuṣāṇa. Photograph, courtesy State Museum.

Pl. 36.VIII.B Viṣṇu Caturvyūha (MM No. 392–395). Late Kuṣāṇa. Photograph, courtesy Government Museum, Mathurā.

Pl. 36.IX.A Snake Deity, possibly Balarāma (Norton Simon Foundation F 75.15. I.S.A.) Kuṣāṇa. Photograph, courtesy The Norton Simon Foundation.

Pl. 36.IX.B Four-armed Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma as attendant godling (SML S758). 2nd–3rd century.

Pl. 36.X Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa (MM No. 77.4) Kuṣāṇa.

fragment shows the god wearing the central crested turban, heavy circular earrings, a broad beaded necklace, bangles, armlets as well as the *dhotī* and scarf around the waist. The natural right hand rests on the 'cushion' support which connects it to the mace. The flask is held at the hip. Bifurcation occurs above the natural left elbow in this early Kuṣāṇa statuette. In one of the kinship triads mentioned above (MM No. 67.529; Pl. 36.III.B), Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's hands are similarly poised.

Another example (MM No. 1729; Pl. 36.IV.B) is a torso adorned with a beautifully carved floral garland (*vanamālā*). Though considerably damaged, this piece gives clear indication of the long-neck and conical shape of the flask.

Before considering those four-armed icons featuring the conch, it should be noted that whereas the conch is a distinctive Vaiṣṇava attribute, the flask or water-pot is not. Indeed, the flask is used as a pan-Indic attribute in Kuṣāṇa-Mathurā art. It is found in the left hand of such divergent deities as Maitreya (e.g. NMD No. 60.1316), a Nāga (e.g. NMD 68.136), Agni (MM No. 2883), and a colossus identified as Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa (MM No. 77.4; see below). Although a complete analysis of this attribute would be desirable, it may be suggested that its original significance stems from the Brahmanic religious sphere, whence it was homologized into early sectarian art.[18]

2. *Holding the conch*

In Mathurā, the use of the conch, as the flask, begins in the early Kuṣāṇa phase. However, the conch is depicted far more frequently and ultimately supplants the flask. Perhaps its usage represents a desire to associate a more pronounced *kṣatriya* attribute with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. About 18 icons belong in this category. Variations occur with respect to posture, headdress, shape of the mace and placement of the hand on the mace. These are noted below.

a. Standing figures

1. With turban

The best preserved example is a rather large, early Kuṣāṇa relief (MM No. 2487; ht. 1′ 2½″; Pl. 36.IV.C). bejeweled god, having an *ūrṇā* on the brow, stands *samapada*, garbed in the *dhotī* and hip scarf. The typical Kuṣāṇa central crested turban is decorated with a foliated rosette. A broad torque covers the shoulders; from its center hangs a leafy pendant. The *yajñopavīta* curves across the chest. The tapering mace stands on its narrow end and is supported by the raised right arm which wraps around it.

MM No. 68.13, though basically the same, has one variant. The raised right hand rests on top of the mace. Two other effaced pieces also show the hand in this position: MM No. U5 (ht. 6½″) and MM No. 891 (ht. 4″).

A buff sandstone relief (MM No. U67; ht. 6″) features two variations. First, the god wears a long, slender *vanamālā* which extends from the left shoulder to the knees and loops unto the elbow of the natural right arm. Second, the tapering mace stands on its broader side and is held by the extra encircling right hand.

2. With cylindrical *mukuṭa*

The finest example of this type is a small statuette (MM No. 15.956; ht. 8½″; Pl. 36.III.A). Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa wears a beaded torque and places his raised right hand over the long mace banded on top and near the bottom. The bifurcation, seen on the left, occurs just below the shoulder; this is typical for the Kuṣāṇa period. This piece, together with a similar statuette (MM No. 2007; ht. 5½″) probably date to the late Kuṣāṇa phase.

The type is also depicted with raised right hand wrapped around the narrow end of the tapering mace, which may be banded at intervals (NMD Nos. 66.76; 66.23; MM Nos. U35; 1168).[19]

3. Miscellaneous conch-bearing icons

A small bust (MM No. 49.3502; ht. 6″) having all arms broken except the conch-bearing left arm, is notable for a *vanamālā* whose intricate floral pattern has similarities with MM No. 392–5 (Pl. 36.VIII.B). The torso of both these sculptures is shaped like a voluminous inverted triangle, and is carved with attention to the tactile quality of the skin. Iconographically, MM No. 68.11 also belongs in this classification.

b. Seated figures

A unique miniature carving (MM No. 4200; ht. 2½″; Pl. 36.V.A), shows Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa borne upon Garuḍa. The relief is a seated version of the standing type described above; the natural left hand holds the *śaṅkha*. The wings of Garuḍa are stretched out widely. There is considerable evidence in support of identifying the figure as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa rather than Viṣṇu. First, an association between Garuḍa and Bhagavān Vāsudeva is already indicated by the Śuṅga pillar inscription at Besnagar. Second, in the epic (Mbh. 2.2.12; 5.81.20) Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's chariot is said to be marked by the Garuḍa standard. Third, the entire iconography of this relief—*gadā*, *cakra*, *śaṅkha* and Garuḍa—is associated with Vāsudeva in the later Pāñcarātra text, the *Sāttvata-Saṃhitā* (5.9–12).

In another seated figure (MM No. 39.2858; ht. 6¾"; Pl. 36.V.B), several departures from the standing type are notable. The four-armed god is seated in *lalitāsana* and extends his natural right hand in *varada mudrā*. New also is the lotus motif, introduced as a decorative element in the seat upon which the god sits. These innovative features seem to endorse the late Kuṣāṇa date assigned to this piece below.

3. *Miscellaneous four-armed standing Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa figures*

A broken four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa found at Sonkh is most useful in establishing a relative chronology for several of the Vāsudeva icons (Pl. 36.VI.A). The mottled sandstone image was found in Level 16, an upper Kuṣāṇa layer.[20] The god wears the high cylindrical crown decorated with crosshatchings.[21] The natural left hand is on the hip; the raised left is broken. The natural right is in *abhaya* and the raised right wraps around a long mace. He wears the *yajñopavīta* over the left shoulder.[22] The only ornament is a necklace worn close to the throat. The *dhotī*, whose folds are delineated by incised parallel lines, follows the contour of the body, and the gathered folds fall in the center. Very similar in style and iconography is the Ashmolean Museum fragment (No. OS 38A; ht. 4"), which can now also be dated to the late Kuṣāṇa period. To this period can likewise be assigned several icons listed in footnote 21. A late Kuṣāṇa date would also be suitable for a broken bust of four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (MM No. 781; ht. 8½"). The high *mukuṭa* that he wears exhibits crosshatchings as well as side flutings and circular medallions. These decorative elements are also found on MM Nos. 39.2858; (Pl. 36.V.B); 956 (Pl. 36.III.A); 392–5 (Pl. 36.VIII.B), all late Kuṣāṇa images.

These pieces show further stylistic interconnections. For example, the treatment of the flowing hair (as rows of parallel curving lines), delineated on the back only, is markedly similar in No. 781 and No. 956. The *vanamālā* of No. 781 compares well with that of MM Nos. 3502 and 392–5. (The latter, a *caturvyūha* image, has been assigned to the late Kuṣāṇa period in another context.)[23] The highly ornamental segment of a tree seen on the left side of No. 781 recalls the exquisite foliage of the *aśoka* tree seen on the reverse of the *caturvyūha* image.

In sum, a network of features relate to those found on the Sonkh Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and corroborate the dating established by the Sonkh excavation.

Three fragments (MM Nos. 3902.4; 2052; 2008) show a Vaiṣṇava god with *gadā* and *cakra* in the raised hands. The natural hands are broken in all cases except No. 2052, where the right is in *abhaya*. On the basis of the foregoing, it is likely that the god depicted is Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Another fragment (MM No. 883; ht. 3¾") shows the god wearing turban and holding the mace in the upper right hand. The natural right is in *abhaya*. The icon was originally four-armed. Noteworthy is the unusual drumlike form extended across the chest.

C. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma as attendant godlings

Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa appears, together with his elder brother, as an attendant to the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. As such, he is always shown to the left of the Jina; to the right of Neminātha stands Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. Iconographically, this type of Jain image is likewise a triad, with the Vṛṣṇi brothers assuming the same positions here as in the kinship triads (see section II. A).

One inscribed image, whose exact identification has hitherto escaped attention, belongs in this category. Considerably damaged, the image (MM No. B15; Pl. 36.VI.B) retains the large central figure of Neminātha and a much smaller Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma poised on a pedestal to the right. His hands are raised in *añjali mudrā*; the serpent hood is spread over his head. The inscription bears a date of 57.[24] The nimbus has a scalloped outer edge, typical in Kuṣāṇa-Mathurā art; within is contained a many-pointed star, a late and post-Kuṣāṇa development at Mathurā. The same nimbus is seen behind another relief of Neminātha (MM No. 34.2488; Pl. 36.VI.C). To the Jina's right Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma is represented in the same manner as in the inscribed image. This relief also shows Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa to the left, holding his hands in *añjali mudrā*.[25] The style of Neminātha's hair is further evidence in support of a late Kuṣāṇa dating; the Jina's hair is rendered in tiers of semi-circular lines.

The deified brothers continue to be seen on either side of Neminātha icons in the late Kuṣāṇa period as well as in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Two sculptures probably dating to the 3rd century A.D. (J117[26] and J60 in the State Museum, Lucknow), portray the two-armed deities in a similar manner. Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma, identified by the serpent hood overhead, stands to the right with hands in *añjali mudrā*. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa assumes the same attitude on the opposite side. Both these reliefs come from Mathurā. Mathurā's workshops also conceived of these attendant godlings with four arms, as is demonstrated by two images in the State Museum, Lucknow (Nos. S758 and J47). The lateral figures of J47 are badly mutilated. In addition, published descriptions of the icon are rather ambiguous.[27]

It does however appear that both godlings were originally four-armed. Part of Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma's club is preserved and the flask of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa also remains.[28] Only a portion of S758 is preserved and shows a four-armed Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma (for the description, see section II.G.2 and Pl. 36.IX.B). The multiarmed convention continues to be associated with the acolytes in icons dating to the later 3rd and 4th centuries. An example is the broken sculpture (SML No. J89[29]) depicting the upper portion of a four-armed Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. His natural right hand is raised and rests in front of the serpent-hood; the natural left hand holds a broken object. The extra right and left hands hold the club and lion-plough respectively. The Gupta stele in the State Museum, Lucknow (No. J121[30]) features a standing Neminātha flanked by the multiarmed deities. Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma, protected by the *nāga* hood, has his natural right hand raised in front of the hood and the corresponding left holds a cup close to the chest. The extra hands are indistinct, but appear to hold the club (*musala*) and plough (*hala*) respectively. Traces of the four-arms of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa are discernible, as well as the associated conch and *gadā*. In the pre-Gupta relief in the Mathurā Museum (No. 2502), both godlings wear the cylindrical *mukuṭa*. Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma is recognized by the serpent hood, the plough held in the upper left and the cup held in the natural left hand. *Gadā* and *cakra* are seen in the extra raised hands of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

This type of Jaina icon may reflect some religious concept indigenous to Mathurā.[31] All the aforementioned pieces were made in Mathurā. The type is seldom seen outside of this school and Mathurā may have invented it.[32]

D. Eight-armed Vaiṣṇava figures

Two such icons come from Mathurā.[33] In one (MM No. 1010; ht. 4″; Pl. 36.VII.A) the god wears the typical central crested turban. Only the right upper portion of the relief remains; the objects held in three raised hands are a rock, a sword and arrows. The fourth arm holds an unidentified weapon to the chest. The other *aṣṭabhuja* icon (MM No. 50.3550; ht. 1′ 1″) depicts the same objects held in the three raised right hands. The natural right hand holds a round object to the chest. On the left, a conch is carried in the natural hand. The torso is well adorned with armlets, bracelets, *ekāvalī*, floral garland, a long *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*. Enough of the lower portion remains to indicate that the *dhotī* clad god stands in *vīrabhāva*, the heroic stance.

Early iconographic references to eight-armed Vaiṣṇava figures (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā* 57.31–33; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* III. 44.11–13) do not fully correspond with Kuṣāṇa images. The significance of the type needs to be studied.[34]

E. Representations of *avatāras*

Although a few *avatāras* are depicted within this period, the theme is clearly in its infancy; usually no more than one example of a particular *avatāra* has so far come to light.

1. The figure of Hayagrīva has been identified on a small architectural fragment in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (No. 4846; Pl. 36.VII.B).[35] The horse-headed deity sits cross-legged. Four armed, he holds the *gadā* and *cakra* in the raised right and left hands. The natural right relaxes on the rounded abdomen, and the natural left folds inward and holds an unidentified object. As with other Kuṣāṇa Vaiṣṇava icons, no halo is present.

2. To date, one Varāha relief is known; it bears an inscription (MM No. 65.15).[36] Though the figure's head is damaged, the thick neck, massive body and the small female—obviously the Earth—perched on the left shoulder, all clearly indicate that this is a *varāha* image. Four-armed Varāha stands in *ālīḍha* posture. The extra arms hold discs engraved with identical images of Sūrya and his horses, an unusual feature with the *varāha* motif. Varāha's human body is decorated with a plain *vanamālā* and the *śrīvatsa* emblem. This is the only occurrence of the emblem in the Vaiṣṇava art of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā.

3. The possibility of Trivikrama's appearance on an architectural fragment from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (SML No. J610; ht. 11″; Pl. 36.VIII.A) has been suggested by N.P. Joshi.[37] The relief shows two figures: a small, possibly crowned male kneeling before a much larger god who has four arms and wears a broad, floral garland. The *gadā* rests on its narrow base and is supported by the extra right hand placed on top. The *cakra* is held by the extra left hand which is suspended downward. The natural left holds the *śaṅkha* at the waist, while the natural right hand extends downward in a gesture approximating *varada mudrā*. The *dhotī* clad deity displays neither nimbus nor headgear. The hair is worn in snail-shell curls, usually seen on the Buddha and Jinas. This feature, together with the suspended left hand and kneeling devotee are unique to Kuṣāṇa Vaiṣṇava iconography. That this fragment may be a late Kuṣāṇa piece is indicated by the treatment of the hair, the suspended hands and the appearance of *varada mudrā*.

4. *Kṛṣṇa Līlās*. A scene usually identified as the Keśīvadha episode can be identified on two Mathurā weight stones. A well preserved example is in a private

Pakistani collection. A two-armed figure is portrayed fighting the horse.[38] The other is a fragment of a weight stone in the Mathurā Museum (No. 58.4476)[39] which only preserves the rampant horse; the horse is identical to the one on the Pakistani weight stone.

It is instructive to observe the iconographic differences between the figure taken to be Kṛṣṇa in this līlā and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in the icons discussed above. Kṛṣṇa is not portrayed with multiple arms, nor is he depicted with any of the emblems associated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. In addition, Kṛṣṇa's rather realistic fighting pose contrasts sharply with the formulaic stance of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. In sum, whereas the former is rendered in human terms, the latter is conceived in supra-human terms.

The difficulty in considering MM No. 1344 as a Kṛṣṇa Līlā has been discussed elsewhere.[40] Though often cited as a Kuṣāṇa example of Vasudeva carrying baby Kṛṣṇa across the Yamunā to the village of Gokula, I cannot find enough evidence in the relief to support this interpretation. It seems much more likely that the figure supporting a container on his head is a gaṇa bringing offering to a deity. The deity should have occupied the right segment of the relief, which is now unfortunately broken off. Both the gaṇa and the Nāga, also in the river, gaze in that direction. Moreover, the Nāga's hands are in *añjalimudrā*, the gesture of adoration, of offering and of salutation. A bowl-supporting gaṇa is a type frequently depicted in early Indian art; a rather large number come from Mathurā.[41] The gaṇas all raise their arms to support the bowl or basket on the head. It may be established that this container holds offering since a relief from Amarāvatī (No. 77.31[42]) shows a worshipper acquiring something from the bowl supported by a gaṇa, and a Mathurā relief (No. 15.563[42]) depicts two devotees lifting flower garlands out of baskets held up by two squatting gaṇas. In view of the plastic evidence and the failure of early literary descriptions to mention a river crossing in connection with Kṛṣṇa's removal from Mathurā[42], it seems preferable not to consider MM No. 1344 as a Kṛṣṇa Līlā.

F. A Caturvyūha Icon

A *caturvyūha* icon gives plastic expression to a specific Vaiṣṇava notion concerning the nature of the divine. The idea is that the divine emits four emanations (*caturvyūha*) for the purpose of creating the phenomenal world and to provide man a means of worshipping that which is essentially transcendental. The four emanations of the transcendental Power are given the following names: Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Vāsudeva is the first *vyūha* and theologically the most important, being the fountainhead of the subsequent, successive emanations.

Though the *caturvyūha* image is not invented at Mathurā, it is here that it receives extraordinary refinement and cohesiveness of expression, as evinced by MM No. 392–5 (Pl. 36.VIII.B).[43] Enough of this image remains to identify the central crowned figure as the first *vyūha*, Vāsudeva, and the figure projecting laterally to the right as the second *vyūha*, Saṁkarṣaṇa. Though fragmentary, Vāsudeva's form indicates that originally he may have had four arms. The natural right is poised in *abhaya mudrā*, while the raised right hand rests on top of a highly ornamented mace. The natural left rests at the hip holding what looks like a conch.[44] The extra left arm is broken. Vāsudeva's exquisitely chiseled features are framed by a high *mukuṭa* whose decorative elements reflect late Kuṣāṇa stylistic trends (see section II.B.3), as does the wide, floral *vanamālā*. Saṁkarṣaṇa can be identified by the serpent hood overhead, the single earring and the wine goblet held close to the chest by the left hand.[45] Probably his right arm was originally raised in front of the serpent canopy.[46]

Several insights into Vaiṣṇava iconography may be gained by comparing the forms of the first and second *vyūhas* with representations of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma on the kinship reliefs. Regarding the iconography of the former, a noticeable degree of stability is apparent. This is not the case with Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. Whereas the characteristic symbols associated with this god in the *caturvyūha* icon—serpent hood, single earring and wine goblet—are established elements in his iconography (cf. MM Nos. C 15; 14.406.4; SML No. 57.457, see below), they are not prominent in his representations on the Mathurā kinship reliefs. In that context, he is mainly depicted with the mace and the lion-plough. Also he may have two or four arms, whereas in the *caturvyūha* model he has two arms. These divergencies and their religious significance need further investigation.

G. Representations of Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma

The ensuing discussion limits itself to an amplification of the preceding observation, namely that there are two rather distinct iconographic types for this god.[47] Type I is based on the *caturvyūha* model and Type II on the kinship model. Examples illustrative of these two types and notable variations are cited below. As such, the survey includes seventeen Kuṣāṇa and transitional pieces known to me; there may however be more.[48]

1. *Type I*

This type, of which the exemplar is the Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma in the *caturvyūha* icon (MM No. 392–5, Pl. 36.VIII.B), is seen in instances where the god is portrayed alone. A late Kuṣāṇa sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. C15)[49] clearly shows the characteristic features of this type (i.e. snake hoods, single earring, goblet held to the chest by the left hand) as well as such other features associated with the god as the triple crested headgear and *ekāvalī*.[50] Related examples are found in the Mathura Museum (Nos. 52.3636[51] and 14.406[52]) and the State Museum, Lucknow (No. 57.457[53]). It is of course intriguing to note the close resemblance this type bears to the Nāgarājas that the Mathurā artists fashioned during this time (e.g. the Chargaon Nāgarāja; the Nāgarāja in the Norton Simon Collection: No. F.75.15.1.S.A.; the latter may in fact be a Balarāma; Pl. 36.IX.A).

Although the snake hoods may shelter the god when he appears as Neminātha's acolyte (see MM No. B15; MM No. 2488; SML No. 117; SML No. 60) the other distinctive elements of Type I are not depicted. Instead, the two-handed god is consistently portrayed in these sculptures with *añjali mudrā*. Therefore it does not seem that a close conceptual connection exists between the acolyte motif and Type I; nor does it seem that the former is derived from the latter.

2. *Type II*

This type is best illustrated in a Mathurā kinship relief (MM No. 67.529; Pl. 36.III.B). The god has four arms. He holds a mace in the upper right and a plough surmounted by a small lion in the upper left hand. The natural right is in *abhaya* and the natural left hand rests at the waist. Much the same portrayal of the god is seen in MM No. U45, another kinship relief; related examples also exist.[54]

A fragment of a probable Neminātha image preserves only the attendant, four-armed Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma situated on the right (SML No. S758; Pl. 36.IX.B). Wearing the triple crested turban and single earring, the god is shown resting his extra right hand on top of a heavy mace. To his left is seen a plough surmounted by a small lion. These attributes are present in another fragment (MM No. 39.2856) showing a four-armed Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma; the fragment may have been the right side of a Neminātha icon, but more probably it formed part of a Brahmanical kinship triad.

The interesting aspect of Type II is that, in the main, the same basic iconography adheres to the god in many of the Jaina Neminātha icons and the Brahmanical Vṛṣṇi kinship representations. Possibly this iconography stresses lineage and related factors.

3. *Icons combining Type I and Type II*

Already the Śuṅga Balarāma from Jansuti displays a combination of symbols. Subsequent examples are much later, dating to the late Kuṣāṇa period (MM No. C19) and the Gupta period (SML No. J89; J121).

In MM No. C19,[55] Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma is two-armed. The right hand is, as in Type I, raised in front of the protective serpent hood. The left hand holds an object, probably a goblet close to the chest. To the right is a mace; on the left is a staff crowned with a miniature lion. In the partially preserved Jain fragment (SML No. J89, see above), the god's natural hands are poised as in Type I and the extra hands are held as in Type II. This schema is also seen in other Jain steles (e.g. SML No. J121, described above and cf. MM No. 2502).[56] Probably the schema is the result of combining the two types and may provide further credence to the idea that two distinct modes of representation existed for Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma.

H. A colossus of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa

Most of the images described in this paper are small. There is however one colossus which has recently come to light (MM No. 77.4; Pl. 36.X). In a study of this statue, it has been proposed that the icon represents Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa, an important cosmic creator in Vedic literature who is described in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas as Supreme Lord, ground of all being.[57] The identification is based on a correlation between the iconography of the colossus which belongs, in its entirety, to the sphere of the Brahmanical ascetic, and a series of Vedic and Epic references which show that Lord Nārāyaṇa, an ascetic god *par excellence*, represents spiritual perfection expressive of Vedic religion and culture.[58]

The icon displays deliberate concern to portray only ascetic symbolism. The god's *jaṭājūṭa*, his hairy countenance, a tilak at the base of the brows, short and unadorned earlobes, his fibrous lower garment, all bespeak of an ascetic. The god's ascetic nature is further emphasized by the water pot and rosary that he carries, by the antelope skin across his shoulder and the *yajñopavīta* draped over his chest. In this way, every detail confirms that the colossus typifies a Brahmanical ascetic.[59]

In that Nārāyaṇa is closely associated in Vedic and Epic literature with Puruṣa, a cosmic male giant of the ancient Vedic tradition, Nārāyaṇa's depiction as a colossal male is highly appropriate. As such, the icon appears to reflect a *bhakti* cult dedicated to the worship of Nārāyaṇa as Supreme.[60] Purely Vaiṣṇava symbols are absent on this figure, and though Nārāyaṇa plays a significant role in the formulation of Hinduistic Viṣṇu,

there may be no historical urgency to consider this image, of the Kuṣāṇa period, as a Vaiṣṇava image.

III. CONCLUSION

An extraordinary reversal occurs in the output described above. Prior to the Kuṣāṇa period, in the several centuries around the Christian era, Mathurā is neither an innovator nor a center of Vaiṣṇava artistic activity. Indeed, during these ages, Mathurā seems not to partake in experiments carried on further south. This situation changes dramatically within Kuṣāṇa times: An explosion in the number and types of images occurs. The Mathurā workshops fashioned four-armed Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and eight-armed Vaiṣṇava icons; they gave plastic expression to the *avatāra* concept; they invented the image of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa; they created a new vocabulary to express the *caturvyūha* notion, and they conceptualized a variety of ways to represent the deified Vṛṣṇi stock.

Greater Mathurā's enormous productivity, inventiveness and influence can best be gaged when the above assemblage is contrasted with the production of Vaiṣṇava art in the rest of Northern India during the Kuṣaṇa time. Icons from six other centers come to mind: the Vṛṣṇi kinship trio from Devangarh (Gayā District, Bihar); a Balarāma from Jhusi (Allahabad District, U.P.; No. 858 in the Allahabad Museum[61]); a head of Viṣṇu from Malwa in the University of Pennsylvania, University Museum; Vaiṣṇava deities on the lowest row of the Nānda Caturmukha Liṅga (near Puṣkara, Rajasthan); three Vaiṣṇava fragments from Amreli (Amreli District, Gujarat[62]) and an eight-armed Vaiṣṇava icon from Kosam (Allahabad District, U.P.[63]). Not only is the Mathurā idiom to be detected in all these pieces (the ones from Amreli to a lesser degree, the rest to a greater degree), but also Mathurā's rate of productivity cannot be matched by any of these sites. Thus, during this time, Mathurā was THE creator and disseminator of Vaiṣṇava art modes as well as the probable center of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* cults.

Abbreviations used in this paper

BKB	– Bharat Kala Bhavan
MM	– Government Museum, Mathurā
NMD	– National Museum, New Delhi
SML	– State Museum, Lucknow

NOTES

1. The sculpture is illustrated in N. P. Joshi, *The Iconography of Balarāma*, New Delhi 1979, Plate 9.
2. N. P. Joshi, 'On the Iconography of Balarāma in North India', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 10 (1972), p. 17. In Dr. Joshi's recent book (*Balarāma*, p. 25), he identifies another Śuṅga Balarāma from Tumain.
3. Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma stands under an umbrella, holding club and plough. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, also under an umbrella, holds a vase and a wheel. The identification of the coin's sides relies on Professor Härtel's analysis given at the Mathurā Seminar: a coin of Agathocles should have reserved the Greek script for the obverse and the Brāhmī script for the reverse. The resultant positions of the deities on the coin affirms the kinship relationship existing between Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma, the elder Vṛṣṇi brother, and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, the younger brother. This kinship relationship continues to be depicted in the Kuṣāṇa period (see section II. A).
4. On this image, SML No. 56.394, see my paper 'Early Vaiṣṇava Imagery: Caturvyūha and Variant Forms', *Archives of Asian Art*, XXXII (1979), pp. 39–54; figs. 4–7.
5. The inferences are based on two inscriptions. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* I, Calcutta 1965, pp. 88–89; J. Agrawala, 'Vidisha Stone Pillar Inscription of the Reign of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, dated Rengal Year 12', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. III (1965), pp. 99–100.
6. D. C. Sircar, 'Burhīkhar Brāhmī Inscription', *Proleg. of the Indian Historical Congress*, 1953; pp. 39–41. I am indebted to Prof. Donald Stadtner for informing me about this paper.
7. Doris Srinivasan, 'Early Kṛṣṇa Icons: The Case at Mathurā', *Kalādarśana, American Studies in the Art of India*, ed. J. Williams. New Delhi 1981, pp. 127–136.
8. See Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', p. 131.
9. They are: MM Nos. 67.529; U45; 15.912 and one in a Pakistani collection. Probably a fragment (MM No. 39.2856) depicts the first member of the triad, Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma. It is possible that the fragment formed part of a Jain triad (see section II. G.2), although the contours of the fragment makes this less likely.
10. Prof. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw provided me with the information about this piece which she intended to publish.
11. See Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', Figs. 4, 5, 6.
12. Although the triad is represented as Dr. N. P. Joshi pointed out to me, the composition differs and it is not clear whether the kinship relation is being stressed.
13. Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', pp. 131–132.
14. Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', pp. 131–132. For additional reference see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* IV, 664. Another reference is found in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* where it is mentioned that the recipient of the first lump is Pradyumna, of the second Saṁkarṣaṇa and of the third Vāsudeva. The offerer of the piṇḍas contemplates himself

to be Aniruddha. (See D. R. Shastri, *Origin and Development of Rituals in Ancient Worship in India*, Calcutta 1963, p. 175.)

15. It should be noted however that the findspot of the three separate statues at Devangarh cannot be clearly associated with the sacred places for *śrāddha* in the town of old Gayā, and the rationale for the icons' provenance is not as direct as my earlier paper suggests ('Kṛṣṇa Icons', p. 132). I am thankful to Prof. Frederick Asher for informing me on this and drawing my attention to Devangarh's considerable distance from the *śrāddha* tīrthas; these are not more than 5 to 7 miles from old Gayā (cf. Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra* IV, 667), while Devangarh is about 50 miles away. Even so, Devangarh may well have been within the religious and economic orbit of Gayā-kṣetra. It is probable that Devangarh was located on a route linking it to Gayā's tīrthas (Frederick M. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India 300–800*, Minneapolis 1980, p. 18). The proximity of this site to the *śrāddha* center may yet be the most viable explanation for the fashioning of statues depicting the three Vṛṣṇi ancestors in a locality otherwise devoid of sculpture until *c.* the 7th century (Asher, *Eastern India*, p. 18).
16. Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', p. 129.
17. Two exceptions are appearance of the *ūrṇā* on MM Nos. 392–5 and 34.2487.
18. Cf. Doris Srinivasan, 'God as Brahmanical Ascetic: A Colossal Kushan Icon of the Mathura School', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N. S., Vol. X ('78–'79), p. 5.
19. The squatness of No. 1168 is somewhat unusual; similar proportions are seen on a four-armed headless Vaiṣṇava figure holding a large inverted *gadā* (MM No. 919).
20. Level 16 is dated to Vāsudeva I/Kaniṣka III; see Herbert Härtel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh', *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, Bombay 1976, p. 85.
21. The same headdress is seen in reliefs of MM Nos. U35; 39.2858 and NMD No. 66.23.
22. So also NMD No. 66.23.
23. See Srinivasan, 'Vaiṣṇava Imagery', fn. 3.
24. See discussion in J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, Leiden 1949, pp. 254–255.
25. The same *mudrā* is seen on an unidentified, four-armed male torso (SML No. B127; ht. 1''). N. P. Joshi (*Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow* I, Lucknow 1972, p. 119) suggests that this may be a figure of Viṣṇu. The fragment is from Mathurā and dates to the Kuṣāṇa period. The deity sits upon a support decorated with lotus petals. His normal hands are folded and the extra hands are closed and suspended on either side of the torso. There are no other distinguishing symbols. It seems reasonable to suppose that this is a Vaiṣṇava figure. Vaiṣṇava deities may be both four-armed and attendants with folded hands, as the Neminātha reliefs show. Furthermore, a Vaiṣṇava deity may sit on a lotus seat as indicated by MM No. 39.2858, above.
26. See Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 11.
27. Cf. Joshi, *Balarāma*, pp. 66; 86. See V. N. Srivastava, 'Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, no. 9 (1972), p. 50.
28. See Srivastava, 'Jaina Sculptures', Figs. 5, 5a, 5b.
29. See Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 25.
30. See Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 24; Srivastava, 'Jaina Sculptures', Fig. 6.
31. According to Jaina legend, Neminātha belongs to the family of Kṛṣṇa (*harivaṁśa*) and is a cousin of both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma; B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, 2nd rev. ed., Delhi 1974, pp. 57–58.
32. Srivastava, 'Jaina Sculptures', p. 45.
33. See K. D. Bajpai, 'Two Rare Images of Viṣṇu from Mathura', *J.U.P.H.S.* Vol. II N.S. (1954), pp. 17–19.
34. N. P. Joshi suggests that the eight-armed form of Viṣṇu was regarded as a combination of the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu (*Balarāma*, p. 15). I find it difficult to agree with this suggestion since the attributes and stance of the eight-armed type shows hardly any correlation with the way *vyūhas* are depicted.
35. N. P. Joshi, 'Hayagrīva in Brahmanical Iconography', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S. Vol. 5 (1972–1973), pp. 36–42.
36. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Mathura 1966; Appendix II, pp. iii–vii; Pl. 101. Mention should be made of a small (ht. 6½''), unique *varāha* faced *yakṣa*-type figure (MM No. 1254). This two-armed figure is broken below the abdomen. A long-necked flask is held in the right hand, and what may be a flower bud is kept in the left. The identity of the image is problematic; the possibility of its being another *varāha* icon cannot be ruled out.
37. Joshi, *Catalogue*, pp. 14–15; 79–80.
38. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathura: Their Cultural Relationship', *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. P. Pal, Leiden 1972, pp. 27–43; Plate XI (top).
39. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, p. 68; Pl. 64.
40. Srinivasan, 'Kṛṣṇa Icons', p. 127 and fn. 6.
41. See Gritli v. Mitterwallner, 'Yakṣas of ancient Mathurā', in this volume.
42. See discussion in Mitterwallner, 'Yakṣas'.
43. For a detailed discussion on this and related icons see Srinivasan, 'Vaiṣṇava Imagery', 39 ff.
44. It may be compared to the shape of the conch in MM No. 956.
45. Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*. Reprint. Varanasi, Delhi 1972, p. 196.
46. Cf. MM No. 14.406.4.
47. For a detailed survey of the god's iconography see Joshi, *Balarāma*.
48. Joshi (*Balarāma*, p. xv) notes 24 Kuṣāṇa images.
49. It is the long, thin *vanamālā* and the modelling of the torso that suggest a late Kuṣāṇa or Transition date.
50. Joshi, *Balarāma*, Chap. 3.
51. This is a small, poorly fired terracotta; see Joshi, *Balarāma*, Figs. 2 and 3.

52. It compares well stylistically with MM Nos. 392–5 and 42.2949; see Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 21.
53. See Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 22.
54. E.g. Saṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma on the weight stone in the Pakistani collection, referred to in fn. 9. MM No. 1325, a headless, four-armed male figure with the mace and plough in the right and left hands, respectively, also represents this god.
55. See Joshi, *Balarāma*, Pl. 18.
56. Cf. also the four-armed Balarāma from Mathurā in the Berlin Museum (No. IC 34 618) which dates to the Gupta period.
57. See Srinivasan, 'Brahmanical Ascetic', pp. 1–16.
58. Srinivasan, 'Brahmanical Ascetic', pp. 7–11.
59. Other deities whose iconography incorporates elements of the Brahmanical ascetic are Brahmā, Śiva and Agni. The reasons for discounting each of these in the identification of the statue is given in my paper 'Brahmanical Ascetic', pp. 3–7.
60. For a more complete account of the inscriptional and material remains of the several centuries around the Christian era which testify to a *bhakti* cult of Lord Nārāyaṇa, see my forthcoming paper 'Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa: A Colossal Kushan Icon' in *South Asian Art and Architecture*, ed. A. K. Narain.
61. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Bombay 1966, p. 61 (it is incorrectly labeled a *nāga*). Cf. this image with SML No. 57.457.
62. S. R. Rao, Excavations at Amreli, Vol. XVIII in *Bulletin of Museum & Picture Gallery*, Baroda 1966, Plate XXX.
63. SML No. 49.247. Mention may also be made of a piece found further south. From Kondamotu (Guntur Dist. in Andhra) comes a panel depicting a four-armed Nṛsiṁha having the Śrīvatsa emblem on the chest and surrounded by the Pañcavīras. Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, 'An Early Sculpture of Narasiṁha', *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series* 16, Hyderabad (1964).

Index

Abhidharma 220
Ābhīra tribes (Abhiras) 13, 52, 78, 94
Abhisāra 24, 49, 51, 52
Abhiseka Lakṣmī 21, 131, 132 150
Abyssinian ports 33
Ācāya Maiṁgu 211
Ācārya Kaṇḍila 211, 228
Achaemenid period 21
Actors 229
Adela 49
Administration 74; Administrative functions 46; Administrators 64
Aethiopian port Adulis 49
Afghanisthan 6, 22, 24, 63, 74–76, 79; Eastern 155
Agate 6
Agathocles 61, 127
Aggalapura 47
Agnimitra 35
Agra 4, 5, 7, 51, 54
Agrawala, V.S. 32, 33, 77, 199, 333
Agriculture 4, 6; Implements 32; produce 31; richness 3
Agrodaka 47
Agori 6
Ahar 172, 175
Ahicchatrā 35, 48, 88, 89, 142, 144, 202, 203
Ai-Khanum 127, 194; excavations 196
Aila lineage 13
Ain-i-Akbari 5
Aitareya Brahmana 59
Ajanta, murals of 76, 89
Ajātaśatru 98
Ajja (Arya) 66
Ākara (eastern Malwa) 52, 53
Akra-Bannu 203
A-k'o-su 49
Akṣayanīvi 31
Akṣobhyaryūhas 88
Alamgirpur 172, 202
Ālanakavihāra 215
Alcoholic beverages 42
Alexandropolis (Kandahar) 49
Aligarh 8
Allahabad 5, 7; inscriptions 123, 158
Allahpur 172
Allan, John 19, 35, 116, 117, 124, 129, 140–143, 263, 264
Alms 60
Alphabet 261 to 266
Alwar 5
Āma, king 210
Amarāvati 51, 370, 376
Amarkoṣa 243
Ambarikha 4, 16
Ambarish Tilā 4, 16, 59, 167
Amitābha Buddha 86, 87, 313 to 314
Aṁitalikilā (Antialcidas) 61
Amitāyur dhỳāna Sūtra 86
Amoghapaśa-sūtra 89
Amohinī 356; votive tablet inscription 21
Ānanda 217, 219, 220
Andhakas 59, 60
Andhakarenhu 14
Andhakavenhudāsaputtas 14
Andhaka Vṛṣṇi segment 13, 14
Andhra 48
Aṅgavijjā 66
Aṅguttara 216
Aṅguttara Nikāya 60, 214, 216; Book of Eights 236
Aniruddha 338
Antarikṣa 243
Antimachus 24, 140
Antimony 33
Antioch 49
Anuvyañjana 238
Apalata 20
Aparānta (The Western Region) Trade Routes 47
Apollodotus 24, 140; coins of 141
Arabian ports 49
Aravali Range 5, 47
Aravallis 13; system 13
Archaeological Survey of India 118, 141, 143, 165, 167, 181
Archaeology 31, 32; Archaeological excavations (finds) 23, 59
Ardāshīr I 121, 122
Ardokhsho 120, 121, 123, 135, 155–157
Arhat vardamāna 62
Arhats, shrine of 332

Aring 5, 7, 8
Arisone 49
Arjuna 93
Arjunāyana 140
Arrian 15, 61
Arsacid 120
Art 77; Jaina 332 to 357; vaisnava 383 to 390; Yaksas Decorative Devices in 375
Artabanus V 158
Artha 229
Arthaśastra 14, 16, 60
Artifacts, Early Historical Period 176
Artisans 31, 33, 34, 72
Aryans 75
Ārya Rakṣitasūri 210
Āryāsanga 90
Āryāvata 232, 233, 302, 304
Āryavati 356, 357
Asia 40, 49; Central Asia 32, 36, 49, 51–53, 63, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 86, 188, 225, 232, 308
Asikuṇḍa 210
Asitāñjana 15
Aśoka 98, 214, 217, 230
Aśokan inscription 16, 17
Aśokavadānamalā 376
Aśpavarma 226
Assalāyana-sutta 66
Aṣṭādhyāyī 59
Aṣṭāhikamahotsava 210
Aṣṭamaṅgala 236 to 243
Astronomy 75
Aśvaghosa 214, 220
Aśvamedha 231
Asyala 24
Atharva veda 243
Athsho 119, 120
Atranjikhera 172, 176
Aṭṭhakathās 214, 215
Attitudes, worldly 44
Auboyer, J. L. 44
Audumbara Mahādeva 21
Audumbaras 21
Aurangabad 89
Aurangzeb, mosque of 141
Avadānakalpalatā 214
Avalokiteśvara 86, 87, 89, 91, 220
Avantiputta 14, 60, 216
Āvaśyaka cūrṇi 210, 211
Āvaśyaka Nirvyūha 353
Avatāras, Representation 387, 388
Ayāgapaṭas 237, 238, 258, 335, 356; *Āyāgapṭṭas and Śitapaṭṭas* Symbols on 333 to 335
Ayodhyā 20, 34, 43, 129 130, 157; *Series* (coins) 156
Ayojjhā 216
Azampur 7
Azes I 132, 134, 141
Azes II 133, 134
Azilises 131, 132, 150

Bacchanaliah sculpture 15
Bāctria 7, 47, 49, 52, 63, 72, 74, 121, 155, 156, 194, 196; Bāctrian coins 224; Bāctrian goblets 188
Badakshan (Afghanistan) 6
Baghelkhand 48
Bago-Laṅgo 195
Bahal 202
Bahawalpur 172, 176
Bahiri 172, 175
Bairat 17
Bajna 7
Bajpai, K. D. 32, 33, 121, 373, 374
Bakanapati 23, 195
Balabhūti 20, 116, 130, 146, 147, 149
Bālacarita 43
Baladeva 215, 351, 354, 355
Balādhika 65
Balahastinī 332
Balarāma 93, 95, 96, 99, 117, 383
Bālhīka 47
Bamboo 5
Bambore 159
Banas 6, 13
Banda 5
Banerji, R. D. 258
Bankers 41
Bappumaṭṭisūri 210
Barabanki 134
Baravai (Dvāravati) 211
Barbaricum 49
Baroda 371
Barsana 4
Barth, Auguste 105–108
Baryayza (Bharh kaccha) 7, 24, 49, 50, 52
Basham, A. L. 42, 44, 133
Basti 35
Batesvara 172
Bay of Bengal 50
Bayana 6
Beads 23, 200–204
Beas River 176
Begram 66, 76, 121, 154, 155, 159
Behat 155
Banaras 159
Bengal 51
Benveniste, E. 196
Berlin, Museum of Indian Art 181
Bernice 49
Bhadar 7
Bhadrāsana 238
Bhāgabhadra 61
Bhagavadgītā 231
Bhāgavata purāṇa 12, 13
Bhāgavatas 232, 383
Bhāgavatism 231, 232

Bhagilā 34, 129
Bhagwanpura 176
Bhaja 53
Bharatpur 3–7, 122
Bharjakia 156
Bhārhut 48, 51, 299
Bhārukaccha 47, 50, 52, 53
Bhāsa 43, 198
Bhāvadatta 20, 130, 140, 146, 149
Bhavanaga, king 157, 231
Bhavanaṁ 218
Bhikṣu Bala 157, 266
Bhikṣu Buddhila 22
Bhiṁasena 211
Bhir Mound 16, 20, 200 (see also Taxila)
Bhokṣyanti 230
Bhūmaka 131
Bhūtaramaṇaudhāna 210
Bhūtagṛha 210
Bhūteśwar 43, 119, 140, 167
Biardeau, Madeleine 94, 95, 97, 98
Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris 230
Bihar 5, 127
Bikaner 144
Bimbisara 98
Bindi 5
Bivar, A. D. 121, 122
Black and Red ware (BRW) 16, 171, 172, 175, 176, 181–185
Black-slipped ware (BSW) 167, 171
Black Sea 77
Boddo 119, 120
Bodhisattvas 75, 87, 88, 91, 300, 369, 374
Brāhmana 23, 60, 64, 216, 218, 227, 228, 230, 259, 304, 310, 371
Brāhmanānām adarśanāt 228
Brahmanism 228, 263
Brahmamitra 20, 62, 128, 129, 142, 146, 147, 149, 264
Brahmanical cults 62, 66; culture 59, 60–66, 302
Brāhmanical gods 34; icons 64
Brahmāṛṣideśa 232
Brahmāvarta 232
Brāhmī 120, 308; Brāhmī Script, classification of 265, 266; Early 317; inscription 247; Kuṣāṇa 301; Late 319; main phase in development of 317; middle 257, 318, 319; origin and popularization of 262; process in Brāhmi script 317; stages 316–319
Braja-maṇḍal 47
Brass goods 32, 33
Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya 211
Bṛhatkalpasūtra bhāṣya 210
Bṛhatkathākośa 211
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 239, 387
British Museum 124, 129, 130
Broach (Bhurukaccha/Barygoza) 211
Broad-edged pen 262
Bronze 6
Buddha 33, 105, 119, 120, 140, 214, 216, 243, 374, 375, 377; guise of 218
Buddhacarita 220
Buddha Gaya 51
Buddhaguhya 238, 239
Buddha image, origin of 87
Buddhism 16, 42, 44, 51, 52, 60, 61, 63, 64, 75, 78, 88, 90, 91, 98, 104–107, 150, 228
Buddhist and Jaina religious establishment 41, 42
Buddhist Art 167
Buddhist canon 14, 104, 236
Buddhist cause 34
Buddhist centres 17
Buddhist culture 79; sects 63
Buddhist inscription 214, 299, 300
Buddhist Literature (Buddhist Literary Source) 60, 214–220
Buddhist Monk 41
Buddhist sources 16
Buddhist vihāra 21
Bühler, Georg 106–110, 257, 265, 373
Building and Houses (occupation) 41, 42, 51
Bull 120, 121, 130, 142, 147, 153, 154, 311
Burgess, James 103, 107–109
Burn, R., coins collection of 131
Burnt bricks 143
Butkara 154–156
Buxar 159

Cakra (wheel) 237, 239
Cakratīrtha 210
Calcutta Museum 318
Cambay 13; node 19
Campa 48, 50
Cāmuṇḍā Tilā 168
Candālī 217
Candragupta I 119, 157
Candragupta Maurya 230
Candragupta Vikramāditya 229
Candravaṁsa 13
Cane 49
Canton 50
Cānūra 216, 219
Carisobora 5, 15
Caspian Gate 49
Cast coins 128
Cast copper coins 141, 142
Caste system 63
Caturvyūha 383
Caturvyuha Icon 388
Caubārā 4, 7
Cautley, Capt. 155
Cedi country 48
Cedis 97
Celeucia 49
Cemūla 48
Central Asia 32, 188
Chamunda, mound 5
Chandra Gupta II 24

Chandraketugarh 51
Chandra, Moti 209
Chanhu-daro 177
Charax Spasimu 49
Chargāon 6, 7
Chatra 239
Chattopadhyay, Dr.B. 121
Chaul 48
Chaumuhan 7, 8
Chaurasi 7
Chautangyamunā Rivers 171
Chautang River 176
Chavannes, Ed., 242
Chhata, Tahsils of 3–6, 8; north 3, south 7
Chhatikra 7, 8
Chhota-kosi 3
Chhu 157
Chih-meng 53
China 49, 50–53, 88, 89; Buddhism came to 88; Chinese historians 158; *Chinese pilgrims, accounts of* 214, 238; Chinese ports 50; Chinese sources 220; Chinese Turkistan 6
Chinna 53
Chirand 172, 175
Christian era 76, 77, 79, 88, 143
Chunar Sandstone 16
Cīnas 228
Cistern 332
Cis-yamuna tract 3, 4, 8
Cīvaravastu 214, 219
Cleisobora 15
Climate 3, 31
Cloak makers 41
Clothes 33, 39, 40, 74–76
Coarse Grey and Block Ware 143
Coarse Grey Ware 182, 185, 187
Coins (coinage) 21, 22, 24, 31, 34, 35, 61, 74, 115–123, 140–144, 146–150, 154, 261; coin-hoards 118, 134; coinage system 34; early 124–135; kusāna copper 22, 153–160; distribution of 155–156; indigenous 128–131; Local 261; Punch-marked coins 16, 115; Pūri-Kusāna coinage 156; Silver punch-marked coins 124, 127, 128, Sino-Kharoṣṭhi coins 156; Tribal 35; Roman 36; V.P. coin committee 118, 119; of Eukratides 224
Coins of Ancient India 140
Commerce 35, 36, 46–54
Commercial links 24
Communication patterns 46–54
Conch 237
Cookery 42; Cooking vessels 79
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 87, 238, 240, 375
Copper 4–7, 119; Copper coins 142; derived from Kuṣanas 156, 157; Copper punch-marked coins 128
Corinthian capital 74
Cosmopolitanism 168, 169
Costana 24
Costume, military 74
Cotton 7; cotton-dealer 41
Courtesan of Mathurā 217
Courtesans 43, 65
Crafts 33, 36; Craftsmanship 192
Crystal 6
Ctesiphon 49, 158
Cūlavaṁsa 214
Culture 72–80; cultural contacts (linkages) 51, 79; cultural elements 74
Cunningham, Sir Alexander 87, 103, 104, 106, 108, 117, 124, 131, 132, 140, 141, 165, 265
Cūtaka Vihāra 31
Cyrisobores 15

Dado Fatehpur Khetri 135
Dakṣiṇa kosala 48
Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā 14
Daksināpatha 46, 48; Trade routes to 48
Dalverzin 194
Dāmaghoṣā 332
Damascus 49
Damirica 52
Damsteegt, Theo 232, 371
Dance 77
Dantapura 48
Daosa in Jaipur 5
Daradas 98, 223, 227
Dariba copper mines of Udaipur 5
Daśakumāracarita 227
Dasārasiha Vasudeva Kaṇha (Daśārhasimha Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa) 211
Dasgupta, K.K. 35
Data (Datta) of Vidisā 259
Dating, system of 332, 333, 369
Dattas (Datta Rulers) 20, 116, 130, 132, 142, 146; coins 35; pottery during period of 188
Deccan 76, 78, 203; plateaus 48; Chalcolithic 175
Delberdzhin Tepe 66
Délégation Archéologique Française in Afghanistan 156, 194
Delhi 17, 54, 59, 158
Delhi-Agra (Filter zone) 19
Delhi-Ambala Road 47
Delhi-Aravalli Axis 19
Demetrius I 21
Deokali 43; pillar 43
Deoriya 303; inscription 304
Desai, Devangana 34
Desert routes 50
Deva, Sri. K, 311
Devagabhā (Devakī) 14, 215
Devakula 23, 194, 195, 198, 199, 312
Devanirmita-stūpa 210
Devaputra Huviṣka 64
Devaputra-vihara 215
Devnī-Morī in Gujarat 303
Dhānyakataka/Amarāvati 48
Dharma 97, 229, 231, 233
Dharmadhatujñāna 91

Dharmaguptakas 215
Dharmanitya 373, 374
Dharmaśāstras 229, 231, 232
Dhenukākalā 231
Dhruvamitra 20, 129
Dhulkot 16; fortifications 6; site 43
Dhvaja-Stambha 143, 239
Digambara Jains 258
Digambara accounts 211; tradition 210
Digvijaya 14
Dikshit, M. G. 36, 144, 172, 202–204
Dilberjin 194
Dioscorida 49
Dipavamsa 214, 215
Divyāvadāna 16, 214, 216, 219
Doab 4; Central 59
Donors 41
Donations 34, 62
Dṛḍhamitra 20, 128, 129, 140, 146, 147, 149
Dresses 65; adoption of in North India 76; Female Scythian dress 40, 75; male Scythian dress 75; ornaments and 39–41, 65; Scythian men 40; Tailoring 33
Durbalikāpuṣyamitra 211
Durga Prasad 124
Duryodhana 97
Duṣṭavikrāntāḥ 230
Dvārakā 13, 94, 96–99
Dvāravatī 13, 14, 47, 216
Dyeing 33
Dyer 41

Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit (E.H.S) 232, 300, 302–304, Buddhist inscription of post-kṣatrapa age 300; inscription of western kṣatrapa 304; inscription 301
Ecbatana 49
Economy 46, 47; Economic History 31–36
Edessa 77
Egypt 72; Egyptian Alexandria 53; Egyptian ports 49
Eight Auspicious Symbols (Aṣṭamaṅgala) 236, 237, 243
Ekānamśā 99
Ekayāna 220
Elephant types 149
Ellora 89
Entertainers 34, 41, Entertainments 42, 43
Epigraphs 65, 312–314; Epigraphic Records 257, 260; Epigraphical evidence 86, 327; Ephigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit 232; Epigraphs and sculptural remains 85
Erakiṇa 34, 129
Eran 34, 172, 175
Erythraean 24
Eta 5
Etched beads 200–204
Eudaemon 49

Fa-hsien 53, 89, 214, 220, 238
Female Divinities 356, 357, 367
Female lay-disciples 62
Female symbolism 236, 237
Food 42, 74; Food habit 78
Foreign Elements 72–80; influences 74; Iconography 78; objects 77
Fortification 23, 63, 64, 74
Foucher, Alfred 87, 88
Führer, A. A. 103–104, 107–110
Funan 50
Furniture 43, 74

Gāmasamika 32
Games 42, 43
Gāmjavara 308
Gandhāra 20, 49, 51, 52, 66, 74, 75, 77, 79, 154–156, 169, 232, 326, 371
Gaṅgā (Ganges) 53, 97, 115, 171, 231; Gaṅgā basin 19–22, 24; Gaṅgā delta 5; Gaṅgā plain 46–48, 51–53; Gaṅgā (Ganges) River Valley 13, 172, 200, 202, 370; Gaṅgā River System 176; Gaṅgā Yamunā Doab 3, 97; Gangetic Doab 4; Gangetic province 156, 158; Gangetic routes 53
Ganganagar 203
Gangoly, O. C. 368, 370
Ganika 23
Gañjavara 259
Ganwaria 35
Gardabhaka 370
Gārgī Saṁhitā 21, 61, 230
Gargya 228
Garhwal 134
Gershevitch, I. 196
Ghata Jātaka 13, 15, 215, 219
Ghosadatta 149
Ghosūndi 52
Ghṛtapuṣyamitra 210
Gilgit texts 370
Gjridharpur 7
Girivaraja 97, 98
Girnar 158
Glass manufacture 36
Göbl, R. 155, 156
Gokarneshvara 78
Gokula 14, 95
Gold 7, 33
Goldsmiths 32, 33, 41
Gomitra 19, 62, 116, 128, 129, 142, 146
Gomitra II 140, 141, 147, 149
Gondophares 158; Gondopharian symbol 22
Gopaveṣavibhūsitau 95
Gosadatta 140
Gotamī 33
Gotiputra (Gautamiputra) 257, 312,
Gotra 310
Govardhana Mount 14, 95, 215
Govinda 95
Govindnagar 86, 120, 122, 123, 167, 313, 376; *Govindnagar Yakśa* 377
Goyonayas 226

Goyoniprabhava 226, 227
Graeco-Bacterian Script 133
Graeco-Roman Emporia 49
Grāmikas 23, 24, 32
Greeks 34, 52, 225; coins of 141, 229; Bactrian 196, 226
Growse, S.S. 103, 165
Guhāvihāra 62, 63
Guhyasamājatantra 89, 242
Guilds 33, 65, 215
Gujarat 13, 24, 47, 49, 52, 53, 78, 172
Gundāvana 14
Gupta, P. L. 115–117, 155, 157, 383
Guptas (Gupta Era; period) 34, 66, 76, 78, 117, 118, 122, 134, 135, 157, 181, 225, 265; coins 123; inscriptions 261
Gurgaon 8

Hadda 154
Hagāmasa 116, 131, 143, 149, 317
Hagāna 22, 116, 131, 140, 146; Hagāmasa group 116
Hair arrangements, styles of 363, 364
Hairaṇyaka 23
Hakra period 172; Hakra River 176
Haṁsa 169
Han Empire 48, 49, 54
Handicrafts 35
Harappa 176, 177; Harappan culture 171, 176, 177
Haribhandrāsūri 210
Harisena 211
Haritī 78
Harivaṁśa 12, 93–99, 150, 169, 223–225, 227, 228, 231, 232
Hartel, Herbert 20, 116, 118, 124, 131, 132, 143, 155, 157, 263, 264
Hāstinapura 15, 48, 95, 142, 171, 176, 202, 210
Hathana 5
Hathigumpha 21; inscription 165
Hatra 75, 77
Hayagrīva 387
Headdress (Headgear) 76, 77
Heliodora (Heliodorus) 61
Helios 120
Hellenism 75; Hellenistic elements 72; Hellenistic source 42; Hellenized cultures 74
Henning, W. B. 196
Hephthalites 79, 154
Hercules 74, 150; *Hercules type* 150
Hisar 135, 157
Hiraṇasame series 34
Hinnavat 97
Hindu inscription 304; Hindu Princes 140; Hindu Sanskrit inscriptions 302
Hoards of coins 119, 159
Horamurṇḍaya 24, 64
Hormizd 122
Housing (Houses) 42, 61, 63, 64; Building and 41–42; facilities 35
Hsüang Tsang 89, 165, 214, 218, 220, 238
Hui-Shen 89
Huviṣka 22, 23, 35, 41, 42, 64, 66, 117–121, 127, 132, 134, 140, 154–157, 165, 195, 196, 199, 224, 266, 314, 362; coins of 141
Hyderabad 156

Iconography 78, 332, 383–390; Buddhist 91; foreign 78
Iṁadadatta 211
Iṁdapara 210
Indo-Aryans 176, 177
Indo-Gangetic alluvium 4, 31
Indo-Gangetic plains 6, 19
Indo-Greeks 22, 46, 51, 140, 150, 168, 227, 231, 264; coins 224; Kings (Rulers) 61, 74
Indo-Roman trade 66
Indo-Sasanians 35
Indrāgnibhadrā 147
Indrapura (Indore) 34
Indus Valley 155, 156, 158, 175
Inscriptions 31–33, 39, 41, 43, 62, 106–108, 134, 214–220, 224, 230, 247–250, 261–266, 298–305, 308–314, 316, 368; Chronology of Malwas 298; correlation between 309, 311; Huviṣka 261; Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription 302, 316; local rulers 261; named king 261–266; Nameless king 261; Pillar 64; Sáka-kṣatrapas 261; Kaniṣka 261; Mankuwar 301
International relations (patterns, connection) 48–50, 53, 54
Iran 52, 53, 72, 78
Irrigation 31
Iron 4–7, 33, 175; technology 171
Iṣukāri Hissar 47

Jacobi, Herman 104–107
Jail mound 6, 7
Jain, J. C. 211
Jaina art 332–357; dated sculpture 358–359
Jaina Āyāgapaṭa 236
Jaina centres 357
Jaina faith 44; religious life 103–112
Jaina inscription 229
Jaina Kusāna Śrivatsa 240
Jaina monuments, early 332
Jain stupas 108, 333; discovery of 109–111
Jainism 5, 61, 62, 64, 98, 107; debate on origin of 104–108; development before (1884) 104; Mathurā and 111, 209–211
Jakhangoan 7
Jakhera 172
Jamālpur 6, 7; Mound 90
Janapadas 14, 17
Janert, K. L. 147, 215, 247, 368
Jankhat Farrukhabad 130
Jansuti 7
Jarāsandha 13, 14, 94, 96–98, 223, 225
Jasper 6
Jātakaṭṭhakathā 215
Jatwara 5
Jauna (Yavuna) king 211
Jayaswal, K. P. 117

Jenkins, G. K. 134
Jewellery 32, 74, 77
Jewels 33
Jhinga Nagla 7, 8
Jhirna 3
Jhunjhunu 5
Jinaprabhasūri 210, 211
Jiyacattu (Jitasátru) 211
Jodhpura 172
Jomanes, river 15
Joshi M. C. 181, 210
Joshi, N. P. 32, 46, 375, 376, 387
Junagarh 230

Kabul 7, 140, 158; valley 122
Kachagupta 157
Kadphises 119, 229
Kākatika 24
Kālanemi 98
Kalaśa 238, 239
Kālavāḍa 32
Kālavāḷa 24. 258
Kalavesiya (Kālavaisika) 211
Kālayavana 223ff; 228; (Black Greek) 98
Kalchayan 156
Kalibangan 176
Kalidāsa 227
Kalika 15
Kalikavartta 15
Kāliñjara 210
Kaliṅga 48, 156
Kalisapara 15
Kalyanā 48, 53
Kāma 229
Kāmadatta 20, 130, 140, 146, 147, 149
Kāman 303
Kāmbojas 226
Kaṃkālīrtālā 210
Kampilya 15
Kaṁsa 13, 14, 96–98, 216
Kamuiā 309
Kanārang 195
Kanauj 129
Kandarāyana 216
Kaniska 22, 23, 52, 98, 117, 119–122, 133, 134, 140, 154, 157, 193–196, 199, 214, 236, 266, 361; coins 119, 141; temple 197; Kaniska I 23, 65, 117, 133, 134; Kaniska II 117, 135, 154; Kaniska III 117, 133, 135, 143, 155
Kankālī Tīlā 4–7, 61, 103–111, 143, 168, 169, 236, 265, 266, 387
Kanpur 132
Kantipuri 157
Kānyakubja 48
Kapilavastu 374
Kāpisá 47, 51, 154, 155
Kāpisí-Alexandrapolis (Kandahar) 47
Kaŕapāla 32
Kārddamaka kṣatrapas 131
Kārsāpana 61
Kārtavīrya 14
Kashgar 49, 156
Kāśī 127
Kāsīputra 61
Kashmir 49, 51, 52, 78, 89, 140, 155
Kāṣṭikīyanihāra 215
Kaṭhaupaniṣad 242
Kathāsaritsāgara 370
Kāthiāvār 230
Katrā 5, 7, 8, 16, 127, 165, 167, 169, 309, 311; Keśavadera 16, 309, 311
Kaundinyapur 203, 204
Kaurara 34
Kaurava 97
Kauśāmbī 17, 20, 22, 34, 35, 48, 51, 62, 129, 157, 175–177, 202, 210, 263, 303, 304, 370
Kauśika-gōtra 259, 309
Kāyastha 312
Keśavadeva 15, 127, 131
Keśīvadha 387
Khalua 172
Khandila Arya 209
Khāravela 21
Kharoṣṭhị 299, 301; inscriptions 299–301; record 302; script 301, 309; zone 21
Khattiya 60
Khotan 49, 156
Khvaśica 24
Kidāra, coins of 141; Kusānas 121, 154
Kirātas 223, 227, 228
Kīrtí 236
Klesóbora 47, 61
Kondane 370
Konow, S. 301
Kośala 13, 127
Kotayācārya 21
Kṛṣṇa 12–15, 34, 36, 59, 78, 93–99, 216, 223, 224, 311; flight from Jarasandha 97–99; Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsa episode 13; *Kṛṣṇa Līlas* 387, 388; Mathura and 94–97. Kṛṣṇaism 231
Kṛṣṇapura 15, 47
Kṣaharāta Ghatāka 63
Kṣatrapas 20–24, 35, 65, 116, 117, 121, 131, 132, 142, 143, 149, 232, 265, 299, 377; coins of 141; pottery during 188; Mahākṣatrapa Sodaśa 21; Kṣatrapa Hagāna 21; Kṣatrapa Sivadatta 21, 140; Sivaghosa 21, 146; Toraṇadāsa 21, 131; Vajatatajama 21, 146; Mahākṣatrapa 22, 23, 35, 309; Caṣṭana 193; Kusulaa Padika 22; Rajuvula 21, 22, 131
Ksatriyas 66, 227, 228
Kuberā 15, 210, 304, 374; Yaksa from 371–377
Ku-chioh 49
Kujūla Kaphises 32, 117, 133
Kumrahar 202, 204
Kunindas 35, 157
Kuru Pañcāla 15, 59, 97
Kuruksetra 97

Kurram valley 47
Kurus 14, 59
Kuṣāṇas (period; rule) 6, 7, 15, 19–24, 31–36, 40, 41, 43, 46, 48, 51, 53, 54, 63–66, 77, 78, 98, 99, 106, 107, 110, 117, 118, 132, 134, 135, 140, 143, 146, 181, 226, 229, 262, 299, 325, 332, 377, 390; chronology, implication for 157, 158; coins of 51, 141, 153–160; copper coin hoards 159; copper coins 118, 153–160; inscriptions 266; Kusāna Sasanian 121, 122; later 121, 123; Mathura as an urban centre during 22–24; monetary system of 153–155; sites 6; symbol 122; penetrated 22–24; pottery of 188, 189; Tirthankara figures 335–353; Vaisnava art centres 390; Vaisnava Icons 384–390
Kusinagara 48, 51

Laghusa 156
Lahiri, Bela 116
Lahurpura 51
Lakhanū 303
Lakshmī 21, 117, 118, 123, 141, 146, 147, 150, 224, 237, 303, 356
Lalitavistara 66
Lapislazuli 6, 7
Lavana 12, 98
Le Berre, M. 196, 197
Lead 33
Lessing Ferdinand, D. 236
Local coins 142, 146, 147
Local kings 141
Lohavaniya 23
Lohikākārika 23
Lohuizen de Leeuw, J. E. Van 301, 325, 328
Lothal 176
Loyang 89
Lucknow Museum 124
Lüders, Heinrich 193, 194, 199, 215, 247, 248, 258, 263, 299, 368
Lunar dynasty 97

MacDowall, D. W. 118, 133, 134
Mādhavas 13, 96
Madhu 12, 98
Madhura 215
Madhurasutta 215
Madhusūdana 96
Madhuvana 12, 13, 15
Madurai 15, 48, 98, 211
Madhya Pradesh 129
Madhyadeśa 12, 52, 62, 97, 131, 132, 216
Madhyadesa and Pracya (Ganga Plain) Trade routes to 47, 48
Magadha 13, 19–21, 24, 52, 61, 97, 98, 124, 128, 230
Magadhan power 46
Magahar (Magavihara or Maghavihara) 263
Mahabana 3, 47
Mahābhārata 14, 59, 93, 94, 96–99, 223–228, 231, 232, 242, 258, 374, 376
Mahābhāsya 21, 226
Mahādaṇḍanāyaka 22, 23, 64, 65, 195
Mahadeva 214, 220
Mahājanapadas 14, 17, 19, 20
Mahākāla 242
Mahāmāyūrī 370
Mahānisīthasūtra 210
Mahāparinivāṇa 374
Maharashtra 31, 48, 172; central 203
Mahāsāgara 14
Mahāsānghikas 63, 215
Mahāvīra 14, 105, 106, 211
Mahāvairocana Sutra 89
Mahāvastu 33, 198
Mahāvidhya Temple 169
Mahāyana Buddhism 85, 91, 220; teachings of 85–92
Mahāyānasūtrālankara 90
Maheśvara 312
Māhiṣmatī 34, 48, 129
Mahōtī 6, 7, 15
Maitreya 75, 88
Maitreyanātha 90
Maity, S. K. 133
Majjhima Nikāya 60, 214, 215
Majumdar, N. G. 93, 263
Makran route 49
Mālava 35, 47, 52, 225
Malwa 20, 24, 47, 51–53, 140, 175; passageway 4, 19
Mānavadharmaśastra 232
Maṅgalakas 237
Maṇibhadra 51, 62, 370
Mānikara 23; Manikaratana 156
Mañjuśrī 220
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa 89
Manjuśrīnāma-saṅgiti 237, 240, 242
Manu-Smriti 62, 374
Māo 119, 120
Mara 218
Maravijaya 88
Marcellinus, Ammianus 158
Margabandhu, C. 210
Maricq, A. 196, 197
Marigiana (Merv) 49
Markanda Karma Khandika (samarkand) 49
Marshall, Sir John 16, 74
Marukāntāra 50
Māṭ (Devakula) shrine 3, 22, 64, 78, 117, 193–199
Mathurā council 209, 211
Mathurā Museum 35, 124, 128, 131, 232, 263, 308, 368, 388
Māthuraka Kālavāla 24, 259; Māthurī Kalavadā 259
Mathurāpurī 210
Mātrkās 42, 188
Matsya Purāna 231, 238; *Matsya* 14, 15, 238; Matsyas 215
Maudgalyāyana 220
Maues 133
Maurya (age; period; rule) 12–17, 20, 21, 31, 46, 48, 50, 60, 61, 88, 115, 116, 129, 168, 202, 203, 225; Maurayan Red Wares 185
Mediterranean world 49, 72

Meerut 135
Megasthenes 5, 15, 61
Menander 24
Merchants 32, 62, 79, 211, 216
Metal 33
Methora 5, 15
Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) 303; dialect 232, 299, 371; inscriptions 302
Milindapañha 32, 33, 53, 63, 214, 229, 230
Mineral products 33
Mirro 119, 120, 122
Mirzapur 6
Mithathal 157
Mithilā 48, 52, 135, 210
Mitras 129, 132, 142, 143, 146, 265, 377; Mitra coins 35, 62, 264; Mitra-Datta coin 132; Mitra-Datta period 131; Mitra kings 187; pottery during, period of 187, 188
Mitravarmā 215
Modoura 15
Mohenjo-Daro 156, 176, 177
Mokṣyanti 230
Monks 41, 65
Monsoons, discovery of 36
Moon 237
Mora 7, 130
Mucukunda 223
Mūdgaśaila 211
Mukherjee, B. N. 150, 326–328, 330
Mukherji, P. C. 109
Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, Vinayavastu 214, 215, 218, 219
Mūlavasu 259, 310
Music 43, 77; musical instrument 34
Muṭṭhika 216

Nāga (*Nāgas*) 15, 24, 42, 134, 225, 303; Apsidal temple 132; coins of 141, elements 24; inscriptions 299; kings 157, temple 299; worship 211
Nāgarahāra 22, 47, 215
Nāgārjuna 209
Nāgārjunikonda 48, 53
Nahapana 131
Naigamesa, Lord 62
Naimisas 97
Nakṣatra 218
Nalandā 89
Nanā 119, 120
Nandas 14, 52, 60, 124, 127, 225
Nandi 119, 122, 198
Nandipada 131; *Nandipada-paṭṭa* 335
Nandyāvarta 238; *Nandyāvarta paṭṭa* 335
Narahōlī 7, 8
Narain, A. K. 133
Nārāyana, Colossus of Bhagavān 389, 390
Nārāyana Gopas 95, 96
Narmada River 202, 204
Nasik 232
Natabhata-vihara 214, 220
Navdatoli 172
Naya Nagola 7
Negamesa 354, 356
Nemi 357
Nighaṇṭha Nātāputta 106
Niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ 228
Nikāyas 85
Nikē 196, 198
Nīlabhūti 218
Niśithasūtra-cūrṇi 210
Nivvūī 211
Noh 7, 18, 172
Nokonzok 196, 197
Nomadic tribes 78; invasions 74; role of 75
North Parthian Valleys 49
North-west India 47, 49, 52, 53, 75, 76, 79, 121, 300–304; Highway 48, 49; Invaders 46; trade routes 51
Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) 7, 8, 16, 31, 33, 143, 167, 168, 172, 177, 185; Mauryan period and 5, 6
Northern India 61, 77, 79, 127, 153

Oado 119, 120
Odīyana 215
Oesho 119, 120
Omana 49
Otalā 219
Oxus Valley 49, 53, 127
Ozana 7

Pabhosā 232; records 303
Padma (lotus) 239; *Pādma Tantra* 236; Padmāsana 243
Pahlavas 63, 98, 223; Coins 35
Printed Grey Ware (PGW) 5, 7, 8, 16, 31, 167, 171, 172, 175–177, 181–185
Pakistan 172
Pākṣakā 259
Palaeography 308, 309; Palaeographic evidence 327; Palaeographical consideration from 261–266
Palamedes 196, 224
Pāli texts 31, 209, 214, 215, 219
Pālīkherā 7, 8
Pallas 150
Palmyra 49
Palwali 370
Pañcāla 14, 15, 20, 21, 35, 78, 129, 130, 146; Pañcāla Mitras 146
Pañcaviṙa 15, 16
Pāñcarātrins 231
Pañcika 78
Pandharpur 14
Pandavas 97
Pandyas 15
Pāṇiṇi 13, 15, 59, 60, 93, 245
Pāradas 226, 227
Parajika 236
Pārśvanātha 210, 357
Parthians (Empire) 34, 48, 72, 74, 77, 79

Pārvatī 198, 199
Paṭaliputra 17, 48, 49, 51, 61, 157, 169, 202, 204, 230
Patañjali 15, 21, 33, 61, 168, 226
Patiala 159
Patna (Pataliputra; Pelibothra) 211, 369 (see also Pāṭaliputra; Museum 263)
Periplus Maris Erythraei 7, 24, 31, 33, 50, 52
Persepolis 49
Persian gulf 49
Peshawar 75, 158
Pharro 120, 198
Pitalkhora 370
Plaeschke, H. 301
Pliny 15
Poclais (Puṣkalāvatī) 52
Polygamy 62, 65
Porkalam 203
Ports 50
Pōṭhaya 258; *Pōṭhaya-Sáka-Kālavāla* 258
Pottery 33, 74, 144, 168, 175, 181–192; Datta and Kṣatrapas period 188; Kusana period 188, 189; Mitras period 187, 188; Plain Grey Ware 171; Red Polished Ware 169; Slipped Ware 143; Polished Black Ware 171; Sungā cultural phase 185, 186
Pradyumna 388
Prajñāparamilā 220
Prākrit 237, 308, 316; Sanskrit suppression 298–305; dialects 63, 65
Prayāga 48, 232; central highway at 48
Professions (see also occupations) 41, 51
Prophthasia (Phra) Airiri (Herat) 49
Punjab 19, 47, 52, 78, 79, 122, 131, 140, 156, 159, 172
Purana Qila 20, 62, 142, 144
Purānas 12; Purānīc sources 14; Purāṇīc tradition 14; *Viṣnu Purāna* 14
Puruṣadatta 20, 130, 140, 146, 147, 149
Puruṣapura 49
Puṣkalāvatī 34, 47–49, 53
Puskara 47
Puṣkariḥī 195
Puṣṭavikrāntāh 230
Puṣyamitra 116, 128
Pūtikavahana 210

Raghuvaṁśa 227
Rairh 47, 62, 129, 202, 203
Rājagṛha 51, 98, 210, 211, 219
Rājānurū pakṛta 230
Rajasthan 4–7, 13, 17, 21, 47, 51, 52, 77–79, 122, 172
Rajghat (Vārāṇasī) 202, 203
Rajgir 202, 203
Rājña Balabhūti 140; Rājña Rāmadatta 140
Rajuvula 21–23, 116, 117, 121, 131, 132, 140, 143, 149, 150, 309; Rajuvula-Soḍāsa group 116
Rāmadatta 20, 116, 130–132, 140, 141, 147, 149
Rāmāyana 98, 165, 232
Raṇā 129
Rangmahal 23; culture 144; Suivihar route 47
Rāvana 98
Rāyapasenaijja 110
Ray, Sunil, C. 118
Red Sea 49; Ports 52
Robertsgunj 6
Rohadeva 263
Rohilkhand 59
Rohītaka 47
Rohtak 35
Rome (Roman empire; Romans) 32, 48, 49, 51, 64, 154; coins 34; trade 15; Romano-Hellenistic West 74; technique 169
Rosenfield, J. 22, 23, 94, 158, 301, 325
Routes 8, 46–48; trunk routes 48
Ṛṣabhañātha 149, 335, 357
Rudradāman 32, 158, 230
Rudrasena I 157
Rūpamaṇḍara 374
Rupar 62, 144

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 86
Sagala 21
Sahadeva 14
Saheṭh-Maheṭh 124, 303
Sāigrava-gōtra 63, 259
Sáiva Pilgrims 197
Saiva worship in Kusāṇa period 64; in Bactria 197
Śaiva shrine 311
Śākala 7, 47, 51
Śakān Yavanamiśritān 226
Śākas (Śāka period, Rule) 32, 35, 41, 46, 49, 51–53, 62, 72, 79, 98, 117, 149, 150, 223, 225–227, 310; coins 35, 141; Kṣatrapas 131, 132, 261; Śaka-Kusāna 23, 31, 43, 46, 143; Śaka-Pahlavas 116; Śaka-Parthians 88
Śakasthāna (Sarvasa Sakrastanasa Puyae) 22, 52
Sāketa 21, 47, 48, 61, 210
Sakhitara 45
Saknā 7
Śaktis 236, 242
Saṁbhavanātha 357
Saṁkarṣana (Balarāma) 61, 127, 383, 384, 388, 389; Saṁkarṣna Baladeva 15, 16
Samudragupta 76, 123, 135, 158
Śāmakavāsa 215
Sāñchī 35, 48, 51, 72, 77, 99, 232, 303, 370
Sanghol (Sanghāvali) 263
Śaṅkāsya 61, 87, 169
Saṅketban 5
Śaṅkha 169, 239
Sankīsa 220
Sanskrit 65, 85, 239, 298–305, 316; literature 227; Sanskritization 298, 299, 302; process of 293, 303
Sanskrit Avadāna literature 214
Saptamātrika 236; *Sáṅku-karṇas* 370
Saran district 156
Sarasvatī 95, 356
Sarayu 8, 12

Sardargarh 172
Śāriputra 220
Sarnath 51, 266, 303
Sārthavāha 23, 32, 47; Manibhadara 62
Sarvadurgati Parisodhana tantra 236
Sarvāstivādins 52, 215, 216, 309
Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṁgraha 89
Sarvatobhodrikhā figures 353, 354, 366
Sasanians 188, 122, 155
Satamitra 20, 140, 263
Sātavāhanas 31, 35, 53, 131, 202
Satrapal coins 229
Satraps 140, 141
Sāttvatta-Saṁhitā 385
Satrughna 12, 13, 98, 232
Sātvatas 59
Saundarananda 220
Saurashtra 13
Sawai Madhopur 5
Schlumberger, D. 194, 196–198
Scythians 34, 40, 64, 72–80, 226; coins 229; Nomads 74; role of 79; Scytho-Parthians 20, 62, 121; Scytho-Sasanian 35
Seals 261
Segrava (Saigrava) gotra 63
Seleucid 61
Śeṣadatta 20, 24, 140, 142, 149
Shah, U. P. 236, 257, 343, 353
Shaikhan Ḍheri 74
Shahpur I 158; Shahpur II 154, 158; Shahpur III 158
Sharma, G. R. 175, 177
Sharma, R. C. 122, 259, 373
Shastri, A. M. 35
Sheemgalish Tepe 159
Shrivastva, V. N. 313
Śibipura 47
Sihadhaya 231
Sihanādika 236, 238
Silk; Transit 7; weaving 33
Silver 5, 6, 33
Sind 47–49, 52, 78, 79, 140, 156
Sindhu 48; Sindhu Sauvira 47, 52
Singh, J. P. 117
Sircar, D. C. 21, 116, 230, 264, 311, 317, 370
Sirīdāma 211
Sirivihāra 215
Sirkap 200; Sirkap III 144; Sirkap IV 144 (see also Taxila)
Sirsukh 74 (see also Taxila)
Siswal 176
Śiva 119–123, 153–155, 198, 199, 228, 231
Śivadatta 22, 116, 131, 146, 149, 317
Sivaghoṣa 22, 116, 131
Smith, Vincent 109, 110, 141, 238
Smṛti 236, 242
Smṛtijñānakīrti 240
Śodāsa 21, 22, 63, 116, 131, 132, 143, 149, 150; Chronology of Śodāsa inscriptions 311, 312; inscriptions 308, 309
Soil 3, 31
Solar dynasty 97
Solar symbol 78
Soḷasa Mahājanapadha 60
Sonkh (excavation) 4–8, 16, 20, 23, 24, 31, 32, 34, 36, 42, 43, 59–61, 63, 116–118, 124, 127, 128, 130–132, 134, 155, 157, 159, 181, 185, 188, 189, 202, 264, 372, 386; German Archaeological Expedition at 127
Soter Megas coins of 35, 117, 132, 141, 153–155
Sourasenoi 15, 17, 61
South East Asia 49, 53, 54
South India 48, 53
Sovanika 23
Sports 42, 43
Śrāddha 384
Srāvasti 22, 47, 48, 51, 167, 210
Śreṣṭhī 23
Śreṣṭhin 32
Śrī 199, 236, 310; (Lakṣmī) 96, 199, 239, 242, 259, 310
Śrī Lanka (Ceylon) 48, 53, 89, 98
Srinivasan, P. R. 303
Srivastava, A. K. 118
Śrīvatsa 169, 236–240, 243, 308, 310, 311
Strato 24
Stūpas 333; at Kankāli 332; votive 90
Sudaṁśana (Sudarśana) 211
Sudarśana Lake 32
Sudavapa 129
Suddharma-Pundarika 86, 87
Sūdras 66, 227, 228
Sukhāvati cult 86, 87
Śunga (period) 6–8, 19–24, 51–53, 61, 128, 129, 143; cultural phase, pottery of 185, 186; house sites of 42; Sunga-Kusanā period 7, 8, 50–52
Sūrasena 12–19, 46, 60, 62, 124, 210, 215, 225
Surāṣtra 230
Surkh Kotal 78, 156, 194, 195, 199, 224; Chronology of 196; inscriptions 196; Sanctuary in Bactria 22; Temples 194–196
Sūrya 78
Sūryamitra 20, 62, 128–130, 140, 141, 146, 147, 149, 150, 263
Sutlej 35, 158, 176
Suvikrāntāḥ 230
Svastika 169, 238
Svetāśvatara upaniṣad 238
Swabi Tehsi 159
Swat Valley 156

Takalghat 204
Taḷāga 195
Tamluk 211
Tāmralipti 48, 50
Tamrin basin 49, 155, 156
Tarsi 78
Tashkent 49
Tashkurgham 49
Taxila (Taksaśilā) 7, 16, 17, 21, 22, 32, 34, 43, 47–49, 51–53, 61, 66, 131, 143, 154–156, 200, 202, 203, 211, 219, 375; coins 34

Tehri Garhwal 118, 121
Temples (A) 196, 197; (B) 196, 197, (D) 196, 197; Buddhist 44; Kusāna 42
Tepe Sardar 156
Termez 49, 156
Terracottas 4, 143
Textile manufacture 32, 33
Thaplyal, K. K. 313
Thar desert 4
Thinae 7
Thomas, F. W. 133
Tilavracot 156
Tilaura-kot 202, 203
Timisikā 219
Tīrthaṅkaras 90–91, 105, 237, 242, 243, 351; Tirthaṅkara figure, Kusāṇa 335–353, 361–363, 365; Tīrthaṅkara Supārsva 110; *Features of standing Tirthaṅkaras* 353
Tocharians 225
Tochi Valley 158
Topography 3–8
Toraṇadāsa 116, 131, 146, 150
Trade 5–8, 32, 34, 36, 52, 53, 61, 72, 79, 202, 204, 211; Inter-Regional routes 47, 209; international connections 48–50; links 48; Metropolitan Trade and Regional patterns 50, 51; pattern of 50, 51, Roman 15; routes 34, 46–54, 211; Traders 33, 62
Transport (Transportation) 35, 36, 43, 44; means of 50
Tribal migrations 52
Trident 120, 135, 153, 197
Tripurī 34, 129
Triratna 168
Turkestan, Russia 153
Turyasu 229
Tuṣāras 72, 223

Uḍḍīyāna 24, 49
Udumbara (Pathankot) 47
Ugrāś ca krūrakarmāṇas 227
Ujjain-Bhārukaccha highway 53
Ūṃā 385
Unchagāon 8
Unnao 135
Upasthānaśālā 218
Upātikya 34, 129, 140
Urbanism 35, 36; Urban Centres 176; urban refinement 168
Usphar 7, 8
Uttamadatta 20, 21, 130, 140, 146
Uttara Madhurā 14, 15, 210
Uttarāpatha 32, 46, 48, 52, 216; trade routes 47
Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) 35, 121, 134, 135; Eastern 127, 263; U.P. Coin Committee 119; Western 172

Vākātaka 231
Vaikuṇṭha 210
Vairambhā 219
Vaiśālī 48, 202, 203, 220
Vaiṣṇava art 383–390
Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas 94
Vaiṣṇavism 14, 51–53
Vaiṣyas (Vaiṣya Caste) 62, 227
Vajatatajana 22, 149
Vajrakumāra 210
Vajrapāni 88, 89
Vālmīki 165, 232
Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. 88, 158
Varāhamihira 239
Vārāṇasī 5, 7, 22, 34, 129, 159, 202, 210, 251
Vardhamāna 106, 237, 363
Varṇa, society 228
Vāsudeva-(kṛṣṇa) 14, 15, 17, 59, 60, 93, 118, 121, 122, 127, 134, 140, 143, 153–155, 158, 214, 215, 309, 351, 354, 355, 383, 388; Shrine of 311; Vāsudēva-kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarsana Balarāma as attendant godling 386, 387; Vāsudēva kṛṣṇa Icons 384; *Vāsudēva pratimāyē* 259
Vāsudāva I 117, 121, 135, 155; II 135, 155
Vasumitra 220
Vatsapuṣyamitra 210
Vāyu Purāna 225
Vedadharmakriya 228
Vedas 231, 232
Vedia; Aryans 72; literature 12, 177; rites 64; rituals 227
Verma, T. P. 310, 311
Verañjā 214, 216, 219
Vidiśā 22, 32, 34, 48, 129
Vima Kadphises 22, 35, 64, 77, 117, 119, 120, 132–134, 140, 153, 155, 158, 193–196, 199; coins of 141
Vinayapiṭaka 214, 216
Vinayavastu 214, 216, 218, 219, 230
Virasena 116, 130, 146
Virāṭa 15
Viratanagara 47
Viṣṇu 12, 96, 242, 259
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 14, 227
Viṣṇu dharmottara Purāṇa 387
Viṣṇumitra 20, 62, 128, 130, 140, 141, 146, 147, 149, 263, 264
Viṣṇu-tilaka 236
Viśvāmitra 226
Vividhātirthakalpa 110, 210
Vogel J. Ph. 32, 33, 165, 194
Voharika 23
Vokkhana (Wakhana) 52
Vrindavana 7, 15
Vṛṣṇis 15, 59, 60, 93, 224, 309; clan 13; Heroes 384; Yadava 15

Wheeler, M. 193
White Huns 79
Women; basic garment of 46; dress and ornament of 40–41; costume of Scythian 75; place of in society 62; Scythian 41
Wrestlers 216, 219

Yādavas (or Yadu family) 12–14, 59, 229; lineage 14, 17
Yakṣas (*Yakkhas*) 6, 15, 16, 46, 60, 211, 214, 216, 218, 230,

368–377; decorative devices 375; from Kankāli Tilā 371–377; kubera 371–377; Noh 369; Parkham 16, 368–371, 376; Pawaya 369; Patna 369; image 303, 377; serving as supporters of architectural parts of Bowls 375; with Saṅku-Karṇas from Mathura 370
Yamunā 3, 4, 6–8, 13–17, 22, 23, 31, 35, 46–48, 59, 61, 97, 115, 167, 169, 176, 193, 215, 220
Yarkand 49
Yaudheyas 22, 35, 118, 134, 142, 143, 158, *Coins* 35, 157
Yavanas 20, 21, 24, 61, 223, 226–229, 231, 232; policy of 230
Yavanarājā 21, 230
Yayāti 12, 229
Yüeh-Chih 49, 66, 158; Merchants 54
Yuga Purāna 21, 61, 230
Yūpas 231

Doris Meth Srinivasan is Associate Professorial Lecturer of Art History at The George Washington University. She is the author of *Concept of Cow in the Rig Veda,* papers on Brahmanical and Buddhist art and iconography, Vedic studies, Indus material remains, and a documentary film on *The Hindu Ritual Sandhyā.*

Dust cover photograph courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.

ISBN 81-85054-37-1